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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The History of the Ulus of Jochi and the Ways It Has Been Interpreted in Modern Times

Mirkasym Usmanov

We can correctly evaluate both historical figures and peoples only when we have information about their lives in all their manifestations; judging figures and peoples based on separate facts and separate sides of their activity is wholly an unscientific method, unfortunately, used sometimes by contemporary historians.

V. Bartold

Instead of a preface

In the history of a number of ethnoses of medieval Eurasia, including nations that were a part of the former Russian Empire, its successor (the USSR), and the modern Russian Federation, there is always an epoch that was covered, especially during the Soviet Union period, quite distinctively, and sometimes even absurdly contradictorily and deceitfully. We are referring to the history of peoples of the country of the 13–16th centuries in general—that is, the epoch of Ulus of Jochi—the state that became famous under the name of the Golden Horde. The formation of this state, which by size of territory and number of its constituent peoples could be called a great Eurasian Empire, took place from 1240–1260, as a result of the dissolution of the Great Mongol power that had formed in the first quarter of the same century.

The events connected with the formation of the Mongol power itself took place at the end of the 12th and the first quarter of the 13th centuries in Central Asia, where, as a result of the unification of nomadic 'principalities' that had been enemies for a long time, a new Khanate was formed. At its head was a most talented and lucky 'prince' by name of Temuchin (Temuchjin), who obtained the name-title of *Chinggis Khan* (1180) when he was crowned. Later on he won victories over other Mongolian and Turkic nomadic 'principalities'. At the great Kurultai, which took

place in the summer of 1206 in the valley of the Onon river, the formation was declared of a united Mongolian state headed by a *Khagan*—that is, 'Khan of Khans', the great Khan in the person of Chinggis Khan.

All the events of the first part of the 13th century that occurred on two continents—Asia and Europe—are connected with the name of this ruler. For, after consolidating his power and implementing a number of important military administrative and social changes—that is, *reforms*, Chinggis Khan embarked on a sequence of foreign territorial expansions that was typical of that period.

During the lifetime of Chinggis-Khan, his state first absorbed the lands and tribes of the Altai-Sayan Mountains, a part of Southern Siberia, and Uighur principalities by various methods—political pressure or military operations. As a result of constant military campaigns, the Mongols conquered North China, states and peoples of Middle Asia, the North Caucasus, Crimea and the kingdom of the Tanguts of Xi Xia. The Mongolian influence stretched from the Sea of Japan and the Yellow Sea in the east to the Lower Volga Regions and the North Caucasus in the west. Thus, in 15 to 20 years Chinggis Khan created a large-scale, multi-ethnic state that, in fact, was a new empire.

After the death of Chinggis Khan (1227), his sons and grandsons continued to conquer.

In the east the Jurchen state, the empire of the South Sung Dynasty, and Korean states were conquered. In the south-west, the cities and regions of Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Transcaucasia were also subjugated. In the north-west, Volga Bulgaria, principalities of north-east Rus', and some parts of South-Eastern Europe were exposed to invasions. Some principalities and regions in the extreme west and north-west, acknowledging their dependence on the Mongols, were in the position of protectorates or vassals, having a certain autonomy, but regularly forced to pay tribute, taxes and recruits to be warriors in the Mongol army. This happened, for example, to countries and peoples whose princes, at least, some of them, didn't put up strong resistance and strove to find a common language with their conquerors...

Thus, in 40 to 50 years the large-scale and multi-national power of the Chinggisids was created—the Great Mongol Empire—or more precisely, a super empire, stretching from the Pacific Ocean almost to the Atlantic Ocean.

However, the Chinggisid superpower was not destined to last long. About 50 to 60 years after the beginning of foreign expansions, it began to disintegrate. This was due to internal contradictions because of the differences in the social, economic, ethnic, cultural, political and religious interests of the different regions and uluses, and was hastened when the central power weakened in the 1260s because of the struggle between Khubilai and Ariq Böke for the great Khan throne. Thus, four new states were formed—the ulus of the Great Khan (the Empire of Yuan) and uluses of Jochi, Chagatai and Hulagu. They also were great empires both by territory and population.

* * *

In historiography, the date the Ulus of Jochi—the Golden Horde—received independence is generally cited as the 1240s—that is, the period when Batu Khan returned from the Western campaign to the Volga Region. This is most likely incorrect. This date is a result of absolutizing the information of later editors of Russian chronicles who, behind the back of the powerful 'Batu Khan', who was authorita-

tive for them and for Russian princes, could not realize (often when looking back) the significance of the Great Khan—the genuine sovereign of a united power. Latter researchers did not consider the fact that Batu Khan, who was a regent of the Great Khan (the second person by rank in the united empire), remained a unitarist to the end of his life.

Besides the position of Batu (died in 1255), the trips in 1255 and 1256 of Sartaq and Ulakchi (Ulagach) to Karakorum for the Great Khan to confirm their ascensions to the throne also contradict this dating. It is also worth noting that the attempts of Berke Khan (1256–1266) to mint his own coins failed because of sanctions of the great khan's authority. Only Mengu-Timur, the ruler of the Golden Horde from 1266–1282, began minting coins with the title of an independent ruler. And his money was not taken out of circulation. Beginning with this Khan, the Horde rulers in the early Russian chronicles are systematically styled as *Caesars*. Hence, the legal independence of Ulus Jochi should date to the end of the 1260s, more precisely, the spring of 1269, when the Chinggisids met and feasted on the Talas river. At the same time, some elements of an allied relationship were maintained between uluses.

Among the four ulus empires formed after the superpower disintegrated, the Ulus of Jochi and its vassal countries was, apparently, the largest one by territory. But by population, it was significantly behind the Yuan Empire.

The boundaries of Ulus of Jochi, beginning with Sayan-Altai-Tien-Shan mountains in the east, going along the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, covering the Khwarezm, the North Caspian, a significant part of the Caucasus, including Iranian Azerbaijan, Crimea, and the Black Sea Steppes in the south, went as far as the Lower Danube. In the west, the boundaries included the lands of the south Russian principalities, politically dependent countries including principalities of north-east Rus'. After Alexander Yaroslavich acknowledged the dependence of the Novgorod principality on Batu Khan, they also became vassals of Ulus of Jochi. Then, absorbing the territory of the Bulgarian kingdom, going through the Urals to cover west and southern Siberia, they went

as far as the Sayan Mountains. (Some researchers believe that the northern territories of the Jochid state reached the Arctic Ocean.)

As one can observe from this approximate description, the territory of the empire of Jochi and countries dependent on it was vast, but some parts of the south-east border were not stable. After several centuries, it almost coincided with a significant and the main part of the territory of the Russian Empire and its successor—the USSR.

The population of the Golden Horde was multi-ethnic. The ancestors of all the nations that now live in these areas were represented. The population was predominantly from the steppe and forest-steppe zones and a number of settled regions. The Khwarezm, Middle and Lower Volga Region, a part of the North Caucasus and Crimea, the so-called south Russian steppes were dominated by the Turkic peoples. In most cases they were native speakers of Kipchak and partially Oguz dialects. There were also some representatives of Iranian, Caucasus-Iberian, Alan-Circassian, Finnish-Ugric and east Slavic peoples.

During the conquests and later on, when the Chinggisids were administratively developing the main part of the country, there were some, sometimes significant, changes in the former ethnic map of this part of Eurasia because a kind of 'grinding' occurred—a mixing of tribes and peoples, especially within the Turkic ethnos. As a result, ratios of the components of the subsequent ethnic process were changed. To understand this complicated problem, the Turkification of the Mongols in the Golden Horde should be examined.

Thus, Ulus of Jochi formed as an independent state within a political-dynasty area as a result of the disintegration of the Mongol super empire. But it itself, by territory, and by the composition of the population, and also by the presence of many dependent, tax-paying countries with their many-language populations, was a new state that preserved, naturally, elements of the Mongol (Chinggisid) state culture. A conglomeration of Turkic nations who assimilated the Mongols that arrived, and the Chinggisids themselves, played a predominant role in it. Hence, those authors who try to

depict the Golden Horde as a 'national state' of only Mongols, or as some specific Turkic nation, or worse, as one later nation that formed after the empire disintegrated, are mistaken or are simplifying complicated events.

The Ulus of Jochi existed to the end of the 15th century as an united state, although it had experienced internal contradictions since the 1360s, and was extremely weakened as a result of a terrible plague ('the black plague'). Finally it fell at the very beginning of the 16th century (1502) as a result of an attack of the Crimean Khanate, which was a satellite of the Ottoman Empire. Hence, the state of Jochi—the Golden Horde—existed for 200 to 250 years. During that time it had a lasting influence on the social life, administrative institutions, culture and psychology of its peoples.

However, as was already mentioned, this period of history, which was significant in its length and vast in the territory it encompassed, has been researched, to put it mildly, obviously not completely, even purposely distorted. We will give some examples among the newest discoveries.

* * *

In 1995, the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences published the second volume of a six-volume textbook of the history of the eastern peoples that was fundamental in its content as well as in its quality. It has a significant text (the whole 4th chapter) named 'The Mongols and the Mongol Conquest'. In the latest parts of it, the history of the peoples of Middle Asia and Iran is briefly discussed, there is also a paragraph on the Delhi Sultanate of the 13th century. However, almost nothing is said about the history of Ulus of Jochi. The group of authors, the editorial board, apparently considered the history of the Golden Horde to be part of the history of Russia. But it is known that Ulus of Jochi, according to its origins, political history, territory, population composition, and its sources, its particular spiritual-material culture, was and remains a part of the medieval East. The authors of the volume knew all that very well. So I suppose that in 'voluntarily' refusing to discuss the history of an inherent part of the

East, at least, of all Eurasia, they just did not want to deal with historic traditions and the numerous authors of Russian history that are still alive. The history of a country, which, as some Russians say dryly, has an 'unpredictable past'...

As for discussions of the history of the Golden Horde in the Russian and especially in the Soviet historical tradition, they were quite unique. First this historiographic tradition did not have one single direction or degree of objectivity. On equal footing with the conservative official direction, which passed over many facts in silence—that is, was strongly politicized, there was a quite scientific school, represented by a limited amount of research that contained high quality information and interpretations of facts and that at least tried to throw light on the past quite fairly and reliably when possible. We are speaking about particular works of a number of pre-revolutionary Russian orientalists and just several scientists of the Soviet period. However, these more or less objective contributions were forgotten or crudely suppressed because of the order of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) from 9 August 1944, which can be summarized as follows:

'7. Suggest the Tatar regional committee of All-Union Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) organize the scientific development of the history of Tatarstan, eliminate mistakes committed by some historians and literary people of a nationalistic character in describing the history of Tatarstan (embellishing the Golden Horde, popularizing the Khan-feudal epic poem about Edigu). Pay particular attention to researching and describing the history of the joint struggle of the Russian, Tatar and other nations of the USSR against alien invaders...'.*

*The C.P. S.U. in Resolutions and Decisions of Its Congresses, Conferences, and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee (1898–1986). Vol. 7. 1938–1945, Moscow: Politgadat, 1985, p. 518; first published in 'Partiynoe stroitel'stvo (Party building)' magazine, 1944, № 15/16, p. 29–32.

By that order, regardless of its scientific-like tone, the Golden Horde was declared only 'parasitical', a spontaneous state formation, arisen as if by accident, and so it did not have any culture or natural development, and it only plundered and devastated Rus', the Russian nation, and so on. In other words, the East and the Turkic world represented by the Golden Horde was opposed to the West, Christianity.

Historiographically such a policy was carried out by ignoring and silencing the more or less objective works of Russian historians. Such works were exposed to so-called 'party ideological criticism', therefore, were taken out, or more precisely, were banished from active scientific circulation, but at the same time, semi-official interpretations written 'in the light of' that order were published almost in mass editions. Mass distribution was achieved both by encouraging publicist and literary critic statements on historical topics, by specially written movies, and by the many thousands, even the many millions of various history textbooks designed to totally brainwash the population, in particular, the young generation. For example, history textbooks on the USSR expressing sharply negative appraisals about nomads, 'Mongol-Tatars' in general, the Golden Horde in particular, designed to instill a xenophobic dislike, half-racist hatred and contempt for them were published in huge editions. Thus, each textbook edited by A. Shestakov (1955, for examples of appraisals see pages 31–33), S. Alekseev and V. Karpov (1958, p. 152) were printed in the millions. There were 4,898,000 copies printed of the two editions of the 7th grade textbook of B. Rybakov, A. Sakharov, et al (1985, p. 82–83, 85–86; 1987). In 1945–1952 and in 1956–1959, 4,740,000 copies of the 8th grade textbook of L. Bushchina were published. It should be noted that these and other 'all-Union' textbooks, except local dubbed editions, were also translated into the languages of the 'brotherly' peoples. University textbooks actually were like school ones, with the same interpretations. For instance, university textbooks of M. Tikhomirov and S. Dmitriev (1948, p. 63, 65, 87) and collective textbooks

edited by B. Grekov (1947, p. 154) and B. Rybakov (1975, p. 111) were printed in editions of 550,000 copies. If each school textbook was read by about two to three pupils, then a university textbook 'completed the education' of students for at least 10 to 15 years. So they actually reached more people than school textbooks. The national phobias penetrate even contemporary textbooks. For example, in 6th grade textbooks (Danilov, Kosulina, 2007, p. 137, 20,000 copies; Sakharov, 2007, p. 110, 10,000 copies), there is an image of Mongol cannibals from an English (!) miniature from the 13th century (!). In both cases, the same picture is accompanied by the caption 'Brutality of the Mongols', as if one British item from the 13th century could prove this people practiced cannibalism. This example vividly demonstrates the level of quality of Russian textbooks... The totality of such propaganda, and also the medieval myths about the 'Tatars' have a 'positive' effect even on textbooks in some foreign countries...

As a result, the relatively objective works of a few Russian scientists only 'trickled' in, and were overwhelmed by the 'torrent' of, so to speak, 'party', that is, semi-official statements. As for good quality works of modern foreign researchers, they were classified as 'bourgeois', or untruthful, and often were kept in half-closed special departments of capital libraries or just were not accessible in Russia at all.

The history of the Golden Horde was discussed in the post-war Soviet Union in a way that, in general works, it only touched upon Russian principalities incidentally, in connection with particular aspects of the history of the Rus'. At the same time, both the formation and the prolonged existence of the Jochid nation was treated almost as a 'boil' on the healthy body of others. The Golden Horde itself was depicted exclusively as a backward nomadic state, which was, 'naturally', at a very low stage of development.

In general, the center of the whole historical process during the 13–15th centuries was shown to be north-east Rus', in particular the Moscow principality, in comparison with which, the Horde and its capital cities were just commonplace provinces. But, as is

known from sources and research, the princes and boyars, and also the church leaders, constantly visited the Horde to 'kowtow' to the Khan, deliver taxes collected from Rus', request a yarliq to become a prince, get approval for throne succession in Rus', inform on their rivals, give bribes to the Khan's civil servants, request safe-conduct charters and Tarkhan privileges, and so on. It is quite strange, to put it mildly, that the important administrative and political problems of the 'center' would be resolved in a 'wild and barbaric', according to their logic, 'province'... As a result of all this, the history of Russian principalities, the rise of north-east Rus', the sources of its political claim to the 'Horde legacy' and to a post-Horde 'Tatar yurt' were all deprived of their virility.

Interpreting history in this way leads to constant emphasis of the 'backwardness', 'wildness' and 'cruelty' of the Mongols, who executed some princes, etc. As if in other countries, conquerors did not execute enemies, and princes struggling for power did not kill each other, did not gouge out the eyes of their rivals, did not put them on the stake, did not quarter those they defeated...

To the same degree, the constantly repeated assertions that the 'wild and backward' Mongol-Tatars committed 'wholesale slaughter' of the population of conquered countries and cities, drove 'hundreds of thousands into slavery', etc, are not properly thought through. How do we then answer the following elementary questions: Is it possible that during military confrontations, backwardness and wildness could play a crucial role, but not maturity and culture, which would presuppose a corresponding technique and experience? Or did naturally 'cruel' conquerors expect to exploit the corpses of the people they 'slaughtered wholesale' of 'devastated' countries? In this case, who did they, the Mongols, have to count in their census and why did they actually do all that?

It must be categorically stated that in all conquests without exception and regardless of race, level of culture, religion, executors and their victims, there is no avoiding loss of life. People perished as well, of course, in

the Mongol conquests. In some places less, in some places more. As sober-minded Russian historians of the past (M. Ivanin, V. Bartold, B. Vladimirtsov, et al.) specifically noted, the degree of violence of Chinggis Khan and his successors basically did not differ from that of other world conquerors of the past (we should add, of modern times). Weren't the wars and conquests of the non-nomadic western countries accompanied by a loss of life, the strong massacring the weak? Otherwise where did the dozens and dozens of tribes and nations that colonized territories and continents disappear to, including medieval Europe itself? How do we explain the deaths of thousands and thousands of Novgorodians during the time of Ivan III and Ivan IV? How do we characterize the complete 'transformation' of Kazan after 1552 into an ethnic Russian city by population?!

So when discussing the history of wars and conquests of the past, we should not explain the degree of loss of life or the destruction of cities by the ethnic and cultural 'qualities' of the invaders or their victims. Cruelty and bloodthirstiness of people and human societies in general, in particular to its own kind, in contrast to the animal world, are the same across all times and countries of the world. No conquerors, regardless of their race, culture, language or religion, have given out 'elixirs of life' or freedom to the conquered peoples after victorious campaigns.

In this regard, I would like to specifically note that the statements about a 'peaceful symbiosis' between the Golden Horde and Rus' are just as dubious. There were 'allied relations' between the Sarai rulers, certain princes, and their clans in Rus', but only those of a powerful suzerain and obedient vassal. There were princes who considered it a beneficial position for themselves, but there were also those who kowtowed, not only to the Khan, but also to the lords, with their fists in their pockets. It was these princes that looked around waiting for any changes. Those princes that were 'waiting for something' were denounced by their own brothers. Stories of all the famous empires and their satellites are full of such examples. The Golden Horde and Rus' were no exception.

Local vassal rulers also participated in the economic exploitation of the people of conquered countries. Ivan I Danilovich's transformation into 'Ivan Kalita' (Turk. *kalta* means 'sack', in reference to the 'purse' with money that he generously distributed to the Horde) was not due to credit from some international bank. It is an indisputable fact that conquerors exploit the people of conquered countries. But local vassals also take some responsibility for the level of exploitation, in all times and places.

Even the statements used constantly to indicate the brutality of the Mongol-Tatars—that they drove hundreds of thousands of captives into slavery in foreign lands—do not stand up to criticism. There are also dubious assertions that the cities of the Golden Horde emerged and grew during the entire period of existence of the state due to captured artisans. It is true that prisoners were used during the attacks on the next settlements, even to construct certain buildings, but this was not an invention of the Mongols. To allege that cities of the Golden Horde functioned by the aid of prisoners for the entire time they existed is an ill-considered statement. If these assertions from medieval sources and the authors who blindly repeated them later were actually true, it would be difficult to answer the following basic questions. Firstly, how can we explain the increase in population of north-east Rus' and its cities in the second half of the 13–14th centuries? And secondly, from whom did the princes, including Ivan Kalita and others, collect taxes for Sarai and its treasury to stockpile tightly packed purses?

The 'assertions from medieval sources' was not mentioned arbitrarily. There are sources that some historians will gladly trust, actually quite many. But after reviewing them more carefully, one may find that they are quite far from accurate. We are going to demonstrate several examples.

* * *

In 1970, a large and multifaceted collection of works was published called 'Tatar-Mongols in Asia and Europe' consisting of articles of leading medieval historians. As one of re-

Image of atrocities
committed by Mongols,
from the illustrated
chronicle of Matthew
of Paris. 13th century.



viewers wrote convincingly, this collection 'is the first successful step in creating an integrated work' on the history of the Tatar-Mongol conquests [Kargalov, 1972, p. 180]. However, as it was noted in another review [Usmanov, 1972, p. 182–185], a peculiar weakness of many articles of this edition is the almost complete absence of a critical attitude toward the information and numerical data of medieval written sources. For example, the article by N. Svistunova discusses the capture of 10,000, 20,000, 50,000, 100,000 captives by the Mongols in China [Tatar-Mongols, 1970, p. 272–283]. It seems that these Chinese people voluntarily surrendered en masse, or the relatively small number of Mongols all turned into security guards who were not able to make further conquests.

Even I. Petrushevsky's article didn't contain elementary criticism. He, for example, wrote that in December 1221, 'the Mongols, having laid siege to and taken Herat, **slaughtered all** the people in it'. It would seem that the large population of Herat was done once and for all. But, according to other quotes from the same author, during the second storm of Herat in 1222, 'there were **1,600,000 people killed**'. The author considers this figure to be '**reliable**'. But it turns out that in 1270, 1288, 1289 and in the next years, Herat oasis and the city of Herat were devastated and some of the people were driven into slavery, but in 1291 'peasants and **city dwellers...** participated' in anti-Mongol uprisings of Herat maliks. Such is the 'plausibility' of figures from the sources [ibid., p. 182–185, 224, 229, 242 et al, highlighted by the author, *M.U.*]

These and other examples (there are hundreds of them) show that not only 'precise' numerical data, but also descriptive quantitative indicators of ancient and medieval sources in any language of the history of any country are conditional and hyperbolic-like in the meanings of 'much' and 'very much', but not more. If we should not agree with the statement that 'history is the lie commonly agreed upon' or 'history is politics overturned in the past', but are called to care about the scientific quality of this peculiar field of human knowledge, then we should not submissively drag ourselves behind ancient and medieval authors who were politicians of their times. They perceived the defeat of their class, the death of their community, and that of their ancestors as the death of the whole people and country. It was these writer politicians from the camp of the defeated who unfairly assessed the human traits, cultural level, and religious views of their opponents, and in doing so they 'exact revenge' upon them for the defeat of 'their' people.

To the same degree, the panegyrics of the conquerors, 'gatherers of lands', who praise the kindness and humanity of 'their' leaders who bring culture and only 'happiness' to peoples of conquered, subjugated lands are subjective and slanted. Unfortunately, even latter researchers of these issues are sometimes similar to all of them.

Batu Khan's conquest and subjugation of countries and peoples of Eastern Europe, which lasted for 7–8 years, was certainly accompanied by military and civilian deaths, unbelievable suffering, and humiliation of

many who survived. Some cities and fortresses that quite naturally put up stubborn and heroic resistance to the foreign invaders were also destroyed (just like everywhere else and at all times).

However, there were ruined cities and deserted settlements that turned into wastelands as a result of long internecine wars between bitterly competing principalities in Eastern Europe even before the Mongols. So it is hardly fair to fall back on an ethnically discriminatory interpretation to explain tragedies, flattering one nation by racially humiliating others in hindsight. And Mongols, as conquerors, weren't any better or worse than their intellectual equals when it came to cruelty.

It all happened in the history of mankind.

However, life went on. Ruined cities were rebuilt, as has been established by researchers who strove for objectivity, and new bustling cities emerged (see works of V. Bartold, F. Ballod, G. Fedorov-Davydov, V. Egorov, M. Kramarovsky, etc.). New generations of people were born, grew and reproduced. Capitals and big cities of the empire, as in all times, attracted more and more migrants from everywhere, from the outskirts of the country, seeking a piece of bread, work, striving for success, a career. In fact, an entirely new world was arising, new living conditions were emerging. Interregional and international cultural, economical, trade, political relations were evolving...

According to the archaeological research of scholars that have studied just several of the Golden Horde cities,

- 'they had **advanced artistic handicrafts**, including pottery production';
- 'an **urban** eastern medieval **culture blossomed splendidly** that was absolutely alien to nomads';
- 'a literary language developed, the so-called "Volga Turki", in which **literature was written** (...);
- these 'cities were inhabited by Polovtians, Bulgars, Russians, people from Middle Asia, the Caucasus, Crimea, etc. **These were the people who built this city culture**' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1976; highlighted by the author, *M.U.*].

On the other hand, there is one more view of the level of this culture and, in general, the place of the Jochid state in history:

- 'There are two stereotypes about the Golden Horde. The first is that it is an enemy of Russia. As if the country lived under the yoke of the Horde for 300 years and in general, it was a nightmare, we hardly got rid of it. This stereotype is wrong because the fragmented Rus' fell under the control of a big **world state that as a civilization was much more advanced than Rus'**. Then Moscow princes, using the Golden Horde, got stronger and created their own state that later replaced the Golden Horde'.

- 'One more stereotype exists. They say that there was a large, amazing state called the Golden Horde, but Russians came, attacked the state and destroyed it. In reality, history tells us something else. Many states were formed during the Mongol invasion. It was a huge steppe empire that had trade ties with Iran, Italy, North Caucasus, Crimea, and Siberia. This state adopted Islam and, thus, **joined the high culture of that time**'.

- '**Examples of urban civilization of the Golden Horde**, which, by the way, was called Golden by Russians themselves, because they were amazed by the luxury...' are worthy of public attention [Piotrovsky, 2005; highlighted by the author, *M.U.*].

These principal statements belong to two experts in material culture, art and history of the peoples of the East. G.Fedorov-Davydov, who devoted more than forty years of his life to study the history and archaeology of the Volga Region peoples, including peoples of the Jochid Empire, used the most objective and reliable sources to disprove the former incorrect ideas about the level of culture in the Golden Horde. Along with his students he created a whole school to study this subject. His publications on Golden Horde numismatics have been included in the golden fund of Russian historiography.

M. Piotrovsky, director of Hermitage, one of the largest depositories of written sources on the material culture and art of many countries and peoples, comes to his conclusion based on a comparative understanding of his-

tory and culture on the scale of world history. He is right to criticize the second stereotype. One shouldn't offer simplistic and primitive explanations for the reasons the Golden Horde fell. We would like to add to his accurate brief note.

In recent years, along with valid scientific research, we have seen questionable publications and statements appear on the subject. In contrast to previous, strongly negative evaluations, they are novel in that they mechanically replace old negative epithets with their antonyms as follows: everything 'black' is replaced by 'white' or vice versa. Historians that formerly tried to explain the past of their people in isolation from the history of the Golden Horde, as if didn't exist at all, now, focusing only on it, have begun to pay insufficient attention to other past periods of the same people. Or former belligerent followers of the concept 'against idealizing the history of the Tatar-Mongols', that accused other views of all sins, suddenly turned into active apologists of the 'flourishing and great' Golden Horde, where supposedly everything was in harmony. All kinds of amateurs also came on the scene who had read three or four popular books on the subject and began to create subsequent editions, presenting them as a 'new word'. Amateurs like these, by taking proper nouns from tales, can come up with 'new' principalities and even mythological states.

Such publications don't cover many aspects of social or political life, which are full of sharp contradictions and dramatic clashes. In the Golden Horde, like in all empires, luxury and abundance were found side by side with poverty and hardship; freedom and prosperity of some were due to the dependence and miserable position of others both inside the 'ruling' ethnos and the conquered, dependent people. Due to territorial issues, the empires, including the Ulus of Jochi, fought wars outside the country and clashed with some of its 'own' people inside it. In this regard, the Golden Horde was no different from other empires. For this reason, fatal contradictions and conflicts occurred and intensified during certain stages of development of the empire.

However, in the Ulus of Jochi, like in the other long-lived world empires, some institutes and components of high state culture were adopted, developed or created, such as:

- functioning of an effective government administration, advanced financial and tax systems;
- operation of well functioning communication system, including the yam postal system;
- preservation of effective military system, minimization of crime, ensuring safety of town and roads;
- formation of urban civilization on a broad scale that was new to this region;
- implementation of a model of religious tolerance in the multi-confessional empire, non-interference in spiritual-cultural life, written language and language of subject and dependent people;
- formation of advanced written Turkic-Tatar language and culture of record keeping based on it, rise of various types of applied and domestic arts;
- preservation and development of the structure of ruling stratas locally, for example, princely families, boyarship, landowners, clergy, monasteries, etc.

One may not know that all these existed in the Golden Horde. It is not a fault, but the problem of the knowledge and qualification level of a historian.

A reader who reads contemporary textbooks is right when he notices that, all of that, if it existed at all, is the result of the cruel exploitation of a subjugated people, especially in Rus'! I agree. Firstly, the Chinggisids conquered another countries and people not to give them freedom or 'rescue' them from others; secondly, not to 'enlighten' them with their religions. Their goal was to exploit conquered people. Indeed, in the Golden Horde people paid a 10% tax on profits. If they collected a lot more in Rus' then, initially, at the early stage, it was undoubtedly due to the tax farmers collecting tribute, then local rulers like Ivan Kalita and his successors, who were diligently collecting tribute for the khan's treasury. However, the latter used these additional exactions, as it is rightly pointed out,

to strengthen the power of the prince, which later lead to the establishment of a new state—Muscovite state. On the other hand, the critical reader also can ask the following question: have there been any large states, empires, that didn't exploit the subjugated population? Even in the Soviet Union, where the goal was to build a society 'free of exploitation of one person by another', workers received just a small part of the price of the products they made, while collective farmers (kolkhozniki), which didn't have passports, so were modern-day serfs, didn't even know what a salary and pension were up to the 1960s–1970s...

Generally speaking, we need to state the following: it was following the lumpenization of the urban population, serfdom of the peasantry, victimization of millions of citizens of the state, generous sacrifice of a huge number of troops during World War II, and finally, deportation, or more precisely, long-lasting genocide of more than ten helpless ethnic groups, right on 9 August 1944, when there was no need for 'brothers and sisters' anymore, that the Bolshevik authorities of the USSR adopted a special decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks), in the light of which the long-disappeared state of the Golden Horde and its main population were turned into a particular kind of historical bugaboo by a continuous beating that supposedly fostered in people a feeling of 'historical justice' and principles of 'socialistic humanism'.

Against the 'horror' of the Golden Horde yoke, contemporary cruelties just 'faded'...

The appearance of this decree, which was accepted for implementation by local party and Soviet organs, was associated with the practical aspirations of the Bolshevik authorities of the country. Following the deportation of the Crimean Tatars and other non-Slavic, non-Christian ethnic groups of the Lower Volga region and North Caucasus (as if there were no collaborationists among other ethnic groups!), the fate of the Tatars of the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions also appeared on the agenda. Possible locations for their deportation were even discussed (recently annexed Tuva or the bogs of Western Siberia). But there was an-

other near-impossible problem—gathering up the multi-million Tatar population across the entire Soviet Union, from the Baltic States to Kamchatka. (Just one-fourth, or maybe even one-fifth of all Tatars lived in the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The anti-Tatar component of Stalin's national policy can be clearly traced starting back from the 1920s, when the crackdown on the Tatar party organization, with the execution of its leader M. Sultan-Galiyev, was the first step in the chain of multiple repressions.) For this reason, they had to 'limit' themselves to the decree, which was intended to expose these people to spiritual extermination by distortion and profanation of one of the most important periods of their history.

Thus, the country aspiring to 'authentic internationalism' in the 20th century was overcome by a notorious, racism-tinged *Eurocentrism*, in the tradition of the 18–19th centuries. There were also aspirations to transform this into a form of *Rusocentrism*.

The most typical manifestation of the latter can be seen in the far-fetched statement that the conquering of the Rus' by the Mongols supposedly saved Western Europe from conquest. People and societies, especially sustainable states, according to elementary logic, first of all, save themselves... (In connection with this myth it is interesting to mention the following: some Bulgarist-followers in Kazan attempted to transcribe the myth to Bulgar history: as if, the Bulgars' 'strong repulsion' of the Mongols in 1223 and resistance in 1236 'detained for several years' the conquest of Rus'...).

This was the overall current in the interpretation of Golden Horde history recently, that is, in Soviet times. In this way, it stands out from the state and aspirations of scientific thought and the positions of leading representatives of oriental studies in pre-revolutionary Russia, when, along with jingoistic and conservative-semiofficial aspirations, there were diverging interpretations of the country's past. In this regard, it is instructive to recall not only N. Bichurin, O. Kovalevsky, D. Banzarov, G. Sablukov, I. Berezin, M. Ivanin, etc, who lived in the 19th century, but also B. Vladi-



I. Glazunov. Triptych 'The Battle of Kulikovo: Temporary advantage of Tatars'. 1980.

mirtsov, V. Bartold and partially the early A. Yakubovsky (who was later forced to controversially interpret the history of the Golden Horde), who lived and worked in the Soviet period, but were actually representatives of the old-Russian school of scientific oriental studies. Oriental studies and its representatives were characterized by a culture of independent thinking, consideration of alternative opinions, and a respect for the people whose history was being studied, though they had certain faults, largely resulting from the limited experiences of their predecessors and the relatively small number of available resources. They were free of totalitarian single-mindedness and aspirations to cater to the whims of the party-administrative management.

All of this should be taken into consideration when developing new books on the history of the Ulus of Jochi, which, for many reasons, is a vital necessity.

* * *

Thus, the 3rd volume of this seven-volume 'History of the Tatars from ancient times' is aimed at creating an *objective* history of the Ulus of Jochi—of the empire which was later known by the name of the Golden Horde.

It should be noted that along with 'normal' politicized distortions of history associated, generally, with ethnic prejudices (they are not

worth repeating), there was an appearance of *nonsensical* statements which denied the historicity of many events in world history, such as the Mongol conquests, while Batu Khan is equated with Alexander Nevsky, etc.

Naturally, there is a commitment to *objectivity*. As qualified researchers know, it is impossible to reproduce the past with all of its details, especially of the remote past. That's why historians have to be satisfied with covering the most important focal points of one or another particular period in history. Moreover, the category of *objectivity* itself in historical research is relative and acts as a two-faced Janus: on the one hand, because of the relative, or objectively limited reproduction of the object of study, on the other hand, because of the ability of 'consumers' (readers) to accept, deny, or be willing or unwilling to accept the proffered interpretation. As a result, real feedback from a specific audience also may be relative.

Thus, along with positive evaluations of the information and interpretations contained in this book, there might also be a critical attitude towards its content and particular aspects of the concept. This is quite natural. Criticism and concrete suggestions will only be beneficial, because such searches, discussions, and useful reevaluations will result in a closer *approximation* to the truth.

It should be noted that the history of Ulus of Jochi is an integral part of the histories of many Eurasian peoples, first of all, of course, the Turkic-speaking peoples. If the eastern part of the empire—the Kok Horde—was inhabited by ancestors of the medieval Siberian Tatars, some of the Bashkirs, the inhabitants of the Altai-Sayan Mountains and southern Siberia, modern Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Karakalpaks, some future (western) Uzbeks, etc., then the western part—the Ak Horde, which in particular was called the Golden Horde—was inhabited by the ancestors of the Volga region and Cis-Ural Tatars, some of the Bashkirs, Nogai tribes, Crimean Tatars, also some peoples in the North Caucasus, for instance, the Balkars, Karachay, Kumyks, Ossetians, Circassians, etc. The history of the Finno-Ugric peoples of the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions also include a Golden Horde period. To a certain extent, the same applies to the history of the Azerbaijanis, Armenians and Georgians. Regardless of the will or aims of recent historians and politicians, it is important to show the place of the Golden Horde in north-eastern history, especially that of the Muscovite Rus'. It is this power which found its feet firmly in the 14–15th centuries, claimed the political legacy of the Horde, including the 'Tatar yurts', since the 16th century, adopted the tsar title for Russian rulers during the disintegration period of the khan's power, and started to lay the foundation of the great future empire of Eurasia—the Russian Empire.

Research on the Golden Horde historical periods of different peoples requires taking into consideration the peculiarities of the past of that part of the empire (east, west, south, north; the settled regions or steppe areas) where the ancestors of the people were based. Sometimes there were significant variations between the regions of the Ulus of Jochi.

It is necessary to note the following: with such a large number of 'descendents', at least those claiming the legacy of the Ulus of Jochi, the 'heaviest part of the burden', that is, the 'moral responsibility' for historical legacy, was and is carried, primarily, by the Volga region and the Crimean Tatars. This is indicated both by the formation of several Tatar states

following the fall of the Golden Horde (Astrakhan, Kazan, Kasimov, Crimean, and Siberian khanates and the Nogai Horde), and a decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks), addressed to the leadership of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in particular, and through it to the 'titular' people, that is, the entire Tatar people. This is the same people that suffered the burden of official ideological and psychological pressure for more than half a century, in which school textbooks, institutions of higher education, films and works of fiction, designed for the general education of the young generation of all the peoples of the USSR, ingrained a spirit of contempt for nomads, the peoples of the east, and the Mongol-Tatars, including modern Tatars.

In order to understand the meaning of the officially sanctioned pressure, one needs to step into the 'skin' of the Tatars in the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions, whose children, returning home from school after history lessons, said in tears that they 'don't want to be Tatars'... But they want to be Tatars, who try to get rid of the 'damned' name; that wanted and still want to change the historically developed ethnonym (as if this would be followed by a new decree stating love for them...). Finally, those Tatars, that either distort their history or try to shift the blame on the shoulders of others, simultaneously abuse and humiliate them...

The infamous bloody xenophobic events in Russian cities should not come as a surprise as the seeds of this phenomenon were richly planted in the recent past in the form of 'historical' hatred of certain peoples, based on the idea of the exceptional nature of a single ethnos and a gradation of peoples by types (into 'soviet', 'autonomous', 'kray', 'oblast', etc.); this played a large role in the tragic fate of the country called the USSR...

However, the harsh historical reality led to inevitable corrections with the beginning of Perestroika. One of its first steps was to cancel history exams in all education institutions across the country, including the Russian Federation. That was the true and infamous fall of the so called Marxist-Leninist, or, to be clear,

Bolshevik-Messianic, that is inherently false, historical conception. In its total conception, tolerating no dissidence or elementary justice, the 'Mongol-Tatar story', or rather, the history of Eurasia in the 13–16th centuries comprised only a small chapter, or even just a paragraph...

It should also be noted that recognizing the continued importance and place of the Golden Horde period in the study of the Tatar past, the authors of this project didn't underestimate the importance of the Bulgar and other, both earlier and later ages, for a complete understanding and interpretation of their history. For this reason *the first book* of the collection, consisting of seven volumes, was devoted to a broad illustration of the history of the Eurasian steppes. This volume doesn't contain anything specific about the contemporary Tatar ethnos, as the people living in the Volga region, but includes a historical ethnographic background, upon which the Turkic world itself developed along with other authentic civilizations, which relate by language and spiritual-material culture, figuratively speaking, and are the *proto-ancestors* of contemporary Tatars. Their ethnogenesis begins to become clearer, but isn't completed yet, beginning in the age of the Bulgars and Kipchaks and their states.

This period is addressed in *the second volume* of the seven-volume collection. This ethnogenetic process—the formation of contemporary Tatars as an autonomous ethnos within the Turkic world in general, and the Turkic-Tatar community, in particular, is more or less finished a later, during the Golden Horde age, as a result of the amalgamation and ethnic consolidation of Muslimized Turks: Bulgars, Kipchaks and partially Turkified Finno-Ugric tribes in the region.

However, it is reasonable to mention the following. Due to the special character of the ethnogenesis of people, as well as because of the complexity of social and military-political processes and features of cultural development in Eurasia in the 13–16th centuries in general, the history of contemporary Tatars in the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions is considered to be *much broader* than the history of the Bulgar society, but at the same time *nar-*

rower than the history of the Golden Horde, especially the entire Ulus of Jochi. After understanding this unique 'puzzle', we will be able not only to correctly comprehend, but also rationally explain the peculiarities of our national history.

* * *

This volume was compiled with the help of prominent experts in the sphere, both from Kazan, and other cities of the Russian Federation and from abroad. Young representatives of this sphere of knowledge were also involved. Presumably, none of them claims their writing to be the ultimate truth.

Materials from this volume are not presented as parts of an 'impersonal' collectively compiled monograph, but as a thematically successive collection of opinion pieces (essays) with a research background, sometimes using the same sources and historiographic material. It is therefore possible, even inevitable, that some repetitions, differences or even disputes will occur between them, which, according to the editors, is quite acceptable.

It must be emphasized that the managers of the project didn't impose their version of the issues on the authors, because any given conception may contain several different interpretations of one and the same phenomena. As practice shows, creative latitude leads to the increased personal responsibility of authors and the quality of their research.

It should also be noted that when writing anthroponyms, toponyms, and terms not included in quotations, the authors followed the Turkological tradition, which is the most widely used in Russian Oriental Studies.

Naturally, not all of the questions studied have sufficient amounts of available sources and corresponding historiographic experiences. For this reason, the team of authors will be grateful for constructive criticism and concrete suggestions, which, presumably, will be useful for further research and publications on the history of Ulus of Jochi.

Along with the project managers, an active role in defining the structure of the volume and determining the research conception was played by Doctors of Historical Sciences

D. Iskhakov and *I. Zagidullin*, and Candidates of Historical Sciences *A. Arslanova*, *I. Izmaylov*, *B. Khamidullin* and other colleagues. We are grateful to our foreign colleagues and colleagues from other cities, including the Professors *István Vásáry*, *Ch. Halperin*, *Uli Schamiloglu*, *Hansgerd Göckenjan*, *K. Baidakov*, *A. Belavin*, *A. Kadyrbayev*, *M. Kramarovskiy*, *E. Kychanov*, *M. Poluboyarinova*, *V. Trepavlov*, *Y. Khudyakov*, *A. Yurchenko* and to many others for their advice during the preliminary discussions of the book's structure, and for their courtesy in writing separate chapters and paragraphs for this research.

Appendixes to the volume were prepared by: *A. Arslanova*, *M. Gatin*, *I. Izmaylov*, *A. Kadyrbayev*, *F. Nuriyeva*, *R. Khrapachevsky*, and *A. Yurchenko*.

Pictures on the text were provided by the authors; illustrations were chosen by *I. Izmaylov* and *B. Khamidullin*.

Lists of sources and references, and abbreviations were prepared by *A. Arslanova*, *I. Izmaylov*, and *L. Zigangareeva*.

The index of names and the political-geographic index were prepared by *B. Izmaylov*, *L. Zigangareeva*, and *L. Suleymanova*.

Articles by *U. Schamiloglu*, *I. Vásáry* and *Ch. Halperin* were translated from English by *A. Arslanova*; the article by *Hansgerd Göckenjan* was translated from German by *I. Gilyazov*.

The volume is illustrated by artifacts from collections of the following Russian museums: The National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, The State Hermitage Museum, The State Historical Museum of Russia, Bolgar State Historical and Architectural Reserve, Bilyar State Historical and Archaeological and Natural Museum-Reserve, Saratov Regional Museum of Local Lore, Astrakhan State United Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve, Volgograd Regional Museum of Local Lore, as well as museums and libraries in several other countries. Part of the illustrations was kindly provided by Moscow Publishing and Producing Center 'Design. Information. Cartography' (Atlas Tartarica. The History of Tatars and peoples of Eurasia. The Republic of Tatarstan yesterday and today. M., 2006).

§ 2. Historiography and Sources

The Ulus of Jochi and the Golden Horde: the official name of the country and the historical tradition

Iskander Izmaylov

Ulus of Jochi played a prominent role in the history of world civilization. Events, that accompanied the emergence, formation and development of this state had a global scope and impact. The powerful medieval Tatar empire, stretching from Irtysh in the east to Danube in the west, from the White Sea in the north to the Black and Caspian Seas in the south, had played a leading role in the fate of the world of that time. The medieval Empire of the Jochids had a huge impact on the fate of Eurasia, and was a key stage in the history of the Turkic-Tatar peoples.

Contemporaries used different terms to name the state: the Arabs called it 'the Kingdom of the North Tatars', 'the State of Desht-i Kipchak' or 'Ulus of Jochi' (or his descendants, for example, 'Ulus of Uzbek'), the Europeans called it 'Tataria' or 'the country of Comans' (that is, Kipchaks), the Russians called it the 'Horde' or 'the Kingdom of Tatars'.

Meanwhile, the official (for internal use) name of this medieval state—'Ulug Ulus' or 'Ulug Orda' ('Big/Great state') is also known due to preserved Tatar yarliqs of the 14–16th centuries [Usmanov, 1979, p. 189–193]. Obviously, it served as a self-designation for official diplomatic correspondence and for grant acts. With the gradual fall of Ulus of Jochi, the scope of this term became restricted, and took on meaning of the khanate in the Volga region (according to Russian sources—'The Great Horde', that is, a calque from the Tatar—Ulug Ulus). Following its complete dissolution, it was adopted by the khans of the Crimean Khanate, who considered themselves to be its legal heirs.

The name 'Golden Horde' passed into the scientific literature from the Russian tradition ('Kazan history' and historical-journalistic literature of the end of the 16–17th centuries). In the earliest Russian chronicles, the Ulus of Jochi didn't have an official name, and different expressions were used instead: 'from Tatars', 'to Batu', etc. However, already at the end of the

13th century, along with these expressions, the term 'to Orda' or 'to the tsar' begins to circulate, which emphasizes the fact that the Rus' sensitively captured the nuances of the general imperial policy and reacted to acquisition of judicially independent status by the Ulus of Jochi. Since the latter half of the 14th century, along with the term 'Orda', Russian chronicles began to use the term 'the Blue Orda', as a calque of the Tatar term 'Kok-Orda', and as a name of the Volga region lands, the rulers of which were playing an increasingly important role in khanate politics.

According to some researchers [Bogatova, 1970; Fedorov-Davidov, 1973, p. 64–67; Sultanov, 2001, p. 15–17], the origin of this name is directly associated with the name of the khan's headquarters or, to be more specific, with the grand yurt of the Turkic-Mongol invaders, decorated with gold and expensive fabric. For example, Arab historians of the 10th century noted that there was a 'golden tent' in the headquarters of the Uighur ruler, while the Persian historian of the 14th century Rashid al-Din mentioned that the headquarters of Chinggis Khan were officially called *Urdu-i zarin buzurg* ('Big / Great Golden Horde') [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 230]. Describing the headquarters of the Great Khan Ugedei near Karakorum, the capital of the empire, he also noted that 'there is such a big tent that it can hold thousand people, and that tent is never knocked down. Its fasteners are made of gold, it is trimmed by fabrics; it was called "Sira urdu"—"Golden Horde", "Golden headquarters"' [Ibid, p. 41]. Interesting corresponding evidence about the structure of the tent of the great khan is preserved in the report of the papal envoy Giovanni da Pian del Carpine to the court of the great khan. In 1246, he was in the headquarters during the enthronement of the Khan Guyuk, where a big tent was installed for the ceremony, 'which they call the Golden Horde... The tent was installed on posts, covered with golden plates and nailed to a tree by golden nails,

on the top and inside of the walls it was covered with canopy, and with other fabrics from outside' [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 76].

According to these sources, we can assume that for Turkic-Mongol states of Middle Asia, the yellow (golden) color was a symbol of supreme power, granted by heavenly hosts, which, most likely, dated back to the Chinese tradition of imperial symbolism. This is the way in which the tradition to install golden tents for Khagans should be interpreted for the Uyghurs, Kidans and Jurchens. Taking into consideration the similarity between the medieval terms 'golden', 'imperial', and 'great', the name 'golden' itself was surely considered by contemporaries as 'great'. In this way, this tradition of color naming was adopted in the empire of Chinggis Khan, where it became a part of the new imperial culture that preserved the power of tradition in the Chinggisids states.

During the formation of independent uluses, the tradition of naming the khan's headquarters the 'Golden Horde' proliferated across all Chinggisid states. It is unsurprising that according to the works of Arab-Persian authors, the Ulus of Jochi khans's headquarters were also called 'golden' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 290]. Obviously, the term 'Golden Horde' could have been a synonym for the khan's headquarters and even for the central authority in the Ulus of Jochi.

In contemporary world studies, two terms are used in equal measure to name the state—the 'Golden Horde' and 'Ulus of Jochi'.

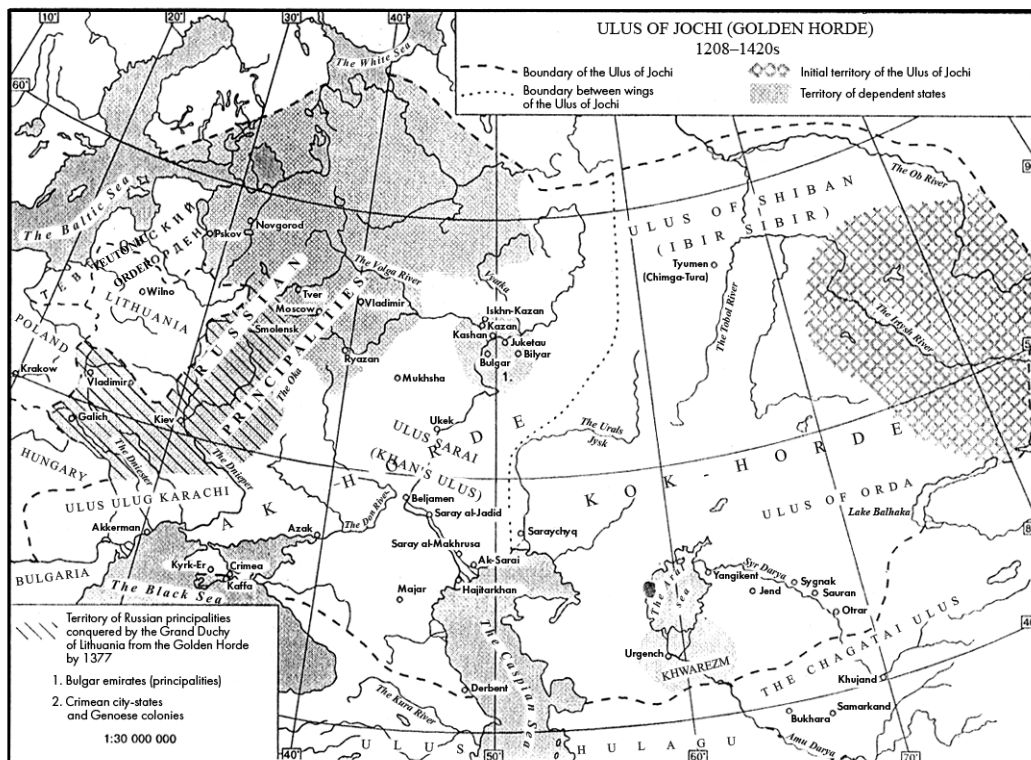
Among the many controversial points about Golden Horde history is the question of origins, or the time when it was formed and its own history began. The most popular contemporary point of view is that the history of the Ulus of Jochi begins in 1243, when Batu Khan, who was returning back from a western campaign, began to set strict internal management structures for conquered countries. Other historians (L. Gumilev), who agree that the history of the Jochid state begins much earlier, put forward a thesis about the evolvement of the 'Ulus of Jochi' into the 'Golden Horde' after 1243. However, this seems to be a rather artificial scheme.

In regards to questions over the date when the Ulus of Jochi was formed, as in some other

questions, the historiographic tradition strongly dominates over historians. This occurred in Russian science as early as the end of the last century, and developed in the works of two totally difference schools of both 'sovereign' and 'Eurasian' historians. The unity of their views is not accidental. Both traditions accept the year 1243 as the beginning of the Golden Horde (thus, often contrasting it with the notion of 'Ulus of Jochi'), in an attempt to emphasize the importance and stages of the conquest of the Russian principalities by Mongol khans. On this basis, the 'sovereign' school attempts to supplement the events of the 'Batu invasion' with a wider scope and scale against the general background of the Mongol campaigns (see the works of B. Grekov, V. Kargalov, V. Kuchkin, V. Egorov, etc.). Meanwhile, historians are often prone to 'Russian centerism' in their accounts and inadvertently support the positions set by church chroniclers in the 13th century, who saw historical evidence, figuratively speaking, from the narrow windows of their cells. The 'Eurasian' tradition stands on a slightly different ground. According to it, the Golden Horde is a symbiosis of the settled Rus' and nomadic Horde, which could have formed, of course, following the unification in 1243 (see the works of G. Vernadsky, L. Gumilev).

Meanwhile, if we take our mind off the problems of the Golden Horde and stop considering it as a unique historical phenomenon, we can see that, except for some elements of identity, its history, culture, state structure, and military science do not differ strongly from those of other Chinggisid states. In light of deeper studies of the roots of Ulus of Jochi, it appears that the 'Eurasian' theory wasn't always justified in focusing on the uniqueness of Horde and on the importance of the Rus' in its internal political history; this ignored similarities with other earlier and synchronous nomadic powers in Middle Asia. In this regard, it is significant that the history of Chagataid Ulus practically begins during the life of Chinggis Khan, some time after the conquest of Khorasan and Mawarannahr by the Mongols. In other words, the Ulus of Jochi latently existed as an independent state long before the conquest of Eastern Europe.

Indeed, following his return from the western campaign, Batu Khan was focused on orga-



Map of the Ulus of Jochi by I. Izmaylov

nizing the governmental system in his ulus, but it is clear that long before these campaigns, the ulus already existed as a special military-administrative unit. The descendants of Jochi inherited it from their father, to whom it was granted by Chinggis Khan; he ruled there since 1227 with the same type of rules of dependence on the power of the Great Khan as in the 40s in the 13th century.

That is why a number of historians (V. Bartold, M. Safargaliev) thought that the origins of the Ulus of Jochi should be looked for in the Chinggis Khan era, in the period in which he allocated uluses to his three elder sons (Jochi, Ugedei and Tului) for the first time. This point of view seems to be the most reasonable and allows us to trace both the emergence of the Golden Horde from the depths of the Mongol Empire and the stages of the formation of its political independence.

The foundation of the Jochid state was laid during the life of Chinggis Khan. In the reasonable opinion of V. Bartold, Chinggis Khan allocated an ulus to his elder son Jochi in 1207–1208,

following the conquest of Siberian peoples [Bartold, 1963, p. 421–422]. Later, he was given other western lands, including Khwarezm and Desht-i Kipchak. However, at the time, most of the lands were yet to be conquered.

Following the death of Jochi, Batu was given his father's throne, and his rights to the territory comprising Siberia, Khwarezm, Bulgaria, Desht-i Kipchak and other western countries were approved at the all-Mongol kurultais in 1228–1229, when the question of the political heritage of Chinggis Khan was raised for discussion. It was decided then to continue further conquests of the western lands, and the Great Khan Ugedei gave this task to members of the Jochid house. But the Jochids couldn't perform this task on their own. At the new kurultai in 1235, Ugedei assigned 13 more Chinggisids with troops to help Batu Khan.

In spring 1235, a huge army under the command of Batu invaded Eastern Europe and initiated a series of conquests that lasted from 1236 to 1242, resulting in the conquest of a large part of Western Europe by the Chinggisids. Already

in 1243, following his return to the Volga region, Batu realized that his own forces were not enough to attack Europe and focused on consolidating and arranging his own ulus. The travels of vassal land rulers to get yarliqs for the right to reign indicates the establishment of a new power. The system of levying tributes and taxes on the population of conquered countries was set up at the same time. However, the real milestone in the establishment of the Horde reign over Rus' and other conquered settled lands falls to 1257–1259, when the great khan carried out a census of the subject population and introduced a single taxation system by house, while beginning to demand the fulfillment of various duties (yam [postal], military, etc.) and establishing the institute of vicegerents—baskaks.

All of these developments significantly strengthened the Ulus of Jochi so that already at the end of the 50s of the 13th century its rulers acquired almost total independence from the Great Khan, resulting in the depiction of the 'great tamga' of the Jochid clan on the coins of Berke Khan (1257–1266). This independence was reinforced more thoroughly by the grandson of Batu, Mengu-Timur Khan (1266–1282). Following his enthronement, he crushed a rebellion of pro-Mongol nobility and began to conduct a policy of total independence from the power of the Great Khan, being the first to mint coins with his name, which was striking proof of his independence. He was also successful in external policy. During the internecine war that flared up between the descendants of Chinggis Khan for power over Middle Asia and Eastern Turkistan, Mengu-Timur managed to thwart the plans for isolationism of the Ulus of Jochi and struck a number of major blows to the descendants of Hulagu. A kurultai was summoned in 1269 on the river Talas (Semirechye) which determined

the boundaries between the possessions of the Chinggisids and led to the formal collapse of the consolidated empire of Chinggis Khan.

Thus, the formation of the Ulus of Jochi as an independent power took place in the period from 1207/08 to 1269. During this time, the Golden Horde transformed from an appanage allocated by Chinggis Khan to his son Jochi within the Mongol Empire to an independent state—the Empire of the Jochids. The important milestones in this process were the recognition of the rights of Jochi descendants to possessions following the death of Chinggis Khan in 1227, the start of the reorganization of conquered lands of Eastern Europe (1243), and creation of the census for setting up regular taxation and the establishment of a single administrative system (1257–1259).

The stages of establishing statehood coincided with changes in the size of the territory of the state, which only comprised the native ulus in western Siberia in 1208, but after 1243 extended and comprised lands from the Danube to Irtysh and from Derbent to the Upper Cis-Ural Region. As a result of the internal political crisis and pressure from neighboring powers, the territory of the Ulus of Jochi started to decrease at the end of the 14th century. Gradually, it ceased to exist as a single state in the 20s–40s of the 15th century. Independent Tatar khanates emerged on its territory. Some lands got independence, such as the Russian principalities, headed by the Grand Principality of Moscow. Gradually, only the central part on the Lower Volga region was left from the vast empire and continued to carry the name of Ulug Ulus, or, according to Russian sources, the Great Horde. However, it also fell under the blows of other Tatar khanates in 1502, thus ending the existence of the Empire of the Jochids.

I. The history of the Jochid Ulus Studies in the Russian and foreign science

Iskander Izmaylov

Disputes about the role and place of the Ulus of Jochi in history are endless and probably will never be finished. The Golden Horde,

flashing like a bright comet in the sky of history, scorched contemporaries, leaving terrible burns and a blinding sense of grandeur. It is



Grave of J. Hammer-Purgstall

difficult to develop a common approach to the heritage of this medieval state, which existed for almost two hundred years, not only because of its huge influence on the historical life of Eurasia, but also due to the fact that it involves the cultural and historical heritage of many contemporary peoples; the medieval Tatar ethnosis was formed in its depths.

The history of the Ulus of Jochi is steeped in legends, misled by mistakes and covered with the gaping failures of 'blind spots'. The history contains many mysteries and omissions. Many of them are successfully solved; the others were and still are a subject of fierce debate in Russian and foreign historiography. Some of them are caused by the complexity of the issue itself and the fragmentariness and paucity of information, while others are caused by ideological reasons, which prevailed and still prevail over historians, limiting and regulating their 'corridor of opportunities' for understanding and grasping the historical phenomenon. It seems that the case is not only and not so much about a historiographic problem as it is about mental barriers, which, along with recently existing direct prohibitions and instructions of

the people in power, hindered and continue to hinder the creation of clear, logical, and consistent paradigms of history about this medieval state. It is quite obvious that fierce debates and discussions around the heritage of the Ulus of Jochi did not emerge yesterday but are rooted in the distant past and date back to the mythologems of church chronicles. The formation of contemporary approaches to this topic only exacerbated them and gave them a scientific appearance, uplifting them to the level of scientific conceptions and historical tradition.

This process began at the beginning of the 19th century, when in 1826, the Russian Academy of Science announced a three-year long competition to the scientific world of Russia and Europe for a paper about the consequences of the Mongol conquest of Russia, promising an award in the amount of 100 golden chervonets to the winner. However, as time went on, the required paper didn't appear. Apparently, candidates were confused by the complexity of the topic and the large volume of sources necessary for study.

Due to the failure, the academy had to extend the topic and continue the competition in 1832. Now, the call was to 'write the history of the Ulus of Jochi, or the so called Golden Horde, critically treated on the basis of eastern sources, including hoards of coins preserved from the khans of this dynasty, and old Russian, Polish, Hungarian and other chronicles, mentioned in the works of contemporary Europeans, and other data' and offered an award twice as large as the previous one [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 557]. After three years, the massive work of the famous German orientalist J. von Hammer-Purgstall was submitted to academicians for approval. In this work, the author presented the history of the Ulus of Jochi as an independent historical phenomenon and attempted to describe it with all possible completeness, based on the examples of other medieval states. This work, despite a number of shortcomings, such as incomplete use of eastern sources and Russian chronicles, was the first and most complete research of the history of the Golden Horde, and was quite professional for the level of science at the time. It would

seem that he deserved the award. However, the commission headed by the academician H. Fraehn concluded that the topic hadn't undergone the required scientific elaboration and the author didn't receive the award. Why wasn't he even encouraged? The key role here surely was played by extra-scientific factors. On the one hand, this can be explained by the lack of any serious Russian research. Academics still remembered the stormy speeches of M. Lomonosov which contained accusations of anti-patriotism and appeals to the imperial court with demands 'to protect indigenous Russian history' from domination by foreigners, prompted by the appearance of the work of the German historian G. Miller, in which he dared to emphasize the role of the vikings-'Rus' in the formation of the Old Russian State. On the other hand, the beginning of the study of the Golden Horde coincided with the rise of Russian national identity and the formation of imperial ideology with its mythologems on the special role of the admission of European culture by 'Asian foreigners'. It was rather painful to accept the fact that at some point in the past, not only was Rus' a subject of representatives of these Asians, but was obviously culturally inferior. Apart from that, Russian historians looked at the history of Eastern European peoples through a prism set by the works of V. Tatishchev and N. Karamzin, which relied on retelling chronicles, and, consequently, adopted the Orthodox-Tsarist conception of the history of the Rus'. Thus, the study of Golden Horde history was entangled in a web of ideological priorities and political interests from the very beginning of its scientific conceptualization.

In the 19th century, this subject was studied in three general directions. A large group of historians looked at it through the prism of Russian history. This group was dominated by



S. Solovyov



V. Klyuchevsky

historians of the 'state' school of historiography, including S. Solovyov, V. Klyuchevsky, P. Milyukov, among others. The keynote of their works was formulated in the idea of S. Solovyov: '...a historian is not entitled to interrupt the natural sequence of events since the latter half of the 13th century, especially the gradual transition of tribal princely relations into state relations, by inserting the Tatar period, highlighting the Tatar period and Tatar relations, the result of which would be the compulsory covering over of the main phenomena and the main reasons behind these phenomena' [Solovyov, 1988, p. 54]. This idea, that the 'Tatars and Tatar relations' are an external and low-priority phenomenon in the description of developmental tendencies of the

Russian State and society resulted not only in an underestimation of the key importance of this period for Rus', but also crossed out the history of the Ulus of Jochi from the list of priority tasks of Russian historiography. Since then, the history of the Orda was mentioned in the works of Russian historians almost solely in the context of Russian history, as an external factor that negatively affected its course and the direction of its development.

Historians of the 'state' school regarded the very influence of the Golden Horde on the fate of Russia in an ambivalent way. On one hand, negatively, as a factor of the constant threat of war. For instance, V. Klyuchevsky wrote: 'Struggle with the steppe nomad, Polovtsian, evil Tatar, that lasted from the 8th to the end

of the 17th centuries is the heaviest historical memory of the Russian people... Neighboring the hostile predatory steppe Asian for a millennium is a circumstance that itself can cover more than one European flaw in Russian historical life' [Klyuchevsky, 1987, p. 84]. On the other hand, these historians emphasized that it was the policy of the rulers of the Horde that allowed Moscow to rise and achieve hegemony over other principalities, largely contributing to the conservation of imperial, authoritarian traditions and a delay in the socio-economic development of Rus'. However, their works, despite the attention to Russian-Horde relations, don't contain objective characteristics of the Ulus of Jochi as a highly developed society with an urban culture, but continuously cultivate the opinion about the underdevelopment and 'barbarity' of the Tatars.

It is interesting to note that this conception appeared on the pages of European works of history. For instance, while gathering information for his monograph 'The secret diplomatic history of the 18th century', K. Marx, who could read in Russian very well, tried to prove that the current condition of Russian society, the atrocities of the tsarist regime, the horrors of serfdom and the policy of repressing peoples freedom, can be related to... 'the Tatar yoke'*. His original phrase was often repeated in Russian historiography: 'This yoke not only

suppressed, but also humiliated and seared the souls of people, its victims. Tatars established the regime of systematic terror; devastation and bloodshed were commonplace' [Marx, 1899, p. 78]. Thus, the logical circle has been closed: the church chronicle tradition became the basis for works of Russian historians; they were used as a factual base for the works of western 'classics of Marxism', which, in turn, became a methodological conception for Soviet historiography. However, it is notable that Soviet historians didn't hasten to quote many other passages from this work of K. Marx, which contains many hard-hitting words characterizing Russian statehood and the external policy of Russia, because of which the work of the 'classic of Marxism' was never translated into Russian in the Soviet period.

Russian Oriental Studies took a different path. Orientalists P. Savelyev, V. Grigoryev, I. Berezin, G. Sablukov, V. Velyaminov-Zernov, V. Tiesenhausen, N. Veselovsky and V. Bartold focused on identifying new sources on the history of the Ulus Jochi and their critical study. Their works were characterized by a comprehensive approach to the subject, an intention to consider the phenomenon of the Golden Horde as a whole, and study of the internal functioning mechanisms of the state using eastern written and numismatic sources and decrees.

I. Berezin (1818–1896) can be rightfully added to the list of Russian scientist-orientalists who were engaged in research on the history of the Golden Horde and the translation of eastern sources into Russian with the provision of valuable comments and notes. He is credited for the introduction of new, previously unstudied, earlier eastern sources into scientific circulation. For instance, while working at the Kazan university, I. Berezin began to publish 'The libraries of eastern historians' (the first volume was published in 1849). The characteristic feature of the historical works of N. Berezin was that he was studying the history of the Jochid Ulus based on primary sources, which, according to the author, should have contributed to deeper research. First of all, he suggested translating and publishing several works based on the works of the Persian scholar and statesman Rashid al-Din, and also analyzing written

* 'The Tatar Yoke' ('Tatar Mongol', 'Mongol Tatar') is the traditional name for the system of rule over the Russian principalities by the Khans of Jochi Ulus in the 13–15th centuries, loaded with a negative sense and understood as 'cruel and merciless oppression and suppression' in Russian historiography. The term 'Tatar Yoke' stems from the church tradition and historical journalism of the late 16 and early 17th centuries ('Kazan History'). From the end of the 18 century to the 20th century, it reappeared in the works of Russian historians, sometimes in the form of 'The Tatar-Mongol Yoke', which was supported by tendentiously selected facts and later took form of an historiographical concept. The negative evaluations of 'The Tatar Yoke', introduced by Karl Marx and Joseph Stalin were widely used in Soviet historical science. Contemporary studies show the complex nature of the interaction of the Russian princes and the Khans of the Golden Horde, irreducible to the church mythologema of 'The Tatar Yoke' [Nasonov, 1940; Kargalov, 1980; Nazarov, 1983; Kuchkin, 1991; Vernadskiy, 1997; Halperin, 1986; 1987; de Hartog, 1996; Gorskiy, 2000].

sources of the Golden Horde itself in order to reconstruct the history of the Golden Horde [Berezin, 1850; 1852]. His extensive article about the Mongol-Tatar invasion of Eastern Europe [Berezin, 1853; 1855] includes vast extracts from the works of eastern authors (Rashid al-Din, Juwayni, Vassaf, etc.), and extracts are provided with detailed comments. However, by introducing new eastern sources into scientific circulation,

I. Berezin confines himself to an explanation of the texts, providing neither conclusions nor generalizations.

Russian historical science also owes the introduction of the most valuable source on Mongol history into the scientific circulation to I. Berezin—the 'Jami' al-Tawarikh' by Rashid al-Din. Evaluating the scientific activities of I. Berezin in the researching Golden Horde history on the basis of eastern sources, we need to mention that his ideas and collected rich factual data contributed greatly to the development of Russian Oriental Studies [see: Arslanova, 1986, p. 116–117]. Highly appreciating the activities of the scientist, V. Bartold wrote that 'the merits of that generation of orientalists, whom I. Berezin belonged to, are determined not only by completing, but by setting the scientific tasks, and in this respect the scientist, who wrote that 'Russian orientalists are obliged to explain the Mongol period of the Russian history, and not only in word, but also in deed, proved the understanding of this obligation; the publisher of the "Library of eastern historians" and the book of Rashid al-Din, have full right for the gratitude of posterity' [Bartold, 1926, p. 72].

The famous orientalist G. Sablukov greatly contributed to the study of Golden Horde state history (see: [Valeyev, 1993]). A numismatist, archaeologist and historian, he knew eastern languages very well. His 'Essay on the internal condition of the Kipchak tsardom' [Sablukov, 1844] (2nd edition, see: [Sablukov, 1895]), published in 1844, laid the foundation for studies of the Golden Horde internal system, based on,



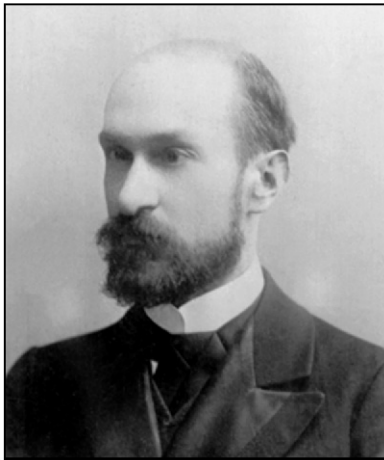
I. Berezin



V. Tiesenhausen

first of all, Tatar sources—yarliqs and numismatics. V. Grigoryev commented on that work: '...we... believe that this article is a remarkable phenomenon. In particular, we wonder how he managed to take up the task so cleverly and come up with so many new and sound information about the topic, whereas Hammer, with four hundred sources in his "History of the Golden Horde", couldn't write anything useful' [Grigoryev, 1876, p. 312].

Of special note are the outstanding works of the talented source-study expert, archaeologist and numismatist baron V. Tiesenhausen (1825–1902), who prepared two volumes of abstracts for publication from eastern (Arab and Persian) sources, containing information about the history of the Ulus of Jochi. In order to perform this task, V. Tiesenhausen went to Europe in 1880 and extracted information from manuscripts of various European collections. He brought back many abstracts, significantly complementing information that he had collected before from available sources [Rozen, 1865, p. 231–236]. The product of his years-long work was a collection of extracts from Arab and Persian works on the history of the Golden Horde. This work can be rightly called a feat in Russian Oriental Studies [Arslanova, 1986, p. 114–116]. In 1884, he published the first volume of the 'Collection of materials on the history of the Golden Horde', including extracts from Arab works. In the preface of the collection, the author recognized the great importance of the performed work for Russian science in general, writing the following: 'Lack of a profound, possibly-complete and



V. Bartold



Sh. Marjani

critically treated history of the Golden Horde or Ulus of the Jochids, that is the appanage of the descendants of Jochi, the elder son of Chinggis Khan, is one of the most important and sensitive gaps in our Russian history, depriving us of the opportunity not only to study the course and entire system of this vast and specific semi-nomadic empire, that for more than two centuries had been disposing the destinies of Russia, but to correctly evaluate the degree of its impact on Russia, conclusively determine what was specifically affected by the Mongol-Tatar domination and how it actually hampered the natural development of the Russian people. This gap was felt for a long time already' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, c. 5]. V. Tiesenhausen was planning to add works of Persian, Tatar and Turk writers into the second volume the abstracts with further publication of historical, geographical and other comments, required for both volumes [Ibid., c. 15]. However, this work, which contained information from Persian works, was unfortunately left unfinished and unpublished. It was destined to see the light only sixty years after the death of the author, amended and edited by the prominent Soviet orientalist A. Romaskevich and S. Volin [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941].

It is impossible to overestimate the great importance of the works of V. Tiesenhausen for science. 'Needless to say,' states the famous Soviet orientalist A. Yakubovsky, 'how gratefully

the work was accepted by all those who in one way or another are interested in the history of the Golden Horde. The years following the publication of the work have shown how much we needed this book. Our historical works often contain references to it. Glancing over the works of more than one hundred years of Russian and West European scientists about this big and complex

issue, we have to admit that in terms of cultural heritage we shall especially appreciate the long-standing and painstaking research of the Russian researcher V. Tiesenhausen. At the moment, no historians, working on the history of the Golden Horde, can make do without the materials collected by V. Tiesenhausen' [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 78].

The famous Russian orientalist V. Bartold (1869–1930) played a crucial role in the study of the issues of Middle Age history of Middle Eastern countries. He was fully aware of the need to identify, study and introduce new eastern manuscripts, primarily Persian and Arab, into scientific circulation. Sources and their analysis were his credo. It is known that he was proficient in Arab, Persian and Turkic sources. A. Yakubovsky emphasized that 'V. Bartold was addressing the object of his research with methods of the most rigorous criticism of sources... In order to start the research, he had to collect a vast amount of factual material, most of which was totally new to science. The talent of V. Bartold, first of all, was reflected in finding this factual material and its critical processing. Experts are well aware of the exhaustiveness with which he could extract required information from primary sources' [Yakubovsky, 1974, p. 63]. Having made many interesting and valuable observations on the history of the Golden Horde based on the Arab, Persian and Turkic sources, V. Bartold, however, was generally pessimistic about the possibility of creating a generalized work on the

history of this state, believing that the source base was not enough. According to his opinion, the main task 'in the history of the East, like in other spheres of history', was a necessity to move from extensive to intensive research, from vast generalizations to the development of specialization and a thorough study of separate countries, peoples and ages based on primary sources' [Bartold, 1925, p. 161].

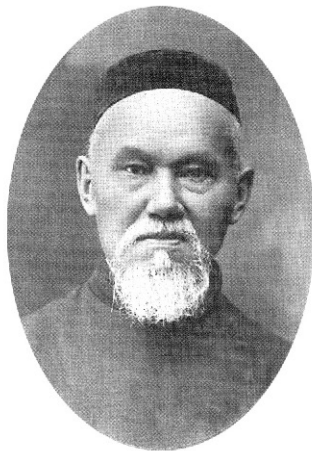
The numerous works of V. Bartold, written using a vast historiographic base, had an obvious advantage over works of other researchers of the East. He stood out through his use of rich and various factual materials from primary sources, his excellent knowledge of historical literature, a thorough study of separate facts, events, chronological dates, proper names and place-names in the context of weakly developed study techniques of eastern historical sources and methods of textual analysis at the time.

The enormity of materials which V. Bartold extracted from the primary sources boggles the imagination. In this regard, his most valuable fundamental work is 'Turkestan in the era of the Mongol invasion' [Bartold, 1963], in which he provided the first research on the issue of the formation of the Mongol state under the power of Chinggis Khan and the Mongol conquests in Middle Asia and Iran, as well as the history of the Chinggisid states. Historiographic works of V. Bartold couldn't help causing criticism from Soviet historians, accusing him of not only 'not being a Marxist', but also of idealizing the historical role of the Mongol Empire and certain rulers, including Chinggis Khan [Ali-Zade, 1956, p. 21; see also: Yakubovsky 1974]. The words of the honest Russian patriot V. Bartold that 'despite the devastation caused by the Mongol troops and despite the duties imposed by baskaks, the period of the Mongol sovereignty was marked by not only the beginning of the political rise of Russia, but also the further success of Russian culture' [Bartold, 1925, p. 171–172] led to particularly angry reactions from these historians.

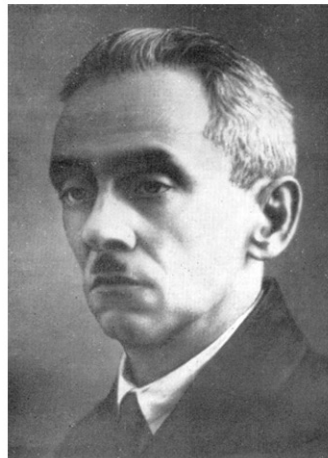
The topic was also studied in Tatar historical science. The works of the outstanding Tatar scientist Shigabuddin Marjani (1818–1889) are of the greatest conceptual accuracy and sci-

entific character. In his works, developed based on an analysis of eastern (Arab and Persian) sources, he studied the political history of the Ulus of Jochi, described the reigns of the khans, their genealogy and struggle for the khan's throne [Märjani, 1989]. This was the first truly scientific work on the history of the Tatars, and comprised a set of Arab, Persian and Chagatai sources on the history of the Bulgars, Khazars, Bashkirs and other Turkic peoples. Having a good command of classical eastern languages, Sh. Marjani not only read the works of eastern historians and travelers in the original, the majority of which he had found and read while studying in Bukhara and Samarkand, but represented them in a form of linked history of the past of the Tatars. In his conception, the history of the Tatars in the period of the Ulus of Jochi is the most important stage in their history, the origins of which go back to the Turkic-Tatar states of the past (for the concept of Sh. Marjani, see: [Schamiloglu, 1990]). Even though in general the historiographic activity of Sh. Marjani is highly evaluated in the historical science, it is regrettable that his name is not popular enough in Russian Oriental Studies.

The direction that was established by Sh. Marjani in Tatar historiography was continued by his students and followers. Building on its traditions, Tatar historians mainly focused on political history, the lives of the khans of the Jochid Ulus and other Tatar khanates. Of special note are the works of R. Fakhretdin [Fekhretidinev, 1993; Fekhretdin, 1996; 1999]; Kh. Atlasi [1911; 1920; 1992], G. Äxmärev [Äxmärev, 2000], etc. On the theoretical level, these works were within the framework of understanding the place of the Golden Horde in Turkic-wide Muslim history; they offered quite limited possibilities for serious historiographic analysis and wide generalization. However, these works revived and scientifically formulated the system of thought about the history of Jochid Ulus as an important and integral part of the history of the Tatars and the period of their independent development. The works of the mentioned historians contained an idea about the Golden Horde as a developed state with a rich history and culture, though not without a certain level of idealization [Fekhretdin, 1996].



R. Fakhretdinov



G. Gubaydullin



Kh. Atlasi

Unfortunately, such understandings of the past by Tatar historians were interrupted in the Soviet period and preserved just in emigration, in Turkey. Here, it continued to further develop in the works of A.-Z. Validi (Togan) [Velidi, 1992], G. Battal (Taimas) [1996], G. Iskhaki [1991], A. Kurat [Kurat, 1937; 1940], B. Ishboldin [2005], etc. Many of them, especially A. Validi and A. Kurat, had a good historiographic background and a broad knowledge in the sphere of history. However, they weren't trying to create a complete history of the Jochid Ulus, assuming that the main impediment was the lack of new sources for such a generalization.

Considerable interest in the history of the Horde emerged in the 20s–30s in the 20th century. It was associated with the growth of national identity, the revival of the statehood and culture of the peoples of Russia and the policy of exposing the colonialist intentions of tsarism, which was greatly encouraged by the works of the militant historian-Marxist M. Pokrovsky, who opposed the dominant Russian historiographic 'theory of continuous struggle of the Forest against the Steppe' and stressed the significant influence of the culture of the Horde on Rus' [Pokrovsky, 1925, p. 39; 1933, p. 188]. The expansion of archaeological works at Golden Horde sites of the 13–15th centuries in the Volga Region played a major role in deepening the ideas about the Ulus of Jochi. Magnificent examples of monumental architecture and material culture discovered there, first of all, as a result of the work of F. Ballod

[Ballod, 1923a; 1923b; 1924; Ballod, 1926], had completely changed traditional views of historians on the 'nomadic' life of the Horde. A number of works appeared in which authors tried to reflect on the new data and objectively evaluate the place of the Golden Horde in world history [see: Ballod, 1924; Yakubovsky, 1929, p. 123–159; Savich, 1936, p. 37–49].

The level of works of Tatar historians markedly increased, among which stood out G. Gubaydullin (G. Gaziz) [1923; 1925; 1927; 1928; 1994; Gobeidullin, 2002], J. Validi [1923] and A. Rakhim [1930]. These works, continuing the traditions of Tatar historiography, added into it the scientific analysis and knowledge of works of Russian and foreign historians. Their historical theories, based on the dominant Marxist class theory of the time, contributed to understanding the nature of the Golden Horde as a feudal state, and also its important role in the formation of the Tatar people, which was clearly stated in one paragraph of a project work by G. Gubaydullin: 'A new period commenced in the history of the Tatars following the arrival of the Mongols in Eastern Europe. It was marked by: 1) formation of the Tatar people; 2) the beginning of the establishment of the feudal socio-economic formation of the Tatars' [Gubaydullin, 1994, p. 55–56].

In this period, the necessity of combining the efforts of historians-Russianists and orientalists was identified. A fairly successful attempt of such association was made in the combined work 'The Golden Horde' (1941) by B.

Grekov and A. Yakubovsky. According to the authors, the aim of the work was to 'fulfill, finally, the old debt and write the unwritten history of the Golden Horde', because it is impossible to understand the history of the Tatar and Crimean Autonomous Soviet Republics without the Golden Horde. In their past, the Tatars, now living in these republics, were closely associated with the Golden Horde, both politically and, mainly, culturally' [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1941, p. 8]. In this work, the authors, using various sources, provided the first coherent narration of the history of the Ulus of Jochi in the period of its formation and prosperity, describing its economy and political history. The conclusion of the authors was that 'the Golden Horde is not only nomadic, but also a settled community with various ethnic content..', which was based on the results of archaeological excavations in cities in the Lower Volga Region and Aral Sea Region, and was of great importance for a realistic assessment of the historical importance of this state [Ibid., p. 76]. However, the former traditions of Russian historiography had their effect, which was especially obvious in the chapter written by B. Grekov, which stressed the special mission of Russia in 'rescuing Europe from the invasion of the Tatar hordes' and vividly described the sufferings of Russians under the 'Tatar yoke', even though it was also stating that 'it is impossible to study the history of the Golden Horde by focusing on the extent it was a "terror and scourge" for the history of Russia' [Ibid., p. 7].

Unfortunately, this experience didn't become the beginning of a vast historiographic tradition. On the contrary, we can say that it marked the ending of a stage, when Soviet science allowed discussions and welcomed new approaches to the topic. Later, this tradition was substituted by uniformity and unanimity in the negative assessment of the role and importance of the Golden Horde in the history of the peoples of the USSR. One of the first such works was the book of A. Nasonov "The Mongols and Rus'" (1940). Established as a kind of counterweight to emigrant and European his-



G. Vernadsky



A. Yakubovsky

torical literature, it reviewed the 'history of Tatar policy in Rus' in detail', trying to bolster the former mythologema of 'the Tatar yoke' with facts.

Another conception of Golden Horde history was extensively developed at the same time. It occurred in the pre-revolutionary period, but gained the most popularity among emigration figures in the 20s of the 20th century. Its key idea was that different peoples within united Russia—'the Eurasian world'—share a particular affinity (even having some political contradictions) and a community of historical destinies. Historical views of Eurasians—among them there were such bright philosophers, historians and philologists as N. Trubetskoy, P. Savitsky, G. Vernadsky, E. Khara-Davan, etc.—were based on the idea of the special mission of Russia. They assumed that the fates of the peoples of Eurasia proceeded apart from the fates of the peoples of Europe and Asia. They distinguished themselves from Slavophiles, recognizing that Turkic and Finno-Ugric peoples played a major role in the history of Russia, while the Russian nation took up the initiative of combining multilingual ethnoses into a 'single multinational nation'—Eurasians and the unification of Eurasia into single state—Russia. This was clearly formulated by N. Trubetskoy: 'the national substrate of the state that was formerly called the Russian Empire and is now called the USSR can only be the totality of peoples inhabiting this state, considered as a particular multinational nation, and as such having its own nationalism' [Trubetskoy, 1993a, p. 95]. Accordingly,

the culture of this nation 'is neither European, nor Asian, neither an amalgamation, nor a mechanical combination of elements of that and others... It shall be opposed to the cultures of Europe and Asia as a middle Eurasian culture' [Eurasianism, 1992, p. 375]. However, the views of Eurasianists aren't limited by these representations. The main contradiction of historical theories and ideologies of Eurasianism, subtly worded by N. Berdyaev and other opponents, was that they considered the church and Orthodoxy to be the basis of Russian culture ('unity of itself in the kingdom of God') [Berdyaev, 1993, p. 292–300; Florovsky, 1993, p. 237–265]. There wouldn't have been innovation or originality in the idea if the Eurasianists hadn't subsequently announced that Orthodoxy was the focus and purpose of the entire Eurasian culture. They declared Orthodoxy to be a truly universal religion and the only true and infallible expression of Christianity, and 'everything outside of it—either paganism, heresy or schism' [Eurasianism, 1992, p. 362].

Furthermore, the study of Eurasian history was focused on researching the 'Asian' or 'Tur-an' 'element' in Russian culture. Eurasianists considered the Golden Horde to be an inseparable unity of heterogeneous elements and a special geographical world, including Rus' and the Steppe, that was created as a result of the activities of Chinggis Khan and his heirs, with ongoing complicated processes inside ('rhythms of rise and depression'). They paid much attention to the history of Rus' in the period of the Golden Horde—'Tatarschina' and its role in the fate of Russia [Vernadsky, 1927]. According to P. Savitsky, 'there wouldn't have been Russia without Tatarschina' [Savitsky, 1993, p. 123]. They were all trying to prove that this empire (the Golden Horde) was a phenomenon of the global order that largely determined the further course of events in the whole of Eurasia, including Eastern Europe. 'An example of the Mongol-Tatar statehood,' (of Chinggis Khan and his successors) stated P. Savitsky, 'that managed to take control and rule a huge part of the Old World for a certain historical period, certainly, played a big and positive role in the formation of the great Russian statehood' [Savitsky, 1993a, p. 101]. Similar views of

Eurasianists and their followers had and have special attraction for non-Russian intellectuals.

This line of thought, undoubtedly, enriched historiography and encouraged more intensive study of the Chinggis Khan age [Trubetskoy, 1925; Khara-Davan, 1991], the Golden Horde period [Vernadsky, 1927] and Eurasian history [Vernadsky, 1934]. For western science, thanks to the project work of G. Vernadsky 'The Mongols and Russia' [Vernadsky, 1953; Vernadsky, 1997], this conception largely became determinative in the study of the history of Russia in the Middle Ages. However, conceptions of Eurasianists were never recognized by Soviet historiography (with a few exceptions, since the 1970s). Furthermore, their theories were called 'idealistic' and 'praising the strong personality', while their authors were called 'pseudo-historians of Russia' [Merpert, Pashuto, Cherepnin, 1962, p. 75].

Meanwhile, the ideas of Eurasianists about the steppe region of Eurasia as a consolidated historical-cultural region were recognized and found followers in western historiography [see: d'Osson, 1937]. Significant development of this topic was the political history of the Eurasian steppes, described in the monograph of R. Grousset 'The Empire of the Steppes' [Grousset, 1939; 1970]. It paid considerable attention to the history of the empire of Chinggis Khan and his heirs. Excellent knowledge of historical sources and literature allowed the author to draw a picture of the past of Eurasia on a vast historical and geographical background.

Continuation of the classical oriental studies tradition in the study of medieval eastern communities was a special focus point in European historiography. The most important of these is the work by a famous German orientalist B. Spuler, 'The Golden Horde' [Spuler, 1943]. In the work, relying on a wide range of eastern sources and partially information from Russian chronicles, he provided a complete description of Golden Horde history starting from the year that the Mongols arrived to Europe in 1223 and up until the Golden Horde defeat in 1502. The most important elements for the development of the topic were the consistent descriptions of the internal structure of the Golden Horde: the territory, state institutions, law, military

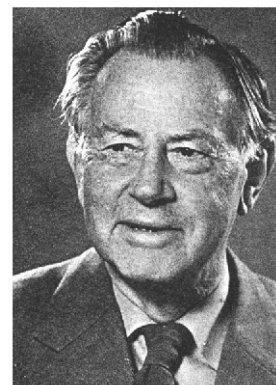
science and culture, including science and art, and also such specific issues as the history of dress and food. We can say that this work was and still is unrivaled in the scope of tasks and subjects of problems raised. It is important to stress that in contrast to the usual practice of Russian works, it didn't contain a separate chapter narrating the relationship of the Golden Horde khans with the Russian princes. This, in particular, combined with accusations that the author is new to Russian chronicles and pays insufficient attention to the pattern of the Golden Horde collapse after the heroic struggle of conquered peoples, which became the main point of criticism of the work in Soviet historiography (see: [Merpert, Pashuto, 1955, p. 180–186]). B. Spuler's monograph greatly impacted the entire western historiography; there isn't any work on the medieval history of Eurasia that wouldn't contain a reference to it. But in the Soviet Union, if it was mentioned, it was mentioned only negatively, even when the authors didn't read the work itself, which was kept under special guard in central libraries.

This is not a coincidence. Other assessment approaches of Golden Horde history entrenched in the Soviet historical science. They began to appear at the end of the 1930s, when, following the death of M. Pokrovsky, there was a wave of unbridled criticism of his views, which were labelled 'anti-historian', while he and his followers were called a 'despicable gang of fascist agents' (see: [Against historical conception, 1939]). At the same time, any attempts to highlight the positive points and results in the formation of the Ulus of Jochi were condemned; any signs of condemnation of the imperial, messianic claims of Russia were suppressed. Following the 'anti-Pokrovsky' campaign and due to the deployment of the struggle against 'bourgeois nationalism', this strengthened criticism of the history of the Ulus of Jochi.

The final verdict on the history was delivered in a notorious decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) on 9 August 1944, which sharply censured the 'embellishment of the



R. Grousset



B. Spuler

Golden Horde and khan-feudal epic "Edigu" [About condition and measures, 1954, p. 527–529]. It also issued on its base the decree of the Tatar Oblast committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) on 10 October 1944, depicting the Golden Horde as a barbarian state, that existed 'only by means of violence and plundering conquered peoples', hampering the 'progressive development of the hard-working and freedom-loving Russian people' (see: [Izmaylov, Gibadullina, 1996, p. 96–114]). Carrying out the decision of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party and bureau of the Tatar Oblast Committee, historians had to radically change the direction of their research. Since that time it became impossible to mention the Ulus of Jochi and its cultural achievements in a positive light, not only because of strong criticism, but also because of the danger of political repressions. In Tatarstan, the history of the Golden Horde was actually directly suppressed, and any research in this direction was frozen for almost three decades. The gaping breach in the medieval history of the Tatars was filled by 'local Bulgar roots', which were enshrined by a special 'scientific session about the origin of the Kazan Tatars' (25–26 April 1946). Since that time, in the history of the Tatars, the Ulus of Jochi was considered to be an external phenomenon, and the medieval state itself was declared 'a predatory, parasitic entity', that lived only by plundering conquered peoples and expectedly fell because of the heroic struggle of Russians for independence. A characteristic passage from a speech of M. Tikhomirov at the defense of

the dissertation of H. Gimadi in 1949, when he evaluated the Golden Horde was: 'Nobody denies the importance of the Golden Horde as a big state, but we can not forget that the role of the conquerors—the Mongols and the Golden Horde khans—was quite negative'. Later, indicating the desolation of the Volga Region in the 15–16th centuries, he stresses the following: 'It seems very important to me and allows us to get rid of the old ideas that the Golden Horde was some kind of state that created new values. Apparently, we should speak more about the sad fate of those countries that were directly submitted to the Golden Horde...' [Tikhomirov, 1973, p. 396].

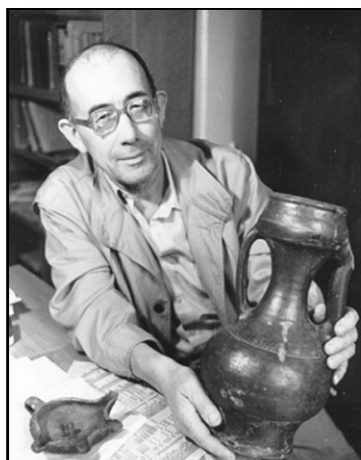
This is the way in which the internal history of the Horde, its relationships with Russian principalities and neighbor states was presented on the pages of books of that time, including the revised work of B. Grekov and A. Yakubovsky 'The Golden Horde and its dissolution' (1950). In fact, they restored not only the traditions of 'the state school' of Russian historiography, but also the church-imperial myths of the 16–17th centuries. However, unfortunately, this conception of the Ulus of Jochi history became dominant and still determines approaches to it.

Of course, there was a diversity of opinions in Russian historical science. After the mid-1950s, during the period of the 'thaw', there were signs of the complication of approaches to the topic. The interesting work of M. Safargaliev 'Dissolution of the Golden Horde' (1960) was published at the time, which, in spite of the usual curses towards the aggressive Horde (without them at that time the book wouldn't have been published at all), also provided a detailed analysis of the political events in the Ulus of Jochi from the end of 14th century to the beginning of the 15th century. However, this work was a rare exception among many books and articles of V. Pashuto [1956; 1977], L. Cherepnina [1958; 1977]; V. Kargalov [1966; 1967; 1980], V. Kuchkin [1974; 1980; 1984; 1991; 1995], V. Egorov [1980; 1985], V. Nazarova [1978; 1983], in which the traditional ideas of 'the state school' were developed about the eternal hostility of nomads to the Slavs ('the struggle of the Forest with the

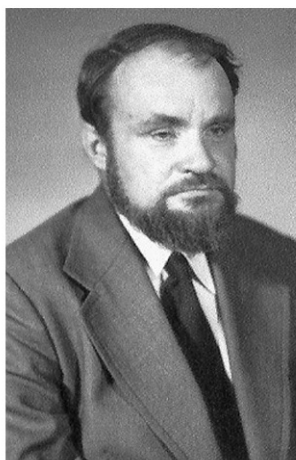
Steppe'), about the sufferings and distresses of Rus' under the 'Tatar yoke' and its disastrous consequences for the future of the country, and about the civilizing role of Russia towards the people of the Volga Region, the annexation of which, following bloody wars, was a natural ending of the righteous fight against the 'Tatar yoke'. In a political sense, this historical conception served for the justification of the political theory of the 'elder brother'—the leading role of the Russian people among other peoples of the USSR—one of the ideological pillars of the imperial conscience in the 'Kremlin empire'. History books, beginning with reading books for junior classes in middle school and up to higher education books, served for the final consolidation of these mythologems in the mass consciousness.

The works of Tatar Soviet historians are adjacent to the same direction. Its representatives—H. Gimadi [1949; 1951; 1954; 1955], A. Khalikov [1978; 1985; 1989; 1992; 1994], S. Alishev [1985; 1995], and partially R. Fakhrutdinov [1984] were trying to explain all the complex historical processes in the Golden Horde of the 13–15th centuries by the simple formulas of 'the Mongol conquest of Bulgaria' and the 'fight of its people for liberation'. The specific point of this conception was the rejection of the ethnonym 'Tatars', which, according to their opinion, was imposed on Bulgars later (according to some theories in the 1920s), and ignorance of integrative ethno-cultural processes inside the Ulus of Jochi, while considering its history only as an external factor that hadn't played a determinative role in the history of the Tatars.

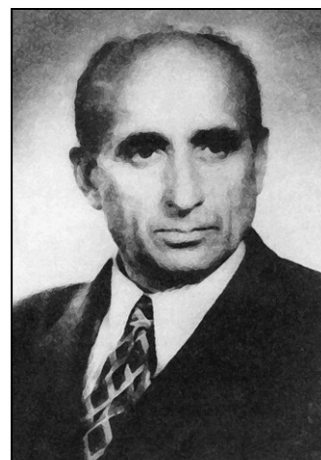
Under the heavy pressure of the command-administrative party-Soviet system and its censorship there could hardly be any other type of research in the regions, but this system still had its loopholes in the forbidden history of the Ulus of Jochi—special research in the area of numismatics, archaeology and source studies. These fields of science gradually managed to break away from censorship and create scientific accounts of the Golden Horde, letting themselves step away from the straight scheme of the 'state school'. In the 1970–1980s, this approach centered around archaeological studies



A. Khalikov



G. Fedorov-Davydov



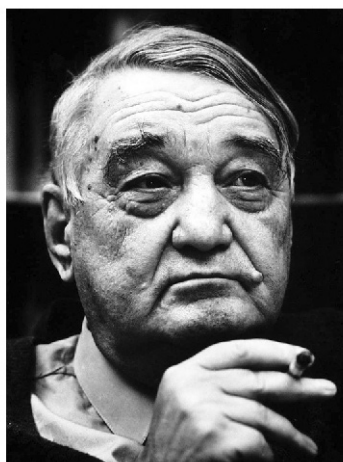
A. Smirnov

of the remains from the ancient towns of the Lower Volga Region. It occurred as a result of the works of

A. Smirnov, G. Fedorov-Davydov, V. Egorov, M. Poluboyarinova, T. Guseva, A. Muhammadiev, N. Bulatov, and their students and colleagues who had been conducting archaeological studies in the Lower Volga Region for many years. The accumulated material and new approaches to its interpretation initiated a comprehensive study of the history of the Ulus of Jochi, including its social system, different aspects of its material and spiritual culture, numismatics, historical geography, and military science. Fedorov-Davydov significantly contributed to the new approaches to Golden Horde studies. He not only held and managed the yearly extensive excavations of the Golden Horde cities in the Volga Region [see: Fedorov-Davydov, 1994], but also presented its culture as it comes before a researcher through archaeological remains—bright, rather eclectic, and magnificent. His articles covering different aspects of the Golden Horde internal history were especially important to further research in the field of the history of the Ulus of Jochi [Fedorov-Davydov, 1969; 1970] and resulted in a monograph that summed up a hundred years of studies of its social system [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973]. Here, for the first time in Russian historiography, the author fully characterized the state and social structure of the Ulus of Jochi in its historical development, and traced the establishment and evolution of government

institutions and their terminology. A subtle scientific analysis and large source base let him formulate theses and conclusions which were much deeper than in previous historiography. In general one can say that papers by G. Fedorov-Davydov put a new spin in world science studies of the Golden Horde and proposed an advanced comprehension of it as a complicated medieval state. These articles were highly respected and recognized in academic circles in the USSR, as well as Europe, which is proved by their frequent publications in foreign languages [Fedorov-Davydov, 1972; Fedorov-Davydov, 1984; Fedorov-Davydov, 1984].

But despite the clear progress in posing and solving a set of problems, all these researchers stayed within the context of traditional conceptions. They commonly defined the Golden Horde as 'parasitic nomadic state' and were keen to declare the cities and urban culture in the Volga Region as an alien formation in 'the sea of the nomadic hordes', which led to the idea that they 'were built by Russian captives and by Russian silver'. While the works and discoveries made by G. Fedorov-Davydov belonged to the future, then it is obvious that his views were from the past. 'Our negative definition of the Golden Horde as a parasitic state,' as he summed up one of the results of a historical and cultural study of the state, 'does not cancel the necessity to study its fascinating syncretic culture created by its conquered people' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1991b, p. 81]. Such a conclusion, which did not follow his own research



L. Gumilyov



H. Göckenjan

or the presented material, was increasingly frequently proclaimed among his students and followers. It is no surprise that this trend has lately found itself in crisis; it is increasingly becoming intertwined with concepts of 'sovereign' Russian historiography (see for example: [Egorov, 1990]).

There were not many works outside of the framework of this tradition. The original works of L. Gumilyov are a notable exception. They presented a revival of Eurasian ideas in the USSR, which were under an unofficial taboo at the time. The most important among them were 'Searching for an Imaginary Kingdom' (1970) and 'Ancient Rus' and the Great Steppe' (1989), which not only broke through the monopoly of the official scientific interpretation of Golden Horde history, and showed the possibility of other interpretations, but also rejected current political evaluations imposed on the past in a well-argued and consistent manner. This explains why the works of the 'last Eurasian', not without certain mistakes and conceptual flaws (especially in analyzing the sources and ethnogenesis theory), caused unconcealed hatred from the academic scientific milieu on the part of official historiography (especially by B. Rybakov, S. Pletneva, V. Egorov, V. Kuchkin, A. Kuzmin).

New approaches to the subject approved by L. Gumilyov, as well as works written by Eastern scholars, source-study experts, and archaeologists played an important role in the gradual revival of studies on the history of the

Ulus of Jochi in Tatarstan. The process of studying the history and culture of this medieval Tatar state was prohibited and distorted by official science in the 1930s–1960s, while in the 1970s–1980s, studies of specific problems began, such as the social and ethnic history of the Tatars [Muhamedyarov, 1968], Tatar source studies [Usmanov, 1972; 1979], and numismatics [Muhamadiev, 1983; 1995]. They emphasized the important role of the Golden Horde period in the history of all the Turkic

peoples in Eurasia whose integral history is impossible to imagine without studying the culture of the period. One can consider the words written by M. Usmanov as the keynote of the new direction, which was implicitly forcing itself through the existing taboos and negative opinions: 'Even when considering all the disaffection of some authors towards the Golden Horde epoch in history, it seems hard to cross out a period of three hundred years from the past of the many peoples of the USSR, as that socio-politically complex period is when the basis for many Turkic nations was laid, or relaid' [Usmanov, 1972, p. 64]. Nevertheless, because of the specific nature of the mentioned scientific disciplines and their indirect influence on historical research, this direction stayed in the background, and its representatives did not, or could not, create synthesized reports on the history of the Ulus of Jochi in view of the specific nature of their sources.

In the 1970–1980s, interest in the history of Russia was quickly developing, and thus, in such an important period as the history of the Golden Horde. In the papers of these years, as a rule, the ideas contained in the book 'The Mongols and Russia' by G. Vernadsky (1953) were further developed. Almost all researchers on the medieval Rus' were under its influence, like Y. Pelenski [Pelenski, 1974], J. Fennel [1989], D. Ostrowski [Ostrowski, 1989; 1998] and others. Along with this, Eurasian views are being reconsidered in recent years. Papers written by Ch. Halperin are especially significant in this

regard [Halperin, 1985; 1986; 2004, p. 131–144]. At the same time, an oriental direction was developing in western science; its representatives chose the Mongol conquests as the main topic for their research [Saunders, 1971; Boyle, 1977; Allsen, 1983; 1987–1991; Ratchnevsky, 1991; Göckenjan, 1991; 2000; Zimonyi, 1993, p. 86–97; Zimonyi, 1992/3; Allsen, 2003; Weatherford, 2005], as well as the internal system of the Chinggisid state [Allsen, 1981; 1985; 1987; Golden, 1992a].

In general, one can say that western science achieved obvious successes as it advanced not only in research on the established of Chinggis Khan's Empire, but also on the development of the whole range of problems of its functioning and evolution in the uluses, including the Ulus of Jochi. A tendency to consider power structures in the Ulus of Jochi in terms of Turkic traditions is noticeable [Schamiloglu, 1984, p. 283–297; 1992, p. 81–93], as is the tendency to estimate the effect of the Horde's rule in Rus' more negatively [Halperin, 1985], and to believe the Golden Horde state to be a unique historical event. Except for generalizing works, separate research appeared where different sides of the history and culture of the Golden Horde are more deeply studied, such as the process of Islamization [DeWeese, 1994].

During the last decade, when the party-organisation and ideological support backing of official science failed, the self-consciousness of the Turkic peoples briefly rose, and it became possible to re-evaluate the accumulated historical material and draw out ways of overcoming both the Russian-Soviet 'powerful' school of historiography and conventional Eurasian theories. This gives an opportunity to both discard all pseudo-scientific views of the Golden Horde as a 'parasitic state' and to avoid its idealisation as a peaceful symbiosis of the 'Forest and Steppe.'

Now it seems timely to start an elaboration of a new paradigm of history of the Jochi Ulus

on the basis of a critical interpretation of the sources and papers written by predecessors. Therefore, one should note the positive trends that have emerged in Russian science since papers audited by source studies and free from ideology appeared, which described the history of the Mongol invasions [Khrustalyov, 2004; Khrapachevsky, 2004], the complex relations between Russian principalities (above all in Moscow) and the Horde from an objective perspective [Gorsky, 1996; 2000; 2004], and the history of the formation and development of nationhood in the Chinggisid Empire and the Jochid Ulus [Trepavlov, 1993; Sultanov, 2001; 2006; Pochekeyev, 2006].

Thus, historiographical surveys show that a large number and variety of historiographical materials covering the history and culture of the Jochid Ulus have been accumulated over the last two hundred years. Works of several generations of Russian and foreign researchers have led to considerable successes in the development of this field. The successes of the researchers could have been even greater if the history of the state had not been coloured by clashes of political interests from the very birth of historical science in Russia. Especially tough political pressure was exerted on historical science in the period of the 1940–80s when there was an attempt to erase the history of the Golden Horde out of the Tatar people's memory. For the last fifteen years there has been a boom of interest in the topic, leading to both important discoveries and new research vectors. Literature reviews show that historiography gradually abandoned the former mythologems and found new approaches to the topic. This is what leads us to believe that the time has come for a deeper study of various topics and trends, a comprehensive approach to discoveries, a systematisation and analysis of various sources, and the formulation of exhaustive works on the history and culture of the Jochid Ulus.

II. Sources on the history of the Jochid Ulus

1. General comments

Information on the history of the Jochid Ulus is very diverse and scattered across numerous multilingual sources. Its geography reflects the fact that the Jochid Ulus was a world empire and played a dominant role in the fates of many peoples in the Old World for a long while. Basic facts concerning the political events of the 13–beginning of the 15th centuries, including wars, ambassadors, divisions of possessions, and the reign of sovereigns, are contained in Chinese dynastic histories, Russian medieval chronicles, the notes of West European chroniclers, papers of Arab-Persian historians and geographers, travel notes of Catholic missionaries, and Armenian histories. One can draw from these sources important and significantly unique information on the political, military history, and culture of the Jochid Ulus. Analysis of this information is complicated by the fact that it is in one way or another tendentious and reflects views on certain political events of neighbours and often even opponents of the Tatar state.

Not only do they contain gaps and distortions concerning real events, which are to some extent typical for all medieval sources, but they are also incomplete in their nature because with a few exceptions they give very fragmentary information by reporting solely military-diplomatic events. The incompleteness and discreteness of this information make a complex analysis of the political history of the Jochid Ulus more difficult, not to mention an understanding of the deep sociopolitical processes taking place in Tatar society itself.

And it becomes even more difficult to obtain information from foreign sources because original Golden Horde historical essays, reflecting an integral picture of its history, did not survive to the present day. Exceptions are Turk-Tatar historical works of the 15–17th centuries, such as the continuation of the 'Compendium of Chronicles' by Rashid al-Din and 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name.' Some information about the Tatar view on history is contained in folk sources, particularly in the Tatar epic 'Edigu.'

Acts granted by the khans and the rulers of the Jochid Ulus can compensate for the lack of authentic and integral historical chronicles as they serve as the most important material on the social history and legal culture of the Jochid Ulus. Their special importance is that they are unique veracious documents among the official ones preserved from this medieval state.

Information about the trade and diplomatic contacts of the rulers of various domains in the Jochid Ulus with Italian cities-states, like Genoa and Venice, constitutes one more group of sources. They preserved unique information on the nature of trade, its organisation and legal grounds, the peculiarities of commodity-monetary relations, and mutual payments between Italian middle-men, their Golden Horde contractors, and authorities of the Jochid Ulus. They represent from a different side the nature of international trade in the Black Sea and Mediterranean basin, the place and role the Empire of the Jochids in this trade.

Epitaphic records from the Islamic regions of the Jochid Ulus, like the Middle Volga Region, Crimea, and Aral Sea Region, constitute a special group of the written sources.

Besides the narrative sources, there is an enormous collection of material sources which are a result of years-long archaeological studies. Material accumulated by mainly Russian specialists allows for the formation of more objective insight into the culture and life of the Golden Horde population, the character of its cities, and urban civilisation.

The complex of various sources providing information on the Jochid Ulus represents the most important and unique material that allows for the reconstruction of the history of this medieval state, its political, diplomatic, and socio-economic history, helping to reveal pages from the medieval past of the Tatar people.

2. State acts*

In the absence of a full and coherent history of the Jochid Ulus, samples of official acts

* Co-authored by M. Usmanov.

of this state become of key importance. They can be divided into two types, such as messages and yarliqs.

Messages (or *bitigs*) include letters from the Tatar khans to other independent monarchs as well as letters from the ulug karachibeks, the beks, and the murzas to other rulers or to foreign sovereigns.

The most important and informative sources are the *yarliqs* (from the Turkic *jarlyk*, from *jarlykamak*—'to rule, order, show mercy')—that is, formal charters (acts) issued to the subject rulers, civil and religious nobility as well as messages to neighbouring rulers. Granted yarliqs include tarkhan, suyural, privileged (including ones given to the Russian metropolitans), serving (including ones issued to the Russian princes providing them with the ownership right for their principalities), protections, and so on. The most well known among them are the tarkhan, while those less studied are the suyural and other yarliqs.

'Yarliqs-letters' (to real or fictitious vassals) and oath charters (*shart*-name—from Persian *shart* is 'an oath'), which are various types of diplomatic messages, are assigned to a special type of yarliqs. Only an insignificant part of the yarliqs of the Jochid Ulus khans (in total three) remained in the Turkic original. They contain much material concerning the public-political system, administrative and tax systems, the history of writing tradition, as well as the literary language and culture of the Jochid Ulus.

Yarliqs dating back to the 14–16th centuries were first published by I. Berezin [Berezin, 1850; 1851; 1852] at a time when scientific turkology experienced a fledging period, and textual studies of the materials in the Turkic language were making only their first steps, which could not but impact their accuracy and completeness. Nevertheless, he was the first, along with V. Grigoriev [Grigoriev, 1842], to turn directly to the study of yarliqs as linguistic and historical sources. Later many gaps in the first publications were specified and corrected in the works of V. Radlov [Radloff, 1889, pp. 1–40] and A. Samoylovich [Samoylovich, 1918, pp. 1109–1124; 1927, pp. 141–

144]. Since the 1840s state acts of the Jochid Ulus from Italian archives were gradually introduced into academic use.

Interest in the study of the Golden Horde yarliqs noticeably increased after M. Priselkov published the collection of yarliqs for Russian metropolitans [Priselkov, 1916], and A. Zimin corrected and supplemented this study [Zimin, 1962]. The publication of yarliqs of the rulers of the Jochid Ulus dated back to the 15–17th centuries from the collection of the Topkapı Palace by A. Kurat [Kurat, 1940] noticeably expanded the source base. Yarliqs of the Golden Horde rulers to the orthodox clergy and official documents from the Venice archives [Grigoryev, 1978; 2004; the Grigoryevs, 2002] were subject to a new survey.

The expansion of the source study base allowed giving systematised source study and historical analysis of the letters patent of the Jochid Ulus, of all the records management culture in this state and the post-Golden Horde Tatar Khanates [Usmanov, 1979]. All the information concerning the archaeography, palaeography, sphragistics, and diplomatics of granted yarliqs and other varieties of official acts proves that Turk-Tatar records management of the 13–16th centuries achieved significant development and was in line with the general trends of the written-clerical culture of the medieval states of the Old World.

3. Chinese and Mongolian sources*

The most important place in the study of the initial history of the Chinggis Khan Empire and his closest descendants and political events taking place during this period belongs to Mongolian and Chinese sources. They retained unique facts on Chinggis Khan's biography, his military campaigns, and on the tribal structure, military-administrative, and socio-tribal system of the emerging Mongol state. Information about the campaigns of Chinggis Khan and his military leaders to the west, the gradual formation of the Jochid Ulus, and peculiarities of its tribal structure is of special interest.

* Co-authored by Chao Chu Chang.



Horseman and his horse. Fragment of the picture 'Camp of the Tatar cavalry.' Picture on silk. 13th century. China. Yuan Dynasty. Guimet Museum, Paris

'The Secret History of the Mongols,' a historical literary record of Mongolian medieval culture of the 13th century ('Mongolyn nuuts tovchoo' or 'Mongyol-un niyuca tobčiyān,' the Chinese translation is 'Yuáncháo bīshǐ'), is the most important source concerning the early history of the Mongol Empire. The possible original name is 'Chingiz Kagan khudzhaur' ('Origin/Genealogy of Chinggis Khan'). Its author (or authors) is unknown, but it is obvious that it was created at the court of the great khans for the actions of the 'golden clan' to be eternalised. The main ideological orientation of the tales is to justify the unification of all Turkic-Mongol tribes in the Great Steppe and to praise Chinggis Khan as the creator of a great empire. The content can be divided into three parts: 1) a genealogy of Chinggis Khan's ancestors; 2) a legendary tale of his life; and 3) a brief tale about his son and successor Ögedei. The first part recounts the history of Mongolia through the most ancient records of the pre-literate tradition, which are myths, legends, and tales. In the second and third parts of the epic are revealed the main theme, while the legends and the myths are replaced by more trustworthy historical reports, perhaps oral literature and documents from the khan's chancellery. Although the narrative is of an epic character, it consists of documentary materials. In this part of the tale a detailed description of the domestic and foreign policy

development of the emerging empire is given: the forming socio-clan hierarchy, bureaucracy, military structure, diplomatic negotiations, the intertribal wars, wars with neighbours, etc. [Kozin, 1941; Khamidullin, 2002, pp. 51–62].

The text was written in 1240 and was later revised in 1252 or 1264 [Rachewiltz, 1965, pp. 185–206]. The Mongolian text, allegedly written using the Uighur script, was transcribed with the use of Chinese characters in the latter half of the 14th century. That was also when an abridged free translation into Chinese was prepared ('Yuan-Chao Bi-Shi'—'The Secret History of the Yuan Dynasty') [Yuan-Chao Bi-Shi, 1962; The Secret History, 1982].

A revised version of 'The Secret History of the Mongols,' transformed into a learning manual for teaching those Chinese who wanted to learn the Mongolian language, was completed and widely used during the reign of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644). Herewith, 'The Secret History' was included in the collection of works named 'Hua-ii ii-iyu,' which comprised a range of Mongolian documents and the dictionary. Later in 17th century 'The Secret History' was broadly used as a basis for the epic tale 'Altan tobchi' ('Golden Summary') [Lubsan Danzan, 1973; Neklyudov, 1984].

'Yuan-Shi' ('The History of the Yuan (Dynasty)') is a dynastic history representing a collection of materials on the genealogy and military and diplomatic history of the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368). It was completed in 1369 by a group of 16 officials after the Mongol Empire collapsed and the accession of the Ming Dynasty, a new Chinese dynasty. The work is comprised of 210 juan (chapters) and divided into 4 expansive parts: 'Basic annals of emperors' (juan 1–47), 'Descriptions' (juan 48–105), 'Genealogical tables' (juan 106–113), and 'Biographies' (juan 114–210). 'Yuan-Shi' included materials of the official dynastic history of the Yuan as well as numerous original documents from different state archives. It can be said that this is an encyclopedia of the history, genealogy, and records management of the Yuan dynasty. Different information on the history of the Great Khan's Ulus (the

Yuan Empire) as well as on his contacts with the Jochid Ulus, including diplomatic and dynastic, is of interest. It also contains the biographies of prominent military leaders and administrators, descendants from different tribes and the peoples of the empire, including the Tatars, Kipchaks, Ases [Kychanov, 2002; Chao Chu Cheng, 2002; Khamidullin, 2002, pp. 30–33].

It is recognised that the text of 'Yuan-Shi' has a range of inaccuracies and mistakes in the reflection of different information, names, and biographical facts. For instance, distortion in the spelling of Turkic and Mongol names occurs often, biographies of one and the same figure can be provided twice with varying changes, etc. Nevertheless, it is an extremely important and unique work and a source of original materials. In particular, it specifies that Turkic-Mongol traditions were preserved at the court of Khan Khubilai and his successors, such as the four ruling clans at court, organisation of roundup hunting, and the constant shifting of the khan's headquarters between Shang-Du (Kaiping) and Khanbaliq (Beijing), etc.

This text was repeatedly published in China, the earliest publication being a woodcut dated 1370. A sufficiently shortened Russian translation of the text was for the first time published in 1829 by the famous missionary and sinologist N. Bichurin (Father Iakinf) [Bichurin, 1829]. Partial materials from 'Yuan-Shi' (biographies of Chinggis Khan and his supporters) were published by R. Khrapachevsky [Khrapachevsky, 2004, pp. 432–540].

'Hei Da Shi Lue' ('Short Notes on the Black Tatars') written by Peng Daya and Xu Ting is notes of two Chinese travellers who went to Mongolia to the court of Ögedei as members of the Southern Song diplomatic missions in 1233–1235. 'Hei Da Shi Lue' bears a date of 27 April 1237. It provides detailed information on the ethnography of the steppe population as well as a serious political account. The authors reflected many facts that failed to be specified by their predecessors [Lin Kyun-i, Munkayev, 1960].

It is worth mentioning another source—**'The Note on Travels to the West of Qiu**

Chang-Chun' (**'Chang-Chun-chen-jen si-yujie'**)—dedicated to the journey of the Taoist preacher Qiu Chuji (1148–1227) to Central Asia during Chinggis Khan's western campaign in 1219–1225. This work, with information about the Mongols and Chinggis Khan, was popular in China [Kafarov, 1866; Bretschneider, 1967; Khamidullin, 2002, pp. 43–45].

'Meng-Da Bei-Lu' ('The Complete Description of the Mongol-Tatars') by Zhao Hun is the work of a Southern Song ambassador, who in 1221 visited the headquarter of Muqali, the Mongol commander of the troops in the North China. 'Meng-Da Bei-Lu' bears a date of 12 February 1222 and consists of 17 chapters. Despite the fact that Zhao Hun's work is merely a small story, according to N. Munkuyev, 'it concisely represents all spheres of the Mongols' life, and in this sense the description is 'complete' [Meng-Da Bei-Lu, 1975; Scythian History, 2001, pp. 97–110; Khamidullin, 2002, pp. 36–39].

There is also a whole range of other sources of the 14th century, which reflect the history, culture, and state and legal system of the Turkic-Mongol states, primarily of the Great Khan's Ulus (the Yuan Empire). Among them it is worth mentioning **'Jing Shi Da Dang' ('Encyclopedic Work on State Acts')** written by Ji Yu (1272–1348) in 1331 and dedicated to a detailed description of the different administrative and state institutions of the Yuan Empire. The text survived to the present day only partially. Another collection of works is **'Go-chao wang-lei' ('Examples of Works of the Ruling Dynasty')** composed in 1334. It consists of 70 chapters and includes various genres of literary compositions and documents, written by different authors from the time of Khan Ögedei to the reign of Emperor Jen-tsung (Buyantu): poems, odes, reports, epigraphs, etc. Overall there were approximately 800 different compositions. Another less known work is **'Tsje Geng Lu' ('Notes Taken between Plowing Works')**, which is the personal notes of Tao tsung-i about social relations in the Yuan Dynasty epoch. It contains much information on the history, state and law, people's customs, crafts and art and furthermore provides information about

72 Mongol and 31 Turkic tribes. Unfortunately, the above-mentioned and other sources, important for the ethnocultural history of Turkic-Mongol tribes as well as for the comparative study of state institutions and clannish system of the Mongol-Tatar States, have not been translated into Russian and remain inaccessible for national science.

4. Works of Oriental (Arabic, Persian, and Turkic) historians, geographers, and travellers

Alsu Arslanova

Arabic sources. The reviewed sources are functionally divided into a range of separate major categories, out of which we can distinguish memorial, historic, and geographical works, collections of documents, encyclopedic works, etc.

Shihab al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Muhammad al-Nasawi (died 647/1249–50) was a witness of the Mongol invasion into Middle Asia and one of the supporters (personal secretary) of the last representative of the Khwarezm Shah Dynasty—Jalal ad-Din. In 1241/42, ten years after Khwarezm Shah's death, he wrote his famous work 'Sirat al-Sultan Jalāl ad-Din Mingburnu' ('Biography of Sultan Jalal ad-Din Mingburnu') filled with enmity to conquerors dedicated to the description of the reign and campaigns of his patron and the events occurred in 1218–1231 and connected to Chinggis Khan's invasion. While outlining the events, Nasawi settled on the stories of participants and witnesses of the events—Jalal ad-Din's senior officials. It is a piece of memorial literature, and the author aimed at a full reflection of information and the sequence of events up to the time of his writing. In 1891–1895 this work was published in Paris in two volumes [History of Iran, 1958, p. 165]. In 1996 Z. Buniyatov published its critical text and translation [an-Nasawi, 1996; Khamidullin, 2002, pp. 25–30, 233–282].

Another witness of the Mongol invasion was Izz ad-Din Abu-l-Khasan Ali al-Jaziri, commonly known as Ibn al-Athir [556–632/1160–1234], a prominent Arabic historian,

who prepared a voluminous work on the world history of the caliphate and Islamic states and on related spheres 'Kitab al-Kamil fi't Tarikh' ('The Book about Perfection in Terms of History'). The 11th volume of the book provides a vivid story on the Mongol troops invasion, full of genuine drama. The chronicle is extremely important for studying the history of the Mongol invasion, even though it was written on the basis of the questioning of witnesses and rumours [Lane, 2003, p. 13]. Abstracts from the work were published in the first volume of 'The Collection of Materials Related to the History of the Golden Horde' by V. Tiesenhausen [1884] (see also: [Golden Horde in Sources, 2003]).

When Baghdad was conquered by the Mongols in 1258, the political and religious centre was shifted to Egypt. This new environment was favourable for the development of the historiography, namely of the encyclopedic genre, 'a specific type of descriptive work that pays great attention to historic and geographic data. Encyclopedias were written by distinguished officials who created their works as manuals in all spheres of knowledge aimed at the successful execution of administrative tasks. As the authors were well aware of the peculiarities of the service in sultan administration, they used extensively archival materials, which made their works distinguished sources of contemporary political history of not only the Islamic states but also of other lands. Close links to the rulers of the Golden Horde contributed to the fact that information about this state and its adjoining regions became known in Egypt...' [Kononova, 1991, pp. 72–73].

Another work in this group of sources is the work of Rukn al-Din Baybars al-Mansuri (645–725/1245–1325), which became a source for succeeding compilers. The author used to be a slave of al-Malik al-Mansur but made himself a military career during the reign of Sultan an-Nasir ibn Qala'un. He managed to secure a high government position—in 710/1310 he was designated vicegerent [na'ib] of Egypt. 'He went down in the history of Arabic literature as a historian, the author of a history of Islam in 11 volumes under the name

'Zubdat al-fikra fi ta'rih al-hijrah' ('The Creams of Reflection about the History of Hijrah'), which covered the events up to 724/1324. The major sources of his work were the following: the work of Ibn al-Athir, an Arabic historian of the latter half of the 12–first half of the 13th centuries; management materials, to which Baybars, being an administrative figure, had access; and the rich personal recollections of the author' [Ibid.]. There is no critical edition of his work.

An-Nuwayri (677–732/1279–1332) was a descendant of an Egyptian official and also a major governmental figure. 'For some time he was a commander of troops in Tripoli, subsequently he was a chief clerk in different Egyptian provinces. He was patronised by Sultan an-Nasir, to whom an-Nuwayri dedicated his work 'Nihayat al-arab fi funūn al-adab' ('The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition'). Almost the half of the encyclopedia is occupied by its fifth division [fann] on history where the events up to 731/1331 are reflected. Thanks to a large number of preserved copies, an-Nuwayri's encyclopedia, especially its historic part, caught the eye of European scholars as early as the 18th century... Abstracts regarding the history of the Golden Horde were included in Tiesenhhausen's edition' [Ibid.]. According to scholars, the historic part shows complete dependence on the preceding historiography, except for the chapter dedicated to the Mamluk Dynasties, which contains new material.

The information of the two aforementioned authors (or their sources) was repeated, though with sufficient summarisation, by Veli ad-Din Abd ar-Rahman Abu Zeyd al-Maliki al-Hadrāmi ibn Khaldun (733–809/1332–1406) in his historic work 'Kitab al-'ibar...' ('The Book of Lessons on History of the Arabs, Persians, Berbers, and Peoples Living on Their Land') finished in 1378–1406 and published in 7 volumes in Bulak (Cairo, 1867). This author had the opportunity to use official documents as for a long period he was the supreme qadi of Mamluk Sultans.

Al-'Umari (701–750/1301–1349) was less dependent on his predecessors and more original in writing his encyclopedia. His father was

a clerk in the Egyptian Chancellery. He was a judge and secretary of state during an-Nasir's ruling. The major work of this historian is the encyclopedia 'Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar' ('Ways of Views on States with Major Centres'), the first volume of which was published in 1924 in Cairo. 'Al-'Umari's work consists of two parts (kisms), the first of which is dedicated to lands, and the second, to their inhabitants. The second division of the first part consists of 15 chapters, one of which provides a characteristic of Chinggis Khan's state... Analysis of separate parts of the composition showed that al-'Umari's sources of information were rather comprehensive, and alongside books and documents in the state archives, to which he had access as a prominent state official, he also used stories of witnesses' [Ibid., p. 76]. Herewith, 30 people were included in the list of informers on the topic of territories, making up the Mongol Empire [Ibid.]. Separate abstracts from this work were published in the first volume of V. Tiesenhhausen's 'Collection of works' [1884] [see also [Kamal, 1937, IV, facs.II; al-Omari, 1927; Das mongolische Weltreich, 1968; Istoriya Kazaxstana, 2005, text: pp. 547–569, translation: pp. 169–189].

Reference books, reflecting the relations of the Golden Horde with Eastern and Central Europe, represent another group of Arabic sources. They were prepared for diplomatic correspondence, the examples of such books are the following: al-'Umari's 'Al-Ta'rīf bi al-muṣṭalaḥ ash-sharīf' ('Introduction to Accepted Grand Style') and al-Kalkashandi's (756–821/1355–1418) 'Subh al-a'sha fi sina'at al-insha' ('Dawn for the Weak-Sighted in the Art of Writing'). The latter was working on his book from the 1390s till his death. He borrowed much information from Abu'l-Fida's and especially al-'Umari's compositions.

The next category of Arabic sources is represented by profusive materials on history: 'regarding diplomatic relations, different figures of the Golden Horde, and events relevant to Cairo, especially the events in Crimea (the relations with the Golden Horde were carried out via Crimea) and the Horde's capital. As a rule, this information was provided by

diplomatic officials, merchants, and Islamic religious figures. Many of them moved from place to place...' [Polyak, 1964, p. 32].

One of the interesting written sources of Medieval Arabic geographic literature is 'The Travels' by Abu 'Abd al-Lāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Lāh l-Lawāfī ṭ-Ṭanḡī or simply Ibn Battuta (1304–1377). This prominent traveller visited all the Islamic states. Initially he wanted to carry out the Hajj. In this regard he left Tangier, went to the North Africa, visited Jerusalem, Palestine, Syria, Medina, Mecca, wandered in Iraq, Yemen, and India, and then went to China via Tavalisi [Materials on the History of Middle and Central Asia, 1988, p. 132]. Twice he visited the north-west of the Black Sea Area: first he went from Astrakhan to Constantinople with a caravan of Andronikos's III daughter and Khan Öz Beg's wife; later he came back to the Golden Horde. Descriptions of his adventures in the 'rihla' genre were reflected in the fact-based work 'Tuhfat an-nuzzar fi gara 'ib alamsar wa-'aga 'ib al-asfar' ('A Gift to Those Dreaming of the Miracles of Cities and Wonders of Travels'), which is a literary adaptation of Ibn Battuta's stories. The recollections were written down many years after the trip. 'Ibn Battuta dwelled in Fez after his travels, and it is believed that Sultan Abu 'Inan, the ruler of Fez (749–759/1348–1358), initiated the works on the book. Abu 'Inan ordered Ibn Juzaya, who was his clerk, to write down the traveller's stories. The editor needed only three months to complete his work, and in February 757/1356 the book was finished' [Konovalova, 1991, p. 78]. The book is special as it combines actual facts and a 'fantastical approach,' which means a large number of legends concerning the lives of the saints and miracles performed by Sufi sheikhs [Ibragimov, 1975, pp. 13–14]. Fragments from Ibn Battuta's work were published in the first volume of V. Tiesenhausen's 'Collection of works' (see also: [From the Depths of the Centuries, 2000, pp. 186–201]).

Persian historiography. After the Mongol invasion of Iran and the first three–four decades of decay, a period of cultural stabilisation and the development of some spheres of knowledge began. In particular, in the

middle of the 13–14th centuries historiography reached high levels of developments in the Ilkhanate. 'Cultural revival in the epoch was facilitated by the further growth of feudal relations and intensification of economic relations, especially in the sphere of Mediterranean-Asian trade. Creation of the vast Mongol Empire and the Crusades stimulated broadening of horizon for Persian historians. Mongol Khans were interested in glorifying their reign, so they patronised historians and poets' [Agadzhanov, 1969, p. 28].

That is why it is clear and justified that historians paid great attention to Medieval Persian historiography as in the 13–14th centuries it was in a state of powerful uprise and heyday, when the Persian language crowded Arabic and began to prevail in the historical literature of the Middle East, namely in the spheres of Persian-Turkic culture [Gibb, 1960, p. 138; Khatibi, 1985, p. 6]. The fact that the Mongols overthrew the Abbasid Caliphate, which resulted in the serious weakening of positions of Arabic language and decreased its reputation, also contributed to the process [The Cambridge History of Iran, 1968, 5, pp. 62–63].

The academician V. Bartold called this sharp ascent of the Persian language in Persian historiography, which became a dominant literary tool not only in Persia but also in Turkey, Central Asia, and Islamic India, 'a golden age of Persian historiography' [Bartold, 1971, VII, p. 282; in this regard see also: History of Iran, 1958, p. 164; Ripka, 1970, p. 239; Novoseltsev, 1989, p. 222; Bertels, 1948, V, p. 218; Djuwayni, 1963, pp. 110–120].

D. Morgan believed that if one can complain about the quality of works, 'as far as the quantity is concerned, there are no doubts that the material is abundant. Its important not only to Persia as Persian sources contributed to the whole Mongol empire in general' [Morgan, 1982, p. 125].

The Mongol Khans themselves actively contributed to the powerful rise of Persian historiography as they were deeply interested in an official justification of their right to rule in such ancient and culturally advanced countries as Iran, Middle Asia, etc. [Pertrushevsky,

1949, p. 7]. They did everything to ensure that Persian historiography successfully played its role and became a means of achieving the set goal [Spuler, 1922, p. 131]. It goes without saying that these powerful rulers and their administrators had the advantages of access to information. They had all the required Mongol chronicles and documents. They acquired important information from first-hand participants and witnesses of the events that happened during Chinggis Khan's and his successors' reign [Bira, 1978, p. 117]. Such favourable conditions helped a range of Persian historians to sufficiently broaden their horizon and use the priceless data in their research. Herewith, as it was noted by a specialist in Chinese and Mongol sources E. Bretschneider, the latter 'never provide such detailed, clear, and comprehensive descriptions as enlightened Persian historiographers do on the same topic' [Bretschneider, 1876, p. 90].

However, due to actual circumstances Persian historians, unfortunately, were opposed to the Jochid Ulus as they were linked by political orientation to the Houses of Hulagu and of Timurids. They had no opportunity to personally visit Jochid Ulus, and, as is stated by M. Safargaliev, 'they drew inspiration from second-hand materials, wrote according to information provided by deserters who were not close to court. That is why we can find a lot of incorrect dates, names, and facts of the Golden Horde's history in the works of Persian authors' [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 14]. Still Persian sources in particular provide coherent, factual material on the history of the Jochid Ulus.

All in all, it was in the Mongol period when historic literature in Iran left behind similar literature of the previous period, both in terms of volume and quality, and 'became one of the best things created by all Islamic peoples' [Rypka, 1968a, p. 622]. J. A. Toynbee wrote that 'this period, in comparison to previous and subsequent ages, gave birth to distinguished Persian historians... The prevalence of historians in the Ilkhanate period was critical' [Toynbee, 1963, pp. 69–70].

Passages from Persian narrative sources are available thanks to the second volume of V. Tiesenhausen's 'Collection of Works

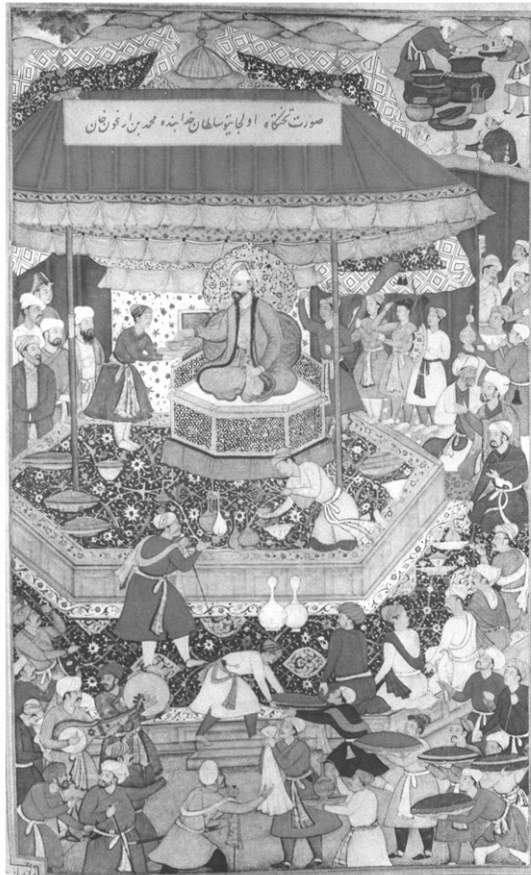
Related to the History of the Golden Horde' published in 1941. Biographies and works of many Persian authors are analysed in detail in many studies, and a large amount of facts can be picked up in encyclopedias and reference books.

The earliest author, being also the only historian unfriendly to the Mongols, was Minhaj (ad-Din) Abu Umar Usman b. Siraj (ad-Din) Muhammad Juzjani (born approx. 589/1193). Fleeing from the Mongol invasion, Juzjani ran to India, where he continued to live till his death. His work, the 'Tabakat-i Nasiri' ('Nasir's Categories'), was written in approximately 657/1259 and completely finished in 659/1261. It was dedicated to the Indian Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud-Shah I, and it belongs to a type of universal histories, typical for Persian historic works, beginning from the creation of the world to the author's time. This work provides a detailed description of the invasion of Chinggis Khan's troops of Khorasan. However, it is believed that Juzjani's information is not trustworthy as the accounts of the Golden Horde could reach India, where he lived, only in rumours and through the stories of merchants and travellers [Bartold, 1973, p. 341; Stori, 1972, pp. 294–295; Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 13].

Some Persian historians served the Mongol Khans and wrote their works as per their orders.

One of the earliest Persian historic works is the famous work of Ala ad-Din Ata Malek Juwayni (623–682/1226–1283) the 'Tarikh-i Jahān-gushā' ('The History of the World Conqueror'). For a long period of time the author served the Mongol Khans and was a governor of Baghdad, Iraq, and Khuzestan. Due to their enemies' intrigues, Juwayni was repeatedly persecuted by the Khans, and as a result he died on 6 March 1283.

The 'Tarikh-i Jahān-gushā' was started in 650 or 651/1252–53 and completed in 658/1260. Juwayni began his work in the period from 1252 to 1260 in the Mongol Empire's capital—Karakorum—and continued his work when he was elected governor of Baghdad. Therefore, it is the earliest of Per-



Sultan Öljaitü on his throne. Illustration for Rashid al-Din's manuscript. Delhi Sultanate

sian sources that was created on the basis of the personal impressions of the author or of trustworthy, reliable data, and it is the most valuable of accounts. Even though Juwayni was not a witness of the first Mongol invasions, he began his work with a description of the events of the early Mongol period thanks to the fact that he had access to rich sources from Mongolia. He visited Mongolia several times (he accompanied Argun, a ruler of the country) and gathered profound materials.

The 'Tarikh-i Jahān-gushā' is a history of the Mongols beginning with the rise of Chinggis Khan to Hulagu Khan's expedition against the Ismailis in 1256. It consists of a preface, an introduction, and three chapters, namely 1) the Mongols and their conquests up to the events which followed Güyük's death, including the history of Jochi's and Chagatai's descendants; 2) the Khwarezm Shahs and Mongol rulers of

Khorasan up to 1258; 3) continuance of the history of the Mongols up to victory over the Ismailis of Alamut. It goes without saying that the first volume is of great interest to us as it provides valuable information on the history of the Mongol invasions in Eastern Europe. Juwayni used his own information, which he obtained as a witness, as well as the accounts of contemporaries. Besides, he had access to official documents. His prominent work to a certain extent became the basis and example for all subsequent historians because borrowing, as a usual creative method, was wide-spread in those times. These borrowings were not reprehensible and even were a kind of literary canon [Piriyev, 1988, p. 197]. For instance, Juvayni's composition was used by Rashid al-Din and Wassaf, and via their works it was used by almost every later Persian, Arabic, or Turkish historian, who frequently literally repeated Juvani's account.

In the 14th century Persian historiography achieves a standout success. The 'Jāmi' al-tawārīkh' ('Compendium of Chronicles') is a grand composition of a major official serving Ghazan Khan and a great historian called Rashid-al-Din Faḍlullāh ibn Imad ad-Daula Abi-l-Hayr al-Hamadani (approx. 645–718/1247/48–1318). He was a medical scientist, a Sunni theologian, and a major political figure. Being a well-educated person, he spoke Persian, Arabic, Yiddish, Mongolian, and some European languages [Brown, 1951, pp. 62–63]. During the reign of Mongol rulers in Iran many non-Persians (especially in the early Mongol period) were assigned to supreme posts, and Rashid al-Din was also subsequently appointed to a range of high posts. In addition, he was the court physician of Mongol Sultan Abaqa Khan and used his great influence on the latter. During Ghazan Khan's reign (1295–1304) his achievements were marked, and he was appointed vizier in 1298. Being the vizier, he carried out financial reform, which regulated the financial system of the Hulaguids. He continued to remain in this post during the reign of Öljaitü Khan (704–716/1304–1316); moreover, he managed to get several signs of trust and benevolence from him.



Departure of a Mongol sultan. Miniature. Iran.
Beginning of the 14th century.

During the reign of Abu Sa'id Bahadur Khan, due to his enemies' intrigues, he was removed from the post and later executed in Tabriz on 18 July 1318, being accused of poisoning Öljaitü Khan [Stori, 1972, p. 301].

Rashid al-Din's major work, the 'Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh,' is 'a unique work in the world literature in the sense of idea performance' [Petrushevsky, 1952, p. 7]. It was begun as per the order of Ghazan Khan in 1300/01. E. G. Brown, giving characteristics to a grand idea of Ghazan Khan, wrote the following: 'Foreseeing that, despite their real superiority, they (the Mongols—A.A.) would be gradually pressed out by the Persians, he wanted to leave his descendants a monument to their achievements in the form of a trustworthy description of the history of conquest written in the Persian language. In order to fulfill this great task, he selected (and this choice could not have been better) Rashid al-Din, who had access to all the state archives and help of all those people who were experts in history of the Mongols' [Brown, 1951, p. 72]. Additionally, Rashid al-Din could use a lot of money allocated for these purposes. In general, the 'Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh' is a broad historic encyclopedia, and, according to V. Bartold, no people in Asia or Europe in medieval times could boast of having an encyclopedia like that as it was 'the last word in Persian historiography of the beginning of the 14th century' [Bartold, 1963, p. 769].

It is possible that with this work Ghazan Khan wanted to demonstrate his own wisdom. 'One person could not do this great work of such a grand idea. That is why Rashid al-Din attracted experts in the languages and history of separate peoples; there were two Persians, two Chinese, a Hindu from Kashmir, and apparently a French Catholic monk among them' [History of Iran, 1958, p. 168]. However, Rashid al-Din remained the main theorist, author, and editor. After his patron's execution, one of Rashid al-Din's employees, Abdullah Qashani, tried to accuse the vizier of plagiarism and claim his authorship of the grand historic work. He prepared his own work called the 'Tarikh-i Öljaitü Khan' ('History of Öljaitü Khan'), which was never published [Ibid., p. 169].



Sultan Gazan-Khan orders vizir Rashid al-Din to compile 'The Compendium of Chronicles.'
Illustration for Rashid al-Din's manuscript.
Delhi Sultanate

The main message of the 'Compendium of Chronicles' is that the history of the Arabs and Iranians is simply one of the rivers falling into a huge sea of the history of humankind. That is why the 'Jāmi' al-tawārīkh' pays great attention to the history of many peoples, from the Far East to Western Europe. The author placed notable value on Mongol and Turkic tribes, including the Oghuz tribes' [Agadzhanov, 1969, p. 29]. I. Petrushevsky noted that it would be more right to translate the name of the work as the 'Collection of Stories' because this work represents a completely new stage in historiography in comparison to the preceding types of chronicles.

The 'Jāmi' al-tawārīkh' is a composition that includes the universal history of the world from ancient times till 1303/04, and initially it was divided into three and then four volumes: 1) The 'Ta'rikh-i Ghazānī' is a tale of Turkic and Mongol tribes; 2) The history of Öljaitü and the universal history of the world; 3) The 'Shu'ab-i panjganah' is genealogies of the ruling dynasties of the 'five peoples': the Turks and Mongols, Muslims [Arabs], Jews, Franks, and Chinese; 4) The 'Suwar al-akalim' (this volume was the third in the first edition of the book up to 1306/07) is a geographical description of the world with descriptions of roads and postal units of the Mongol Empire [Story, 1972, p. 306]. The first volume is the most interesting for us. It consists of an introduction, containing a review of the Turkic and Mongol tribes, their division, genealogies and legends, the history of Chinggis Khan and his descendants, who ruled in Eastern Europe, Middle Asia, China, and Iran. This volume still remains a unique and unequaled historical monument, which provides important data for different researchers-historians [Falina, 1989, p. 156]. It is a distinguished work in the sense of the formation of a 'world history' genre, and in this regard it became 'the greatest achievement of Islamic historiography of the Middle Ages' [Novoseltsev, 1989, p. 228] because it raised the question of existence of the five world peoples many years before the creation of so-called 'world histories' in Western Europe—that is, it embraced the whole culturally advanced world of that period from

Western Europe to India and China [Bartold, 1977, p. 262]. It is important to say that as late as the 19th century European historians reduced the history of the world only to the history of Europe.

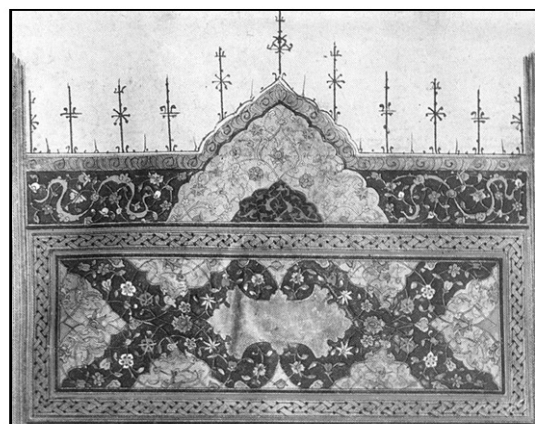
Apart from Juwayni, Rashid al-Din referred to Ghazan Khan as a first-hand source for historic information. He also used oral stories of the representatives of the Mongol aristocracy. First of all, the work of Pulad Ching-sang, a representative of the Great Khan at the court of the Hulaguids, was greatly important. In order to write the history of Chinggis Khan's conquests, Rashid al-Din used Juwayni's work and information provided by some local scholars, who held major posts and served Mongol Khans.

While preparing his work, Rashid al-Din definitely used Mongol sources. At his disposal he had the 'Altan Debter' ('Golden Book'), which is now lost. This work of a Persian historian became the major source for almost every subsequent compiler [Bartold, 1963, pp. 92–96; 1973, pp. 270–310; Petrushevsky, 1952, pp. 7–38; Story, 1972, pp. 301–322; Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 27–29] (see publications of the 'Compendium of Chronicles': [Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, 1836; Djamī el-tevarikh, 1911; Geschichte des Gazanhan's, 1940; Ta'rih-i-mubarak-i-Gazani, 1941; Rashid al-Din, 1858/1861; 1868; 1888; 1946; 1952; 1957; 1960; 1965; 2002]).

The historic chronicle 'Kitab tajziyat al-amsar wa tazjiyat al-a'sar' ('The Allocation of Cities and the Propulsion of Epochs'), better known under the name 'Tarikh-i Wassaf,' was written in 1312 by Sharaf al-Din Abdallah ibn Izz al-Din Faḍlallah Shīrāzī, also known as Wassaf al-Hazrat (which is a title meaning 'Court Panegyrist') (663–735/1264/65–1334/35). The author served as a financial official and was patronised by Rashid al-Din. Wassaf started writing his work as a continuation of Juwayni's chronicles, where he reflected the events in 1257–1328 from Hulagu Khan's reign to Abu Sa'id's. In general, Wassaf added all three shortened volumes of the 'Tarikh-i Jahān-gushā' to the end of the fourth volume of his book, which, as it

was explained by the author, is an addition to the 'Jahān-gushā.' Due to the fact that he had access to the state archives, he managed to provide many new facts. The fifth part of the 'Tarikh-i Wassaf,' composed approximately in 728/1328, has a review of the history of Chinggis Khan, the Jochids, and Chagataids and also contains a continuation of the history of the Hulaguid Dynasty up to 723/1323. V. Bartold noted that in this part Wassaf relied on the work of Rashid al-Din and sometimes told some events, which had already been told, differently. Apart from Juwayni and Rashid al-Din, Wassaf used oral tradition and stories of the witnesses as his sources. [Ripka, 1970, p. 294; Morgan, 1982, p. 624; Bartold, 1963, pp. 96–97; Story, 1972, pp. 769–775; Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 80; Polyakova, 1978, p. 45]. However, 'his usage of it (the source—A. A.) was hampered by declamatory narration, flowers of speech, and eloquent language with numerous metaphors and other poetical images, allegories, chronograms, wordplays, poetic riddles, etc. Herewith, the content was subdued to the literary form' [Istoriya Irana, 1958, p. 170].

Ḥamdallāh Ibn Abi Bakr Ibn Ahmad Ibn Nasr Mustawfī al-Qazvīnī (born approx. 680/1281–1282) can also be considered a historian of the Mongol Epoch. He descended from an ancient and respected family of a mustawfi, was a close friend of Rashid al-Din, and enjoyed his benevolence. Approximately in 1311 a famous vizier ordered him to control the finances of Qazvin and several regions of Iran. Ḥamdallāh al-Qazvīnī became famous thanks to his work similar to 'universal histories' called the 'Tarikh e Guzida' ('Selected History'), which was finished in 730/1329–30 and was dedicated to hoja Ghiyah al-Din Muhammad, Rashid al-Din's son and his successor. This work is mainly based on the 'Jāmi' al-tawārīkh' by Rashid al-Din, it is an imitation of Rashid al-Din's work and consists of an introduction, six parts, and a conclusion. Later the narration was continued till 742/1341–42 by the author, and his son Zayn ad-Din wrote an addition to his father's work where he described as a witness the events



Miniature to Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi's book
'Zafar-name'/'Book of Victories.' 1620s.
Transoxania

that took place in Iran in 742–794/1341–42—1391–92 till Tamerlane's conquest. Many subsequent compilers used the data provided in this addition [Bartold, 1977, pp. 98–100; Stori, 1972, pp. 327–334; Petrushevsky, 1937, pp. 873–920; Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, pp. 90–91; Materialy' po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii, 1939, pp. 54–55].

Historians of the 15th century provide an important block of materials on the Golden Horde's history in the period of the end of the 14–beginning of the 15th centuries. The earliest and fullest official history of Tamerlane, which survived to the present day and was written during his life and as per his order, is the 'Zafar-nama' ('Book of Victories'). It was composed in 806/1404 by Nizam ad-Din Abd-al-Vasi Shami. The author used an already existing detailed description of the Indian campaign headed by Tamerlane of Giyas ad-Din Ali (written in the period from 1399 to 1403) as well as official documentation and oral messages of parties involved, primarily of Tamerlane himself. Nizam ad-Din Shami's work was used by almost all successive historians, beginning with Hafiz-i Abru [Bartold, 1963, I, pp. 101–102; 1973, pp. 74–97; Story, 1972, pp. 787–791; Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 104–105; Materials on the History of the Turkmen and Turkmenia, 1939, p. 57; Yakubovsky, 1946, p. 43].

The name of Tamerlane's grandson—Ulugbek—is connected to an historic work that did not survive to the present day in full, the 'Tarikh-i arba' ulus' ('The History of Four Ulus-es') (written no later than 1425). Currently we know of about 4 copies of the book's shortened edition called the 'Ulus-i arba'i Ching-gisi' ('The Four Ulus-es of the Chinggisisds'). According to B. Akhmedov, this work was written by several authors under the direction of a mirza, and later it became a source for a group of historic works. It was actively used by Hondemir, Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi, and the author of the 'Tawarikh-i guzide-yi nusrat-name' [Akhmedov, 1979, pp. 29–36; Akhmedov and others, 1994, p. 3; Bartold, 1964, II, part 2, p. 142]. There is a known English translation of the shortened edition [The Shajarat ul-Atrak, 1838].

Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi (who died in 858/1454) was a famous scholar, who lived in Tamerlane's epoch and had a career as a courtier, a scientist, and a writer at Shakhrukh's court. His well-known chronicle the 'Zafar-nama' was written as per the order of Ibrahim Sultan, Shakhrukh's son, and was completed in 828/1424–25. It is the history of Tamerlane and Khalil Sultan. He used the work of Nizam ad-Din Shami enhanced with the data borrowed from a range of other sources, which did not survive to the present day, including the 'Tarikh-i Hani,' chronicles in verse in Turkic language and with the Uighur cursive. He also used Ghiyas al-Din Ali's work but managed to retrieve more facts from it than his predecessor Nizam ad-Din Shami; moreover, he referred to the oral tales of his contemporaries and participants in Tamerlane's campaigns [Bartold, 1963, pp. 102–103; Story, 1972, pp. 797–807; Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 144–145; Materials on the History of the Turkmen and Turkmenia, 1939, p. 58].

Among the chronicles of Tamerlane's epoch the so-called 'Anonyme of Iskandar' (composed in 1414) stands out separately. Another range of sources is connected to this work on universal history dedicated to Iskandar (the Timurid prince), Omar Sheikh's son, who controlled Fars and Isfahan. The manu-

script was unnamed, and initially V. Bartold called it the 'Anonyme of Iskandar' because it was written for Prince Iskandar—Tamerlane's grandson. Subsequently, V. Bartold also discovered that Mu'in ad-Din Natanzi was the author of the work. While describing the early period of Mongol sovereignty, he referred to Rashid al-Din's work as a source and copied it almost word by word. While describing the latter half of the Mongol period and the history of Tamerlane, he referred to some sources, which have not survived to the present day but which helped him to derive many valuable facts. These sources differ from those used by Nizam ad-Din Shami and Saharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi. Apparently, the major source of the 'Anonyme of Iskandar' was written in Turkic and was unknown to the above-mentioned historians. Hafiz-i Abru used the same source, but he was completely independent in his research as he provided details not mentioned by his colleague [Bartold, 1963, pp. 101–102; 1973, pp. 115–116, pp. 491–504; Story, 1972, pp. 339–341; Umnyakov, 1976, p. 45; Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 126–127]. There are many Turkic and Mongolian words in Natanzi's book, so the influence of the nomadic Turkic-speaking environment on his work is clear. Natanzi described the military and diplomatic history of the Mongol states and Tamerlane's Empire [History of Iran, 1958, p. 212].

Shihab ad-Din Abdallah Ibn Lutfallah al-Hafi, a major Persian-speaking historiographer, known under his pen-name Hafiz-i Abru (died in 833/1430), served Tamerlane and subsequently his son Sultan Shakhrukh (807–850/1405–1447). In 820/1417 he started working on a grand compilatory collection of historic works called the 'Majmu'a.' This work included a translation of Tabari into Persian [10th century], Rashid al-Din's composition, and the 'Zafar-nama' by Nizam ad-Din Shami. In order to fill in the blank spaces between those works, he wrote several additions, including a continuation to Rashid al-Din's work covering the events up to 795/1393, a continuation to Nizam ad-Din Shami's work up to 819/1416–1417. In 826/1423 he started writing a historic work in four volumes—'Majma

al-tawarikh-i sultaniye' ('Collection of chronicles (dedicated to) the Sultan'), which he finished in 830/1427. The fourth volume—'Zubdat at-tawarikh-i Baysunguri' ('Baysungur's Creams of Chronicles')—consists of two parts: the first one is dedicated to the history of Tamerlane's reign, while the second is the history of Shakhrukh's reign (up to 830/1427). This work involved all the above-mentioned books with some additions from sources that did not survive to the present day, namely from a chronicle also used by 'Anonyme of Iskandar.' This second work of Hafiz-i Abru (in a shortened edition) as well as Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi's work became the first part of Abd ar-Razzak Samarkandi's book [Bartold, 1963, pp. 101–102; 1977, pp. 79–97; Story, 1972, pp. 787–791; Materials on the History of the Turkmen and Turkmenia, 1939, p. 57; Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 104–105]. Hafiz-i Abru's works are precise and laconic, written in a simple language, and are full of socio-economic data.

The 'Matla al-sa'dayn wa majma'al-bahrayn' ('The Rise of the Two Happy Stars and the Junction of the Two Seas') is a work composed by Kamal ad-Din 'Abd al-Razzaq ibn Mavlan Jalal ad-Din Ishaq Samarqandi (816–887/1413–1482/83). It was written in the period 872–875/1467–68—1470–71. In 875/1470 'Abd al-Razzaq Samarqandi continued his work and added descriptions of the events that took place in Safara [August 1470]. He got his nisba 'Samarqandi' because he spent almost all his life in Samarkand, where his father was a qadi and imam in Shakhrukh's headquarters. In 857/1463 Sultan Abu Sa'id (855–873/1451–1469), a Timurid, appointed him as sheikh in the dervish residence (lodge) of Shakhrukh in Herat. He died in this city in 887/1482. Like many of his contemporaries, he enjoyed the benevolence of Mir 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī (844–906/1441–1501) [Materials on the History of Middle and Central Asia, 1988, p. 171]. The chronicle covers a period of 170 years and tells the history of the Mongols, Tamerlane, and the Timurids beginning from 704/1304–05 to 875/1470–71. The main events are ordered by year, and the chronicle

consists of two volumes (kisms or daftar) almost equal in size. When it comes to describing the events up to 830/1426, the work is completely based on the work of Hafiz-i Abru the 'Zubdat al-Tawarikh' and, via his work, on Nizam ad-Din Shami's book. However, the end of 'Abd al-Razzaq's composition is individually written. It goes without saying that what he wrote as a witness and participant of the events is a first-hand source and is used by all his successors [Bartold, 1963, p. 105; Story, 1972, pp. 820–828; Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 190–201; Materials on the History of the Turkmen and Turkmenia, 1939, p. 59].

The data, provided in the afore-mentioned 'Anonyme of Iskandar,' was used by later authors—Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Ghafur al-Qazwini, known as Qazi Ahmad al-Ghaffari (920–975/1515–1567/68), who wrote a grand compilation on the universal history, the 'Nusah-i Jahanara' ('Lists of the Marshaller of the World'), started in 930–984/1524–1576 and finished in 972/1564–65, and Hayder Ibn 'Ali Husseini Razi (biography unknown), who wrote a composition on universal history the 'Tarikh-i Haydari' ('Hayder's History') or, as it is sometimes called, the 'Zubdat al-Tawarikh' or the 'Majlis al-Tawarikh' (started in 1020/1611–12 and finished in 1028/1618–19) [Bartold, 1693, p. 84; Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 213].

Turkic sources. The 'Chinggis-name,' an original work by Ötemish Hajji, plays an important role in the study of different problems of medieval history. This is the only literary monument, written in the Khiva Khanate in the 16th century, which survived to the present day. It covers the period of Chinggis Khan's and the Chinggisids' reign [13–14th centuries] and contains information about the Golden Horde's Khans, from Batu Khan to Tokhtamysh Khan's early ruling [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 6]. However, as it becomes clear from the introduction, the author intended to write the work up until the time contemporary to himself. This text was written as per the order of Ishsultan (killed in 965/1558), a Shaybanid, in the first half of the 16th century.

ry. The author of the work—Ötemish Hajji—a descendant from a powerful family, served Ilbars-Khan (918–931/1512–1525), one of Öz Beg conquerors of Khwarezm, as palace clerk. He wrote his work mostly on the basis of legends and oral information. V. Bartold wrote the following: 'Reading historic materials, the author could find only the names of several Khans without any details of their ruling; moreover, most of the Khans were not named. In this regard, he collected legends about old times; then he 'weighed them on the scales of sense' and rejected those which could not withstand any critics. Soon he became famous as an expert in legends; if there were any complications in any collection about old leaders, he would be the one to resolve them' [Bartold, 1973, VIII, p. 165]. Among his informers were those who knew many legends—travellers, distinguished officials, khans (Ilbars Khan was one of the last ones mentioned). The author himself travelled a lot in Khwarezm and the southern regions of the Golden Horde, the regions around the Caspian Sea, and in the Lower Volga Region. He described many events as a witness. His data about Shiban and his descendants, who came to power after Berbidek's death (1357–1361), is of great importance.

Among sources in Turkic, which fully reflected the Jochid historic tradition (historic tradition of the Golden Horde period), it is worth mentioning an anonymous text—the 'Tawarikh-i guzide-yi nusrat-name' ('Selected Stories of the Book of Victories') (written in 1502–1504). It was dedicated to the biography of Muhammad Shaybani (1451–1510), an Öz Beg Khan, and it is considered to be the central work of the Shaybanid group of sources. The work contains data on the socio-economic relations, tribal relations of nomads of the Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq, etc. The author used sources in Mongolian, Persian, and Turkic.

The 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' ('Book about Chinggis'). It's an anonymous Tatar historic and publicistic work, which dates back to the end of the 17th century. It consists of three chapters-dastans, providing information on Edigey's genealogy, listing the headquarters of the Khans, etc. The first two dastans tell

about Chinggis Khan and Tamerlane. Apparently, this source contains reminiscences from old Turkic, early Mongol, and Jochid historiographies.

5. Russian sources

Iskander Izmaylov

Chronicles contain the most important and systematised year by year materials on the Golden Horde's history and its political relationships with Russian principalities in the 13–15th centuries. Even though they are short and sometimes controversial, they are irreplaceable, and sometimes the only sources of information about the past. The closer the date of creation to the events reflected in a chronicle, the more valuable it is. It goes without saying that contemporaneity of a source does not guarantee its trustworthiness. It is not rare when an author, writing several years after an event, was more tendentious and aware of the event than his closest contemporary. But if the time lapse between the event and its reflection in the source is critical, if it exceeded the time of life of a generation, in order to use the materials of the source, it is required to prove that a later author had access to an earlier manuscript. That is why it is complicated to analyse and use the data provided in chronicles, ensure the actuality of collections, study their content, and find out their time of creation. Herewith, it is extremely important to distinguish chronicles on the basis of the degree of their candor, unravel the degree of their trustworthiness, and estimate the proportion of official data and independent facts [Lurie, 1985, pp. 61–68].

The history, textology, and source study of Russian chronicle writing in the 13–15th centuries were studied rather well in the works of several generations of historians and textual critics (the most important of them are the following: see [Shakhmatov, 1938; Likhachev, 1983; Priselkov, 1996; Nasonov, 1969; Lurie, 1976; 1985, pp. 190–205; Kloss, 1980; Muravyeva, 1983; 1991; 1998]).

In comparison to previous periods, Russian chronicle writing in the 13–15th centuries contains a whole range of differences. In

many ways it is explained by the establishment of the idea of All-Russian chronicle writing as well as by traces of the ideological and political fight for actual issues of the development of the Rus'.

One of the most significant sources for studying this period and stage of chronicle writing is southern Russian chronicles, primarily, **the Galitsian-Volynian chronicle** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2; Galitsian-Volynian Chronicle, 2005]. This chronicle, which covers events from 1201 to 1292, was created in several steps. Currently it is believed that the text of the chronicle was divided into two parts—the Chronicle of Daniil Galitsky (1201–1265) and the Volynian chronicle (1266–1290) [Galitsian-Volynian Chronicle, 2005, pp. 30–60]. A characteristic feature of this chronicle is the absence of weather reports, traditional for old Russian chronicles. Another important feature is its secular nature. In this regard there is every reason to call it a princely chronicle. The authors of the chronicle amplified its text with various documents from princely archives and personal notes. The main goal of the authors was to describe princes and their deeds related to ups and downs in internal and external policies of the principality. M. Priselkov believed that the most important task of the authors of the Volynian chronicle was to justify Prince Yuri Lvovich's right to succession and the residency of the metropolitan in his principality and not in north-eastern principalities, and, correspondingly, to the Galich supremacy over all of Russia. Detailed descriptions of historic events, related to the Mongol invasion (The Battle on the Kalka River in 1223, Batu's campaign against Southern Rus' in 1240), and the episodes of military and political cooperation of the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia with the Jochid Ulus in the latter half of the 13th century are of special interest.

The beginning of the 14th century is also marked by the creation of other chronicles, which aspired to review the history of all Russian lands, but in fact in many ways they were focused mainly on the events that took place in the north-east of Rus'. The most important topics of these works were the relations be-

tween princes during their fight for the Grand Principality and the Golden Horde's policy in Rus'.

One of the earliest examples of such chronicles is **the Laurentian Chronicle** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1]. Its sources are the chronicles of the Grand Principality of Vladimir written in the 13–14th centuries. The opening part of the chronicle was represented by 'The Tale of Bygone Years' and abstracts from the chronicles of the middle of the 12—the first third of the 13th centuries. Perhaps, the key chronicle was the chronicle of Grand Prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, written in 1239 in Rostov. Its main goal was to prove the historic leadership of Vladimir among the other princely centres as a counter to the ideological supremacy of Galitsian Princes and their chronicles. Another chronicle, which left a significant mark on the Laurentian Chronicle, was the chronicle of Grand Prince Dmitry Aleksandrovich, written in 1281 in Pereyaslavl, where the Grand Prince's court and the Metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus' were located at the time.

The strengthening of Tver, when Prince Mikhail Yaroslavich of Tver became Grand Prince of Vladimir, gave a new momentum to the development of north-eastern chronicle writing. This prince inspired the creation of the 1304 chronicle, which was a rewriting of the chronicle of the Grand Principality in the spirit of 'Tver' traditions with a clear anti-Tatar nature. Additions to this new chronicle were represented by weather reports, and they had been apparently written down in Tver from the end of the 13th century. Being an overall Russian chronicle, it also included news from Novgorod, Ryazan, Smolensk, and the south of Russia. Subsequently, this chronicle became a major source for the Laurentian Chronicle, which survived to the present day in the copy of 1377. This chronicle was continued by new general Russian chronicles, also written in Tver in 1318 and 1327. Their passages are preserved as parts of later Moscow chronicles (the Trinity Chronicle and the Chronicles of Simeon), even though all Tver news was presented in the spirit of Moscow traditions. Besides, traces of Tver chroni-

cle writing can be noticed in the Rogozhsky Chronicler. As these chronicles were repeatedly rewritten, the volume of materials on the topic of relations between Russian Principalities and the Jochid Ulus's khans is rather small, whereas the descriptions are lapidary.

The next step in the development of an overall Russian chronicle writing tradition was linked to strengthening the role and power of Moscow and Ivan Kalita's Great Principality. Approximately in 1389 the '**Great Russian Chronicler**' was created at his court. Only small passages of this chronicle survived to the present day. M. Priselkov believed that the creator of the Trinity Parchment Chronicle referred to its materials. This chronicle was rather hypothetical and contained materials of different origin, which had been rewritten and significantly edited.

An increase in the Church's role in the internal affairs of the country and the Metropolitan of Kiev and All Rus' Cyprian's influence in the context of his confrontation with Dmitry Ivanovich Donskoy, Prince of Moscow, gave new momentum to the development of a general Russian chronicle writing. According to the authors, this chronicle, based on the 1304 chronicle, should have reflected the history of Russian lands, which had been a part of the Russian metropolis since ancient times, and should have taken into account all local traditions of chronicle writing. The text of the chronicle was more fully reflected in **the Trinity Chronicle** of the beginning of the 15th century (it is possible that the text of the 1408 chronicle was directly narrated in this chronicle) and a range of other chronicles. The manuscript of the Trinity Chronicle was burnt in the 1812 Fire of Moscow, and its text was restored by M. Priselkov thanks to certain extracts taken from the chronicle by N. Karamzin and some other chronicles of similar content [Priselkov, 1950].

In the first half of the 15th century, in an environment of internal strife between Dmitry Donskoy's heirs, the centre of Russian chronicle writing moved to Tver, where in the 1430s (or, as per Ya. Lurie, in 1412] a new version of the 1408 chronicle was created. It was directly reflected in **the Rogozhsky Chronicler**

[Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15], **the Nikon Chronicle** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 9–14], and also in **the Simeon Chronicle** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18]. Differences in the texts of the above-mentioned chronicles can be specifically noted after the entry of 1390.

Along with Russian chronicles represented by the above-mentioned ones, there were also local chronicles finding reflection, for instance, in Novgorod and Pskov chronicle writing. Pskov chronicles included a range of copies gathered in **the First Pskov** (initially describing events up to 1469), **the Second Pskov** (describing events up to 1486), and **the Third Pskov** (describing events after the 15th century) **chronicles** [Pskov Chronicle, 1941–1955]. According to A. Nasonov and Ya. Lurie, they were based on one and the same protograph.

The Trinity Chronicle is followed by the so-called Novgorod-Sofia Chronicle svod, reflected in **the Fourth Novgorod chronicle**, the similar **Karamzin's Novgorod chronicle**, and **the First Sofia chronicle** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4; 6; 5; pp. 81–275; 42]. The texts of the Fourth Novgorod and the First Sofia chronicles are the same up to 1418, while the text of the article on 1425 is similar to the First Sofia and Karamzin's Novgorod chronicles. A. Shakhmatov's assumption that the Novgorod-Sofia Chronicle svod was preceded by an earlier source—the 1418–1421 Metropolitan Chronicle (the so-called 1448 'Photius's Polychron')—was erroneous: the chronicles, which were considered by A. Shakhmatov a reflection of Photius's work, independent from the Novgorod-Sofia Chronicle svod, in fact were not based on this hypothetical monument. They were based on chronicle writing of the end of the 15–beginning of the 16th centuries [see: Lurie, 1976, pp. 67–121]. A. Shakhmatov proposed that the chronicle svod was written in 1448, but this idea was based not on data analysis but on the interpretation of one message which was clearly incorrect. Even though he subsequently abandoned this dating, this mistake is sometimes repeated in historic works. In order to determine the date when the Novgorod-So-

fia Chronicle svod was written, we need to remember that this svod, being a general source for the First Sofia, Karamzin's Novgorod, and the Fourth Novgorod chronicles, preceded the first version of the Fourth Novgorod chronicle prepared in 1437. Apparently, the Novgorod-Sofia Chronicle svod was created in the 1430s [Shakhmatov, 1938, p. 366; Lurie, 1976, pp. 108–117; Bobrov, 1976, p. 10]. The text of the First Sofia chronicle (the older version) covers the events up to 1418 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 6]. This chronicle was reflected in **the Moscow Academic Chronicle** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, 1928] and in its own shortened edition of the latter half of the 15th century [Nasonov, 1955]. This chronicle contains a range of unique facts concerning the end of the 13th century.

The new chronicle is a radical revision (with the use of Tver, Suzdal, Novgorod, and other chronicle materials) of the 1408 chronicle svod. It also held an overall Russian nature and originated from the Metropolitan environment. According to A. Shakhmatov, it was written in 1448 in Moscow in connection with the election of the new Metropolitan Jonah. The idea of the vital unity of the Rus', including the unification of Rostov, Suzdal, Tver, Novgorod, and Pskov, headed by Moscow, which was required to fight back the 'foul' Tatars, served as an ideological keynote of the chronicle svod. This chronicle svod expressed for the first time a general Russian narration of the events that took place in the past and present, although it still underlined the supreme role of Moscow as historic centre.

The I Sofia chronicle in its turn served as a major source for the Chronicle Writing of the Grand Principality of Moscow and was reflected in various versions of **the Nikanor Chronicle** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 27] and **the Vologda-Perm** [1472] [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 26] **chronicles**, the '**Chronicler from 72 languages**' [1497 and 1477 [passage]] [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 28], **the Moscow Chronicle svod** [1479, beginning and end of the 1490s] [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25], and chronicles of the

16th century, including **the Voskresenskaya ['Resurrection'] Chronicle** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 7–8] and **the Nikon chronicle**.

Alongside the Chronicle writing of the Grand Principality in the 15th century, there was an independent Russian chronicle writing tradition, represented by **the Yermolin chronicle** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 23] and other chronicles similar to it (they reflected the Northern chronicle svod of the beginning of the 1470s and most likely were written in the Kirillo-Belozersky monastery)—that is, **the Typographic chronicle** (Rostov chronicle svod of the 1480s) [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20], **the Second Sofia chronicle** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 5; 6], **the Lviv chronicle** (1518, based on the church chronicle svod of the 1480s) [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 20], etc. These chronicles are of special interest because they preserved their independence from the official historiography in narration of various events, in the description of political struggles and relations between the Grand Princes of Moscow and the Golden Horde and Tatar Khans.

Some chronicles of the 16–17th centuries contain unique facts concerning relations with the Golden Horde khans in the 14–15th centuries. These are Tver accounts, specified in the **Tver collection** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15] and the so-called **Museum Passage** [Nasonov, 1958], separate notes from the Nikon and Voskresenskaya chronicles, the **Ustyug Chronicles** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 37], etc.

The Chronicle Writing of Novgorod at the end of the 13–the first half of the 15th centuries is represented by the **First Novgorod chronicle of the older and newest recensions** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 3; First Novgorod Chronicle, 1950]. The older recension narrates up to the 1330s, while the newest, up to 1340s. The Novgorod chronicle of the beginning of the 15th century, reflected in the First Novgorod chronicle of the newest recension, was also used in the composition of the protograph for the Fourth Novgorod and the First Sofia chronicles.



Guyuk is elected Great Khagan.
Engraving for the first edition of W. Rubruck's book. 1735.

We have to mark the existence of a specific Belarus-Lithuania chronicle writing, which reflected both Russian events and original facts on the relations between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Golden Horde as well as with its conquered Russian principalities. The formation of this chronicle writing is connected with the traditions of early Russian chronicles represented by various copies of the Trinity Chronicle and the Chronicle of Simeon. The **First Belarus Chronicle** is represented by the Nikiforov, Supraśl, Slutsk, and Academical copies. This complicated collection of chronicles contains both borrowings from the Fourth Novgorod, the First Sofia, and Trinity Chronicles and regional data [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 17; 35]. Belarus-Lithuanian chronicle writing found its further development in the **Bychowiec Chronicle** (middle of the 16th century) and the **Lithuanian and Samogitian Chronicle** [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 32; Bychowiec Chronicle, 1966].

Apart from chronicles, there are some other written monuments of Russian Medieval literature (some of them have survived to the present day—completely or partially—as parts of chronicles), which contain direct or indirect materials about the Jochid Ulus and its relations with Russian Principalities. It is worth enumerating several of them: **'The Tale**

Mikhail of Tver' (from the 1520s) [Kuchkin, 1999], **'The Life of Metropolitan Peter'** (1327) [Makary, 1995; Kuchkin, 1962], **'The Life of Metropolitan Alexey'** (first short edition: the end of the 14th century; second edition, the middle of the 15th century) [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, clmn. 121–124; 18, pp. 119–121; 25, pp. 194–196], **'The Life of Sergey Radonezhsky'** (1418) [Kloss, 1998, pp. 285–341; Literary Monuments of Ancient Rus', 1981, pp. 256–429], etc.

They preserved unique materials on the culture, diplomatic decorum, and several other spheres of relations between the Jochid Ulus's khans and Russian Princes. The ideological background of these works and the increase in anti-Tatar and anti-Islamic movements in the 14th century are of special interest.

Authors of numerous 'peregrinations,' or diary notes, of Russian merchants and pilgrims who travelled to sacred places are of special interest as they preserved unique data on the Jochid Ulus's historical geography and its trading routes. Among them we should name **'A Journey Beyond the Three Seas' by Afanasiy Nikitin** [Maletov, 2005].

Taking into account relations between the Golden Horde and Russian Principalities, one cannot but mention such an important topic for discussion as the 1380 Battle of Kulikovo and sources from that period. This battle was described in a whole range of old Russian sources: in chronicle-based tales—a short one (as part of the Rogozhsky Chronicle, the Chronicles of Simeon, and the Moscow Academic Chronicle) and a long one (in the First Sofia and the Fourth Novgorod Chronicles), in the poetic tale 'Zadonshchina', in the epic 'Story of the Mamai Battle,' as well as in the lives of Dmitry Ivanovich and Sergey Radonezhsky. The earliest and most reliable among them is a short tale, which was written at the end of 14—beginning

of the 15th centuries. Its long version was written in the middle of the 15th century. It is impossible to determine the exact time of creation of the '**Zadonshchina**' (the end of the 14–beginning of the 15th centuries), but it is clear that it was created after '**The Tale of Igor's Campaign**' had been processed, and additional chronicle material had been added (A. Zimin, however, believes that it was *visa versa* [Zimin, 2006]). 'The Story of the Mamai Battle' appeared in the end of the 15th century to the 1520–30s, and it is a military tale with plenty of legendary additions

to the chronicle, which brings to mind medieval novels on knights (the fight of bogatyr before the battle; the commander who dressed like an ordinary soldier; the ambush regiment) ['Tale of Igor's Campaign' and Written Sources of the Kulikovo Cycle, 1966, pp. 535–556; Legends and Tales about the Battle of Kulikovo, 1982; Andrianova-Perets, 1947; Kuchkin, 1985; Gorsky, 1992; Zimin, 2006].

6. West-European and East-European Latin sources

Iskander Izmaylov

Written sources of European origin contain various information concerning daily life, the economy, warfare, internal political environment, and international relations of the Jochid Ulus. These accounts are as diverse as they are numerous. Rarely can we find grand compositions fully dedicated to the history of the Mongols and their conquests, which is characteristic for descriptions of the travels of merchants or different diplomatic missions to the Great Khan's court. More often such accounts are represented by selected facts in large texts, throwing light on the geography or universal history from 'the beginning of time,' or sometimes by agreements, which fixed trading operations and court rulings. This is particularly



Tatar wagons. Engraving for the first edition of W. Rubruck's book. 1735.

true for the archives of trading houses in Genoa or Venice, which ran their business in the Northern Black Sea Region.

Descriptions of diplomatic missions from the Papal Curia and Royal Houses of Europe to Karakorum to the Great Khan of the Mongols can be considered among those detailed and grand works, which preserve facts on the different spheres of life in the Jochid Ulus, especially in its early period [middle–latter half of the 13th century].

First among them should be the materials of the 1245 Franciscan mission to Mongolia. This mission, sent by Pope Innocent IV, was tasked with the delivery of a letter addressed to the Great Khan of the Mongols to determine his intentions towards Europe and, if possible, his conversion to Catholicism. The motive for the intensive exchange of diplomatic missions between the Mongol Khan and the Pope was the fact that a part of the Mongol Khans were Christian-Nestorians. Additionally, it was inspired by the legendary and hyperbolic news concerning the state of 'Presbyter John,' allegedly located in the depth of Asia and ready to help the Christians of Europe and the Holy Land in order to eliminate the threat of Muslim pressure. That is why the Franciscan mission included Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, born in Perugia, and two Brothers—Benedict

from Poland and Stephan from Bohemia. The latter had to turn back during the trip and managed to reach only Kiev. Only Brother Benedict from Poland accompanied Friar Giovanni everywhere, he became his 'comrade in struggles and strifes' and a translator. Evidently, we should thank him for the success of the mission and for recording a large number of unique facts on the Mongols, their traditions, and history of conquest because he spoke the Kipchak language fluently and carried out all clerical duties. The mission, which had diplomatic and reconnaissance goals, set off from Lion on 16 April 1245 and returned during the autumn of 1247. During these two years of travels in Eastern Europe they visited many countries and lands and recorded many stories concerning past and recent events. When they came home, in November 1247, Friar Giovanni prepared a report, and later, being appointed the Archbishop of Antivari, he prepared another edition of his work not long before his death (in 1248 or 1252). The description of the travel itself is similar to diary notes but contains numerous and extensive information concerning the history and geography of different countries of Central Asia, about the state structure of Mongolia, its religion, about the customs of its populations, the Chinggisids' genealogy, etc.

It is believed that it survived to the present day in two texts. First of all, this is the report by **Giovanni da Pian del Carpine**, which he called the '**Liber Tartarorum**' ('**The Book about Tartars**'), which was called by a scribe of the 14th century 'The History of the Mongols Whom We Call the Tartars,' and this name was used in the subsequent historiography. The second version of the report, which was written by Benedict, the companion of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, was rewritten with reductions in 1247 by **Friar C. de Bridia**, a member of his own order, who called it the '**Historia Tartarorum**' ('**The History of the Tartars**'). Later this text was rewritten and revised by Simon of St. Quentin, who was a member of one of the subsequent missions to the Mongols. In the middle of the 13th century the encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais (died in 1264) included the report by Giovanni da Pian

del Carpine, once again edited and updated, into the 4-volume division of the '**Speculum Maius**.' According to modern scholars [Christian World, 2002, p. 27], despite the fact that these two reports are very much alike, there are some visible differences between them, which can be accounted for by the fact that Friar Giovanni was an official reporter, whereas Friar Benedict wrote a mystified and mythologised version of his report.

The aforementioned texts were repeatedly translated into European languages (see the fullest editions: (Beazley, 1903; de Saint-Quentin, 1965)). The fullest version of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's work was translated into Russian by A. Malein [Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, 1911; 2-nd edition.: Puteshestviya, 1957], whereas C. de Bridia's text was translated by S. Aksenov and A. Yurchenko [Christian World, 2002].

Several years after Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's return another mission was sent to the Great Khan's court in Mongolia. This time it was headed by William of Rubruck (Guillaume, Willem), a Franciscan Minorite (1215 or 1220—ca. 1270), who came from the Flemish Region and had taken part in the sixth Crusade. The mission was sent in 1253 by the French King Louis IX (Saint Louis) in order to conclude an alliance with the Mongols against the Muslims in the Middle East. The mission started from the Crimean port of Soldaia, from where it moved on to Sartaq and Batu's headquarters, and then travelled to Karakorum, where it gained an audience with the Great Khan Möngke. It ended with its return to France via Asia Minor. On returning to his homeland, William of Rubruck prepared a detailed description of his travels—that is, '**The Journey to the Eastern Parts of the World by Friar William of Rubruck in the Year of Grace 1253**.' Being educated and well-prepared for travelling, Friar William was evidently well aware of the reports by previous missions and of diplomatic correspondence, and he was able to provide a description of the countries and lands he had seen, which was more significant both in volume and content. His description of the Lower Volga Region in the 1250s and the features

of the relations between leaders of the Jochid Ulus and the Great Khans of Mongolia are of special interest. The text of 'The Journey' has been published several times in different European languages [Beazley, 1903; Göckengün, Sweeney, 1985]. There is also a Russian translation by A. Malein [William of Rubruck, 1911; 2nd edition: Puteshestviya, 1957; see also: Khamidullin, 2002, pp. 48–50; History of 'the Scythians,' 2001, pp. 127–136].

Among other missions and travels, it is worth mentioning one headed by Simon of St. Quentin, who travelled to the Middle East and Transcaucasia in the middle of the 13th century. In his commentaries he also used the reports received from another mission headed by Friar Ascelin, a Dominican. All these reports survive to the present day thanks to the fact that they were included in the encyclopaedia of Vincent of Beauvais. A large number of facts, especially the materials of Ascelin's mission concerning his visit to the Great Khan Güyük's headquarters and information on expeditions to Hungary, are unique. This text has been published in European languages [de Saint-Quentin, 1965], and recently part of it was published in Russian. The translation into Russian was prepared by N. Gorelov [Book of Travels, 2006, pp. 81–116].

Among the diplomatic missions, which visited the Jochid Ulus in the middle of the 13th century, the travels of the Venetian Marco Polo merit a special description. Together with his uncle and father he set off in 1271 on a journey to the court of the Great Kublai Khan, and they travelled for three and a half years (1271–1274). Thanks to their diplomatic credentials and a message from Pope Gregory X they were hired for service in Khanbaliq, the capital of the Yuan Empire, where they served for 17 years. During this period Marco studied Mongolian and also learned how to read several other languages and writing systems (Arabic, Syriac, Uighur, and Mongolian scripts), which allowed him to advance successfully in the service, while fulfilling various special instructions of the Great Khan. Being a high ranking official, he was well aware of the political environment in the Empire and privy to many secret issues re-

lating to military measures against Japan and Countries of the South-East Asia. Even Polo's return to his homeland from 1292–1295 was connected with a special diplomatic errand for the Emperor. Marco Polo was charged with delivering a female relative of the Great Khan to Ilkhan Argun. As soon as Marco Polo returned to Venice, he started active participation in the city's political life. In 1296 (or 1297) he took part in an unsuccessful war against Genoa and was taken prisoner. While in a Genoese prison, he asked a fellow inmate, Rusticiano, to write down his stories and told him everything in detail. These stories told by **Marco Polo** provided the basis for the **'Book of the Marvels of the World'** or **'Description of the World.'** The only manuscript of this work to survive, which is held in the National Library of France [Pauthier, 1865], became the basis for the main publications in European languages. At the same time, this original version has been repeated and supplemented by numerous other notes because up to his death in 1324 Marco Polo continued telling people about his peregrinations and perhaps making notes about them. More than 80 copies of 'The Description of the World' survive to the present day. Apart from Rusticiano's manuscript, other manuscripts of independent importance are the following: the first one was apparently looked through and handed over by Marco Polo to the French knight Thibaut de Sepoy in 1307, and the second is a printed edition of 1559 by Giovanni Ramusio, which originated from one of the lost Latin original versions of the 14th century [Magidovich, 1955]. For this reason Rusticiano's text is usually supplemented by other sources [Moule, Pellio, 1938; Minayev, 1902; Book of Marco Polo, 1955; see also: Khamidullin, 1998, pp. 64–66; History of the Scythians, 2001, pp. 137–142]. The Book of Marco Polo is one of those Medieval writings which have had a huge impact in forming European impressions of Asia. Marco Polo's first-hand accounts of the countries and peoples living in the Jochid Ulus and also about military and political events of the end of the 13th century (especially the wars between Khan Tokhta and Nogai) are original and in many ways unique.

Diplomatic and missionary travels of Europeans continued after Marco Polo, but unfortunately few of them provided any description of the Jochid Ulus [see: Posle Marko Polo, 1968; Kniga stranstvij, 2006].

The European Mediterranean powers increased their diplomatic activity against the backdrop of the events at the end of 14–beginning of the 15th centuries, the strengthening of the Turkish threat against the Byzantine Empire and Balkan countries, Emir Timur's campaign against the Jochid Ulus, and his conquest of the Middle East. One of the most important results of all this was the exchange of diplomatic missions between Tamerlane and European governments, who wanted to make an alliance against the Turks. One such mission was the Castilian embassy, which left its mark if not in the history of Mediterranean diplomacy but in the historico-geographical description of the countries of Central Asia by Europeans. This is because the detailed travel notes of the head of the embassy Ruy González de Clavijo, who entitled his work **'Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Tamerlane (1403–1406),'** survive to this day and provide a detailed itinerary of his journey from the shores of Spain to Samarkand. The work gives information about cities, peoples, their ways of life, and so on. It also provides unique insights into the arrangement of Tamerlane's court and on the complicated ethnocultural situation in Middle Asia as well as on the complex diplomatic relations of this Middle Asian ruler with the Golden Horde khans. The text of 'The Narrative' survived in two manuscripts and was published again in the middle of the 16th century. The text has been translated into European languages [Clavijo, 1928; Embajada a Tamorlan, 1943] and into Russian [Clavijo, 1881; 1990].

Another informative source on the history of the Jochi Ulus in the 15th century is **'The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, a Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396–1427'** by Johann (Hans) Schiltberger. Similar to the materials of other travels, this work gives us an opportunity to learn about the recollections left for the descendants of a Bavarian soldier, who was captured by

the Turks in 1396 after the Crusaders had been defeated by Sultan Bayezid and remained a prisoner till 1427. During his 30 years as a prisoner, Johann Schiltberger together with his various masters visited many European and Asian countries. For instance, he visited the court of karachi-bek Edigu in Circassia and other regions of the North Caucasus, Crimea, Astrakhan Krai, and even Siberia. For a long time the often fantastic and exaggerated materials in 'The Bondage and Travels' were considered to be an unreliable source, but—if treated critically—they can provide valuable facts about the history of the Jochid Ulus in a period of crisis for this state. The text of 'The Bondage and Travels' by J. Schiltberger has been known to scholarly circles for a long time. There is a Russian translation of the text with an extensive commentary by F. Brun [Puteshestviya Ivana Shiltbergera, 1867; re-edition, see Schiltberger, 1984; see also: Iz glubiny' stoletij, 2000, pp. 209–214].

Another group of materials, which contains information about conquests of the Mongols and the history and geography of the Jochid Ulus, has been preserved in European sources of universal history. One of the most authoritative sources of the 13th century is **'The Chronica Majora' by Matthew Paris**. Matthew was a Benedictine monk living in the Abbey of St Albans (Hertfordshire), and apparently he had access to the most important world news and events and used different archive materials, including Royal diplomatic correspondence and works of his predecessors. In accordance with the traditions of the genre, the author wrote down the history from the creation of the world. The beginning of his work was based on a revised chronicle written by Roger of Wendover. However, he corrected, amended (starting from 1200), and continued Roger's work up to 1259, adding a collection of documents as a supplement. The work provided materials on the conquests in Eastern and Central Europe, a collection of originals (messages, letters, and reports), detailing the Mongol invasion, for example, a record of a speech by hegumen Peter from one of the monasteries near Kiev, which are of special interest for those studying the history

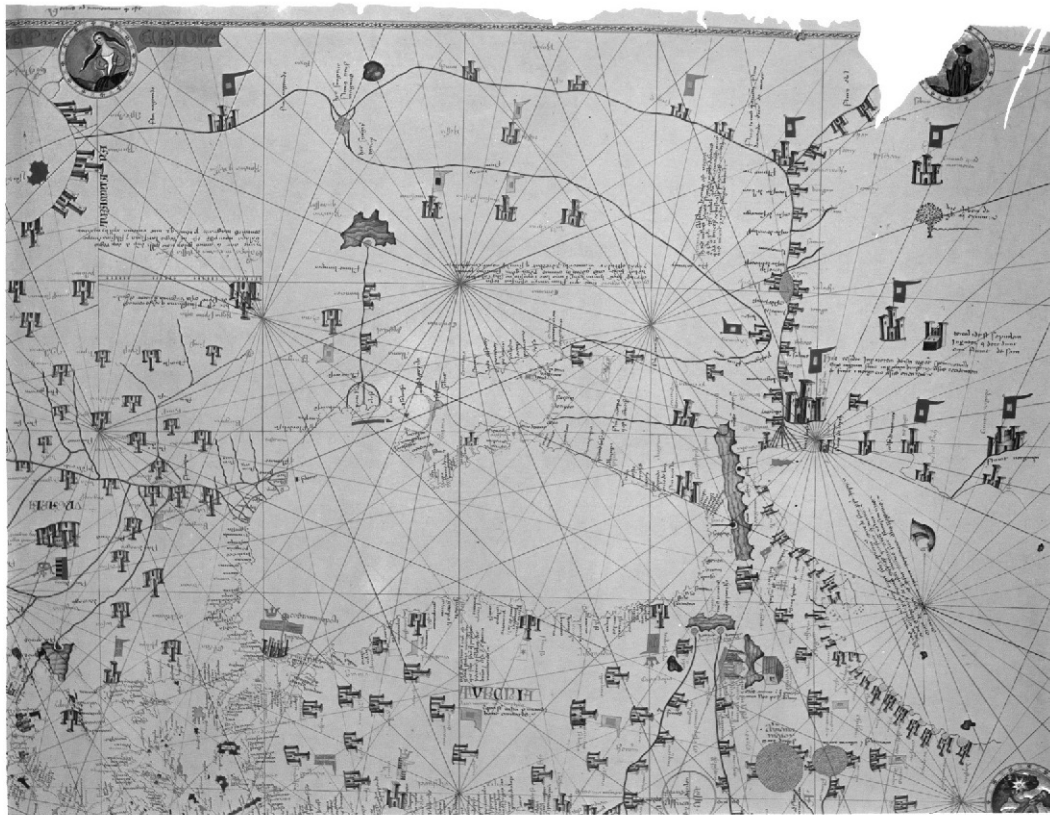
of the Mongol conquests. The chronicle has been published repeatedly in Latin and modern European languages [Matth. Paris., 1872–1883; Matthew Paris's, 1852–1854]. Passages from it, relating to the history of Eastern Europe, have been published in Russian [Matuzova, 1979, pp. 107–171].

Another important source about the 13th century is a historic and geographic work of **Roger Bacon** called '**Opus Majus**.' Its author was a prominent medieval encyclopaedist, who created it in the 1260s. His main sources were the works of his predecessors and handwritten materials, in particular, the reports of the monks *Pian del Carpine* and *Guillaume de Rubruck*, his contemporaries. However, the author did not use these materials word for word but revised them within the framework of his own concept. Of especial merit is the fact that Bacon used materials and reports which only became accessible to scholars many centuries later. So great was the authority of his work that it had a decisive influence on all subsequent medieval European historiography, partially perceived by the authors of the early modern period, and modified geographic notions of Eastern Europe, of the customs and life of the Tatars, etc. Bacon's work was one of the most popular compositions, and it has been published in European languages on several occasions [Bridges, 1897–1900; Burke, 1928]. Some fragments of the work, regarding the history of Eastern Europe, have also been published in Russian [Matuzova, 1979, pp. 191–234].

Some original and interesting facts about the Mongol invasion and military and political events, which took place in Eastern Europe in the latter half of the 13th century, can be found in Polish chronicles written in Latin. Arguably the most important of them is '**The Chronicle of Greater Poland**' ('**Chronica magna seu longa polonorum seu lechitarum**'), written from the end of the 13–beginning of the 14th centuries by a representative of the priesthood linked to the Poznań capitulary. It is one of the major works of history by Polish authors, the first half of which ('from the creation of the world' to 1202) is based on the traditions of the Polish chronicles of

the 11–13th centuries, primarily on the works of *Wincenty Kadłubek*. The second half (the narration continues up to 1271), which is self-standing, gives a detailed history of Poland, notably the marches of the *Jochid Ulus* khans against Lesser Poland and Silesia. 'The Chronicle of Greater Poland,' which became one of the key stages in the development of Polish historiography, has been repeatedly studied and published [Chronica, 1970]. Some passages of the work, regarding the history of Eastern Europe, have also been published in Russian [Velikaya xronika, 1987].

Syriac sources (see: *History of Mar Yabalahi*, 1958) and works of clerical historians of the Middle East have preserved some interesting and in many ways unique facts about the *Jochid Ulus*. An example of such clerical works is the '**Libellus de Notitia Orbis**' by **Johannes de Galonifontibus**, who wrote it in 1404. In 1377 this Dominican monk was designated Bishop of *Nakhchivan* by Pope Gregory XI. He spent all his adult life in Eastern episcopates, and the apex of his career came in 1398 with his designation as Archbishop of *Sultaniya*. During that time he took part in several diplomatic missions to Europe, Transcaucasian countries, and the Middle East, and in particular he visited the court of *Emir Timur*, from whom he delivered letters to *Charles VI*, the King of France, and to other European monarchs in 1403. Later in 1410 *Johannes* was designated Archbishop of *Khanbaliq*, and his episcopate, the centre of which was located in the Crimea, took in the entire territory of the *Jochid Ulus* and Central Asia. Being well-educated and well-informed, in 1404 Brother *Johannes* completed an ecclesiastical history, in which he paid great attention to Islam and Muslim peoples, the Tatars in particular. Its manuscript was found in 1936 in the University Library of Graz and was published by *A. Kern* [Kern, 1938]. Those passages of the text that treat of the history of Transcaucasia and the North Caucasus were amended in accordance with other copies of the work and were published by *L. Tardy* [Tardy, 1978, pp. 83–111] and translated into Russian [Galonifontibus, 1980].



Portolan of the Pizzigani brothers. 1367.

Another group of sources is related to trading enterprises of Italian merchants in the Northern Black Sea Region. This group includes portolans: maps, pilot charts, nautical reference books, trading and notarial instruments signed by Italian merchants, and court cases relating to voyages in the Black Sea and commercial affairs. A Genoese portolan from the end of the 13th century is considered to be the earliest evidence of voyages by the Italians to the Black Sea Region in the Jochid Ulus period. Subsequently, the number of such sources greatly increased. Unfortunately, only a small number of them survive to the present day, but they still allow us to study the features of navigation and the trading system in the Northern Black Sea Region and the relations between the Genoese and Venetian colonies and the Jochid Ulus authorities (for the history of Italian colonies in the Northern Black Sea Region and a review of the sources see: [Skrzhinskaya, 1971, pp. 29–85; Konovalova, 1988; Black

Sea Region in the Middle Ages, 1991; Karpov, 1994; 2000]).

7. Armenian sources

The Armenian written tradition has preserved some original and informative facts about the history of the Jochid Ulus. Armenian chroniclers wrote mostly about the history of the Armenians and about religious matters, but at the same time when they described events, which in one way or another were related to these central themes, they also described the history of the neighbouring peoples or important political events. From the beginning of the 13th century they all to a greater or lesser extent touched on the topic of the Mongol invasion of Western Asia and Transcaucasia as well as the battles between the Jochid Ulus Khans and the Hulaguids.

Among the historians of the 13th century we must pay especial attention to **Kirakos of Gandzak** and his seminal work 'The Histo-

ry of Armenia' (1200–1271). He was born in Gandzak, obtained a splendid education in a monastery, and was later caught up in a whirlpool of events linked to the wars of the Mongols against Jalal ad-Din, the Georgian-Armenian Princes, and the Anatolian Turks. His works were based on literature of the past, stories of witnesses, and personal experiences. It consists of two parts. The first part is a compilation of materials gathered by previous historians. The author narrates events from the ecclesiastical history of Armenia, the life of the Catholicoi, and political events of the past. The second part covers the events starting from the reign of Prince Levon (1197) up to 1265, which he describes from the point of view of a contemporary and witness. A significant part of the narration is dedicated to religious, military, and political affairs, such as the Mongol invasion of Transcaucasia, the way of life, religion and traditions of the Mongols, and their relations with the Armenian Cilicia State. Kirakos of Gandzak's work is truly not only a masterpiece of Armenian historiography but also a priceless source of materials about the tumultuous events connected with the Mongol invasion of Transcaucasia and Asia Minor. His work has been translated into Russian [Gandzaketsi, 1976].

Another work which merits attention is the **'Historical Compilation' of Vardan Arewelts'i (Vardan the Great)**. He was one of the distinguished scholars, travellers, and activists of the Armenian church (a vardapet). He was born in the early 13th century, travelled a great deal in the Middle East and Transcaucasia, and was involved in education and enlightening activity. In the early 40s (up to 1245) he stayed at the court of Tsar Hethum and was abreast of political events of that time. He wrote a lot and was a recognised author of theological works, spiritual songs, and other compositions. His most significant work is the 'Historical Compilation,' where he set forth history 'from the creation of the world' up to his times (up to 1267). Just like the work of Kirakos of Gandzak, it was in many ways a compilation based on written materials of many authors, both Armenian and Greek. However, Vardan expressed his own ideas and

stories of witnesses when he described the events of his own time. For instance, he provided a detailed narration about the Mongol campaign and described his visit to Hulagu Khan, who received him in 1264 with great honour. Vardan's work has been translated into different languages several times [Vardan Velokij, 1861; Armyanskie istochniki o mongolax, 1962].

Among other sources we should note the works of **Smbat Sparapet (the Constable)**, primarily his **'Chronicle.'** Smbat Sparapet was a major political figure, diplomat, military leader, and man of letters. He was a descendant of the Hetoumids, who reigned in Cilician Armenia from 1226, and King Hetoum I was his brother. On several occasions he successfully commanded troops in wars against the Anatolian Turks and died in a battle with the Egyptian Sultan Baybars (1276). He frequently headed diplomatic missions and took part in negotiations with neighbouring countries, but his mission in 1246 to the court of the Great Khan Güyük in Karakorum (for details see: [Osipyan, 2007, pp. 129–153]) is the most famous one. In the course of this visit he managed to obtain the Great Khan's support and concluded the Armenian-Mongol Treaty, which came into force after Tsar Hetoum's visit (1254) to the new Great Khan Möngke. Smbat Sparapet accompanied Tsar Hetoum I in this mission. His literary legacy is also significant, and among his works are: the text of 'The Legal Code,' letters to several state officials and his historic 'Chronicle' (1272). Apart from its traditional summary part, it contains some interesting material on the history of international relations in the Middle East, customs, religion, and way of life of the Mongols, several aspects of internecine political struggles during the Great Khan elections (Güyük's election in 1246, Möngke's election in 1251). Historians took note of Smbat's work in the middle of the 19th century, and since then this work has frequently been published in Russian and in the West [Smbat Sparapet, 1974] (see also [Armenian Sources about the Mongols, 1962]).

In the 14–15th centuries Armenian statehood suffered a period of decline, whereas



Gravestone from Bulgar. 1309.

Transcaucasia and Middle Asia often became the arena for bloody wars and conquests. Armenian culture was also in decay, and this could not but influence historiography. The major historical work of the period is **'The History' by Thomas of Metsoph (Thovma Metsobetsi)**. This author was born in about 1370 into an eminent family. From his youth he devoted his life to the church and spent almost all his life in the monastery of Metsob. His historic work is a chronicle of events which he narrated from the top of his head, sometimes with repetitions and additions. His narration begins with the first invasion of emir Timur in Transcaucasia (1387) and continues with the history of his wars and the wars of his descendants in different regions of the Middle and Near East, Middle Asia, and Eastern Europe up to 1446. Being a contemporary of these events, he also used the tales of eye-witnesses and different hand-written materials from the monasterial library. Thomas's work

came to light a long time ago, and it has been translated into Russian [Thomas of Metsoph, 1957].

8. Cartographic sources*

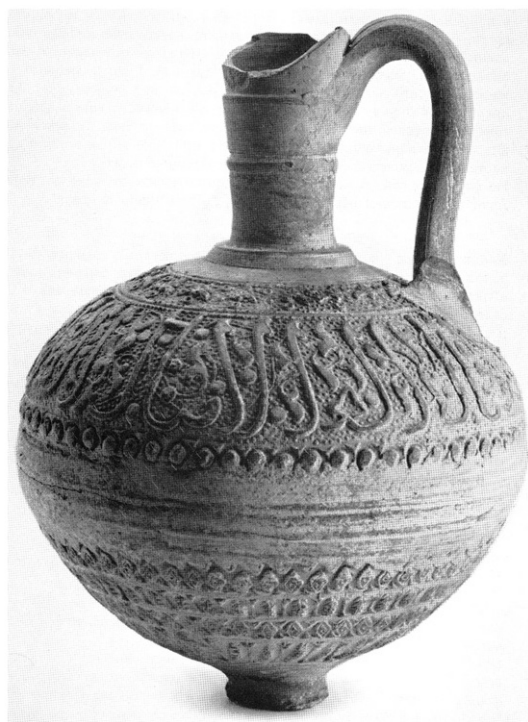
One of the most crucial sources about the Jochid Ulus is Italian portolans (portulan charts) (from Italian portolano)—they are navigational maps based on compass directions with an indication of various coastal, more rarely continental, territories. This word was also used for written guides used for maps, which were simplified prototypes of modern pilot charts. Portolans appeared in Mediterranean countries approximately in the middle of the 13th century, and in 1270 such maps were mentioned for the first time [Volkov, 2001, pp. 600–607]. Unlike round monasterial maps of the world, peopled with mythological figures, portolans had linear scales, and their entire surfaces were criss-crossed with rhumb lines, set out radially from the centre of the map along spool winds or compass points. For that reason these maps are also called rhumb line maps. Their accuracy in depicting marine coastlines was quite high within the customary scale 1:6 million. There are no coordinates on these maps, but the Mediterranean and Black Seas are shown in the Mercator projection more precisely than the eponymous Mercator world map of 1569 [The history of cartography, 1987, pp. 385–386]. Conventionally, maritime maps can be divided into three types: 'Italian,' 'Catalan,' and 'Mixed.' 'Catalan' and 'Mixed' types of map are more suitable for describing territories remote from the shore line, where river flows are not limited by estuaries, and images of the most important cities, mountains, leaders, and caravans are shown on land. However, the accuracy in depicting such places falls off rapidly, because the main advantages of surveying from aboard ship are lost. In these cases cartographers could only define the latitude of the point as per the pole longitude and verbal information about directions and distances between the objects as well as their

* Co-authored by I. Volkov.

sequence along rivers and trade routes. In this case deviation of scales is particularly high, as usually people did not use portolan miles (approximately 1230 m) in verbal descriptions. During production of 'expanded portolans' in later times data from ancient geography was used for depiction of remote plots of land.

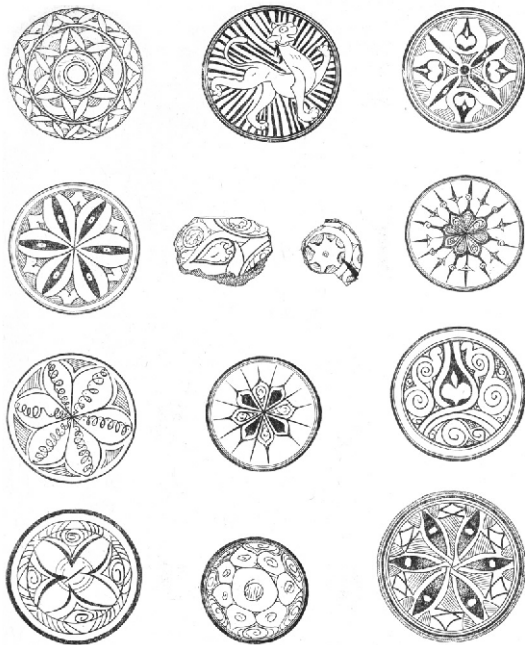
Maritime maps have no direct sources in Ancient, Medieval European, or even more, Arabic cartography apart from basic common features [ibid., pp. 380–384]. They appeared as a result of single surveys of separate basins and their subsequent aggregation. Traditionally, it is believed that the oldest surviving copy of a portolan is the 'Carta Pisana' of about 1300, which showed at least part of the Black Sea, but unfortunately this particular part of the parchment has almost completely rotted [ibid., p. 377; Harvey, 1991, pp. 39–41, Fig.30]. At the same time, the high definition and developed style of this map force researchers to assume that possibly it was based on a previous tradition and systematised geographical data. No less popular is the evidence that in 1270 Saint Louis IX was given a portolan during his Crusade voyage to the shores of Africa, which is considered to be the conventional date for the start of the portolan epoch in the history of cartography [The history of cartography, 1987, pp. 380, 439; Harvey, 1991, p. 39]. Dozens of surviving hand-written portolans were made during the 14–15th centuries: approximately 30 maps and atlases are dated to the 14th century, and approximately 150 are dated to the 15th century [The history of cartography, 1987, p. 390; Campbell, 1986, p. 69]. In the 16th century the copying of previous prototypes continued, and sometimes they managed to compensate for the lack of surviving hand-written maps from the earlier period.

The Pizzigani (1367) and Abraham Cresques (1375, the so-called 'Catalan Atlas') maps are examples of the depiction of the Golden Horde's inland territory [Brun, 1873; Bagrow, 1956]. Their most scrupulous analysis in Russian scholarship was carried out in the latter half of the 19th century by F. Brun, an Odessan historian [1872; 1879–1880], and more recently by the historian I. Fomenko [Fomenko, 2007].



Jar with a stamped ornament. Sarai.
14th century.

There is a series of surviving maps dated the 15–16th centuries, which reflect the heyday of the Golden Horde's cities. Portolans depicting the Caspian Sea coastline, whose accuracy was only excelled in the 18th century, contain extremely important information. They have been reviewed in Russian historiography only in part. These maps were rarely duplicated in the Middle Ages. L. Bagrow has suggested that this was caused by the secrecy of the Italians' information about the steppes [Bagrow, 1956, p. 8]. It seems more probable that the Caspian basin and the Lower Volga Region were not at the centre of Italian interest because they were remote from their region and traditional trading activity. Evidently, the earliest of this series is a portolan from Hvar (Lesina) [Goldschmidt, 1944, pp. 272–278; Bagrow, 1956, p. 8]. It belongs to the 'Mixed' type, and it defies accurate dating, although it is a part of Ptolemy's edition of the 16th century. The closest analogues of the compass rose date back to the first half of the 15th century. Judging by the rhumb lines and reasonable orthography, it might be per-



Painted bowls. 13–14th centuries. Jochid Ulus
(According to G. Fedorov-Davydov)

haps the closest to the survey copy. There are also two portolans of the Caspian Sea, which belong to the 'Italian' type. They were kept in the British Library (part of Egerton's atlas collection, 78 and 2803) [Bagrow, 1956, pp. 8–9, Fig. 5]. Both of them are conventionally dated to the end of the 15–first half of the 16 centuries (the second map is older) and contain information about numerous cities in the Lower Volga Region. However, because these maps have repeatedly been copied, they show some discrepancies and inaccuracies.

There are three surviving maps of the 'Catalan' type dated the 15–16th centuries, which show the coastline and cities of the Golden Horde in accordance with surveys of the 14th century as well as a significantly greater number of settlements in the steppes in comparison to the first portolans. All these maps were made in the workshop of a famous Venetian cartographer Fra Mauro. Apart from the correct location of the Caspian Sea, all of them show a unified manner of depicting objects. Evidently, all of them reflected older geographical data since the real situation in the Volga Region in the 15–16th centuries was completely different.

A map which was copied earlier than the others (approximately in 1450) is an anonymous map under the conventional name 'Borgia-5' from the Vatican Library [Almagia, 1944, tav. XIII; Bagrow, 1956, p. 8, Fig. 3b; Winter, 1962]. Even though its northern part has been cut off, it clearly depicts Middle Asian and North Caucasian lands owned by the Jochid dynasty. Atlas sheets made in 1556 by Angelo Freducci, which show the Golden Horde's territory, arise from even older proto-graphs from the same workshop. These folios are stored in the Public Library of Mantua [Caraci, 1953, p. 31, Fig.].

Finally, the fullest idea of the Ulus territory can be derived from the 1460 (1459) world map of Fra Mauro [Gasparrini, 1954; Fomenko, 2007, p. 51, Fig. 7]. Because of its type, it is not a portolan but a more archaic round clerical map of the world. However, sea maps, including the very latest, regional charts, and descriptive compositions available at that time as well as oral data from numerous informants were used for its creation. Further, its style of depiction is reminiscent of the 'Catalan' portolans. Initially, this outstanding map was created in 1459 to the order of the Portuguese King Alfonso V. Andrea Bianco, who occupied important positions in Venetian fleet, was the major co-author. The completed map was soon mislaid in Portugal, but Bianco managed to make a copy, which survives to the present day. The work on the copy was finished in 1460, when Fra Mauro had already died [Gasparrini, 1954, p. 11; The history of cartography, 1987, pl.18; Harvey, 1991, p. 69].

There are also many unpublished maps or maps published with a definition inadequate for reading, or in fragments, so that the whole territory of the Jochid Ulus is not shown on one map. The information on these maps can significantly change the idea of the geography of the state, but this requires a critical approach and the desire to justify the location of each point on a modern map.

9. Epigraphic inscriptions

Epigraphic inscriptions found on the territory of the Jochid Ulus, which are dated to

the end of the 13–15th centuries, are unique documentary sources and contain the richest linguistic materials as well as information about the material and spiritual cultures. Unfortunately, the epigraphic inscriptions located in different regions of the Golden Horde have been studied unequally and inadequately. There is some unsystematised information about the presence of tombstones in Crimea, Transnistria, and the Lower Volga Region.

Scholars have studied epitaphic inscriptions from the territory of the Volga-Urals Region quite well. The history of their rigorous study started in 1722, when Peter I visited Bulgar and ordered the making of copies from Islamic tombstones. The first scholarly publication of the texts of three monuments was made in 1863 [Feyzkhanov, 1863]. Thanks to the works of S. Malov [1947; 1948], N. Kalinin [1948], and G. Yusupov [1960], in the 1940–1960s, the major stones were identified, a catalogue of monuments was compiled, and a linguistic description of the epitaphs was made. Later in 1970–1980s the range of sources was significantly increased, while their linguistic description was clarified, which made it possible to refer to the existence of a supradialectal variant of the language for tombstones, which in the mid–14th century was suppressed by a widely diffused Koine, based on Volga Turki [Khakimzyanov, 1978; 1987]. The selected area of tombstones included the territory from the Samara Bend to the Cheptsa River basin, and from the Sura River Region to the Iks-Belsk Interfluve. This territory has revealed several schools of stone carving, or cultural and historical groups which have distinctive features (irrespective of their dialectal and language peculiarities) in stone design, choice of formula, etc. Generalising a significant volume of data has enabled the discovery that the tradition of erecting tombstones with epitaphs appeared in the period when Bulgar lands became part of the Jochid Ulus. Such epitaphic records indicate the defining role of Islam and Quranic texts in the people's spiritual culture. Moreover, they show that the special features of the ethnosocial development of the region were also maintained for several centuries [Mukhamet-

shin, Khakimzyanov, 1987; Mukhametshin, 2004].

10. Material sources

Material sources are extremely important in studying many questions in the Jochid Ulus history and culture. Archaeology plays a leading role in their examination as it gathers, systematises, and analyses material sources in order to obtain historical information.

The study of Medieval Eurasian monuments has rich traditions. However, the fully-fledged study of the Golden Horde monuments as a comprehensive historical and archaeological process has only recently begun. Archaeological monuments of the Jochid Ulus were for the first time discovered and examined in the middle of the 19–beginning of the 20th centuries in the works of A. Terechenko [1850] and A. Spitsin [1906; 1909; 1927]. In the 1920–1950s several attempts were made to begin results-oriented archaeological researches of the Golden Horde cities and summarise the materials acquired [Ballod, 1923a; Ballod, 1926; Yakubovsky, 1932; Smirnov, 1951]. However, for numerous political reasons, these works were not continued, and large-scale digs of the Golden Horde monuments have almost completely stopped. Researchers have put a greater emphasis on the digs in Russian cities that suffered or were destroyed during the Mongol invasion. They have also paid great attention to the negative consequences of the invasion for culture and crafts of Russian cities.

A new stage in studying of the Golden Horde culture started at the beginning of the 1960s, when A. Smirnov and his students and colleagues marked out planned, systematic, and comprehensive research of the Jochid Ulus monuments and, primarily, ancient cities [Smirnov, Fedorov-Davydov, 1959]. Carried out in the 1960–1990s by G. Fedorov-Davydov [1966; 1976; 1994; Fedorov-Davydov, 1984], N. Vakturskaya [1959; 1963], A. Mukhamadiyev [1983], V. Yegorov [1970; 1980; 1985], I. Vayner [1967], A. Alikhova [1973; 1976], M. Poluboyarinova [1978; 1991], V. Dvornichenko, N. Bulatov [1976], L. Noskova [1976], S.

Mikhalchenko [1973], T. Guseva [1985], N. Busyatskaya [1976], R. Fakhrutdinov [1975], L. Galkin [1963; 1975; 1984], E. Rtveladze [1972], A. Kravchenko [1986], M. Kydyrnayazov [1989], L. Yablonsky [1987; 1987a; 2001; 2004], K. Baypakov and L. Yerzakovich [Akishev, Baypakov, Yerzakovich, 1987; Baypakov, 1990], L. Nedashkovsky [2000; Nedashkovsky, 2004], E. Zlivinskaya [1989; 1991], A. Burkhanov [2003; 2005], S. Valiulina [2002], V. Ivanov and V. Kriger [1987], M. Kramarovsky [2001], P. Byrnya [Polevoy, Byrnya, 1974], and others (see also: [Medieval Monuments of the Volga Region, 1976; Cities of the Volga Region in the Middle Ages, 1974; City of Bulgar. Outlines of Craft Activity, 1988; City of Bulgar. Craft of Metallurgists, Blacksmiths, Foundrymen, 1996; City of Bulgar. Monumental Construction, Architecture, Beautification, 2001; Treasures of Sarmatian Leaders and Ancient cities of the Volga Region, 1989; Medieval Monuments of the Volga Region, 1976; Steppes of Eurasia in the Middle Ages, 1981; Feudal Tauris, 1974]), archaeological excavations facilitated the discovery and study of numerous monuments of the Golden Horde culture as well as to identification and systematisation of a large number of archaeological findings, which allowed the creation of a full idea of the creation, development, and features of the Jochid Ulus culture. They have raised doubts about a whole range of historic clichés concerning the 'parasitic' nature of the Jochid Ulus statehood, the underdevelopment of its urban civilisation, and the subsidiary nature of the material and spiritual cultures.

The archaeological culture of the 13–15th centuries, which unites monuments in Eastern Europe and North-Western Asia, can be called the archaeological culture of the Golden Horde in accordance with the name of the state within which it arose and developed.

Areas of continuous settlement are especially rich in archaeological monuments (the Volga Region, Crimea, the Aral Sea Region, Transnistria, Dnieper River Region and the foothills of the North Caucasus). In these regions ancient towns, settlements, burial sites, separate graves and sepulchres (mausoleums,

tombstones, etc.), and hoards of artefacts and coins have been discovered and studied. There are more than 100 archaeological sites, among which we can distinguish the remains of major medieval cities of Eurasia—Selitrennoe (presumably Sarai), Tsarevskoe (Sarai al-Jadid), Vodyanskoye (Beljamen), Uvekskoe (Ukek), Bolgarskoye (Bulgar), Belgorod Archaeological (Akkerman), Staroorkheyskoe (Shehr al-Jedid), Prikumskoye (Majar), Saraychikskoye (Saray-Jük), etc. They were usually surrounded by rural areas with dozens of ancient settlements and other monuments (burial sites, hoards, tombstones).

Scholars have found evidence of different burial ceremonies in sites throughout the territory of the Jochid Ulus. Along with burial mound rites with pagan elements (from the 13th to the middle of the 14th centuries, and in some regions (the Trans-Volga Region, the Northern Aral Sea Region) up to the end of the 14th century), there were also underground Muslim cemeteries (*mazars*) with semi-underground (*sagana*) and above-ground (*makbara*, *keshene*) mausoleums. Stone tomb monuments with epitaphic Arabographic inscriptions in Turkic (two dialects) and Arabic have been found in several regions (the Bulgar Ulus in the Middle Volga Region). In other regions—Crimea and the North Caucasus—there are well-known tombstones with epitaphs in Turkic and Arabic.

Yurts, dugouts, above-ground one-room (with wooden and rammed clay walls), and multi-room (made of adobe and burnt bricks) houses have been found in the settlements. A characteristic feature of the houses is the presence of ovens, kans (horizontal chimneys), and sufs (stove benches made of brick). There were also community buildings made of brick or white stone (mosques, ba-houses, mausoleums, madrasahs, etc.). As a rule, mosques were rectangular and had internal columns and portal entrances. In some cases scholars have found madrasahs (Crimea, the Volga Region) and dormitories for sufis and pilgrims (*khanaka*) constructed near mosques. Ba-houses were mostly cross-shaped and had systems of underfloor heating and water supply from artificial reservoirs. Walls of many

(especially multi-room) brick houses were coated with painted plaster, carved ganch (terracotta) and tiles made of composite white frit (or multicoloured glazed) materials, whereas floors were covered with stone tiles and bricks.

Cities had a complex district and mansion layout, and their key elements were major urban and suburban mansions (500–5000 sq. m) surrounded by walls. Behind the walls there were multi-room houses, separate living and utility structures, and water reservoirs (*hauzyi*), sometimes with fountains.

Archaeologists have found complicated hydro-technical structures (artificial lakes, dams, irrigation ditches) and underground (assembled from ceramic pipes) water-supply and sewerage systems. Economy: agriculture, semi-nomadic cattle breeding, fishing, community handicrafts: metallurgy, iron and bronze, pottery, glass-making, wood processing, construction, bone-carving, stone-cutting, jewellery and arms production, etc. (see corresponding divisions of the present edition).

The functioning of the Golden Horde culture is marked by the development of local and international trade with the countries of Central Asia and the Mediterranean region and commercialisation (self-minted coins, hoards of coins, articles of commerce from Eurasia).

The characteristic features of this culture are the following: grave-mound and subsurface burial sites, vast settlements of an urban type, round red pottery and kashin ceramics of different forms (jars, tea bowls, bowls, bottles, etc.) with multi-coloured designs (botanical, geometrical, zoomorphic, arabesque ornaments), metal-craft—decorations of women's dresses, household items (looking glass, locks), elements of military life (open-worked and flat belt sets, arms and harnesses, etc.) and ornamented bronze dishes, as well as self-minted coins.

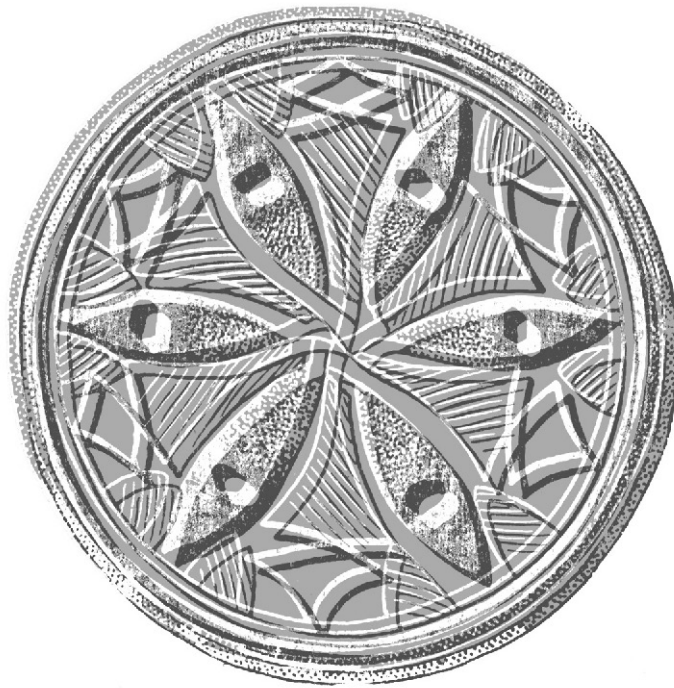
According to researches by Russian archaeologists [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994; Kramarovsky, 2001], the Golden Horde culture started to develop in the latter half of the 13th century as a result of a mixture of local European (Bulgar-Muslim and Kipchak) and Central Asian (Khitan-Jurchen and Tatar-Uighur) traditions, when the Jochid state (development of cities, trade, Tatar elite) influenced the creation of a new imperial supra-ethnic culture, which in fact was the culture of the Tatar ethnosocial community. In this culture we can distinguish several local-regional (Bulgar, Khwarezm, Crimea, etc.) and social (urban, nomad) subcultures. In the 15–16th centuries this culture suffered a period of decay and the development of local territorial cultural variants.

Recently a whole range of specialist studies dedicated to different types and branches of the Jochid Ulus material culture has been carried out. It should be emphasised that it is important to make a comprehensive study of such elements of the Golden Horde culture as metal craft, ceramics, architecture and architectural decorations, glass-making and bone-carving.

All in all, we can say that the archaeological study of monuments of the Golden Horde culture has allowed us not only to reveal a diversity of materials in all the spheres of life of the mediaeval population but also to compare them with other materials and fill in the gaps, disclosing many facts from the history and culture of the Jochid Ulus which were previously unknown. It is especially important that the corpus of these sources grows every year, and the improvement of the accumulation, analysis, and systematisation of the sources will enable a more complete presentation of the development of the material and spiritual cultures of the medieval population of Northern Eurasia.

Section I

Central Asia and Eastern Europe in the 12–Beginning of the 13th Centuries



CHAPTER 1

The Nomadic World of Central Asia: the Turks and Early Mongols

Eugene Kychanov

By the 6th century CE, the nomadic world of Central Asia, which, in this case, is understood as the region stretching from Western Manchuria to the Altai and from the Siberian taiga to the borders of China, appears to modern science as a world that had gained linguistic certainty. Whereas scientists do not know for sure about the ethnic groups which earlier dominated Central Asia (Hsiung-nu, Xianbei, Ju-juan; it is assumed, that the former were proto-Turks, and the latter, proto-Mongols), from that time on this was the world of Turkic and Mongol peoples, except for the present day Xinjiang territory, which the Chinese called Xiyu, Western region, home to mostly Indo-Iranian language peoples. The Turkic world was the world of classic Turks and their kindred tribes, the Uighur and the Kyrgyz. They inhabited the central part of present-day Mongolian People's Republic and regions to the west of it. Eastern regions of the MPR and the adjacent region of Western Manchuria were once the world of the Shiwei, Xi, Kumo Xi, and Khitan Mongol peoples. The struggle for domination in Central Asia between Turks and Mongols became a general tendency in the history of the region. The Mongols moved west, driving the Turks out, and the Turkic-speaking peoples gradually relocated from the east to the west.

The name Turk appears in the first half of the 1st millennium CE as the name of the local Altai tribes, ruled by the leaders of the Ashina clan. In 534 the great Bumyn Yabgu became ruler of the Turks. In the north he conquered another Turkic-speaking people, the Oghuz, and in 551 was proclaimed Khagan of Turkic el. Muqan Khagan (ruled in 553–572), conquered the Kyrgyz along Yenisey and the Khitan. The latter case might be the first time the

Turkic-speaking world faced the world which was definitely Mongol-speaking. The ruler of the Khitan received the title of Irkin from the Turkic Khagan. On the cusp of the 7th and 8th centuries, the Khitan submitted to the Turks again, and their ruler received the title of Elteber from the Turkic Khagan. When the Turkic Khaganate grew weak, for a period of time the Khitan rulers were titled 'Khagan'. Other Mongol-language peoples living in the Kadirhan region of the Bolshoi Khingan Range were dependent on or subordinate to the Turks.

In the year 744, Turkic supremacy was supplanted by the Uighur. The Khitan accepted the Uighur as suzerain. The ruler of Khitan received a seal from the Uighur Khagan as a symbol of the authority granted to him. At the beginning of the 840s, a war broke out between the Uighur and the Khitan, where the Uighur were vanquished. This was the war where the Khitan supported the Kyrgyz. Uighur resistance continued on for several years. It is known that after suffering defeat, a portion of the Uighur went east. Relations between the Uighur and the Khitan later took on a peaceful character. Shulü, the wife of the first Khitan emperor Abaoji, was of Uighur descent.

The Khitan were the eastern and south-eastern neighbours of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia. Actually, the Mongols were a part of a group of tribes (peoples), called Shiwei in Chinese sources. The Shiwei, on the whole, can be considered as Mongol-speaking. The Chinese believed the Shiwei to be a 'special clan' of the Khitan. During the 6–8th centuries, the Shiwei were dependent upon the Turks and their western neighbours. The 'Shiwei Mongols' lived south of a river that flowed from Lake Julun; it was called either Wangjianhe ('Old History of the Tang Dynasty') or Shi-

jianhe ('New History of the Tang Dynasty') in Chinese sources. The Shiwei Mongols were the eastern neighbours of the Turks. The territory settled by the ancient Mongols is associated with the identification of those place names mentioned in the Tang histories. All researchers identify Lake Julun as modern day Lake Hulun-Hulun Nur, Dalai Nur (in the northern part of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the People's Republic of China). The lake is fed by the Kerulen River. The Wangjianhe—Shijianhe River flowing out of Lake Julun is the present day river Ergune. Japanese researcher Komai Yoshiaki identified the area inhabited by the Shiwei Mongols as the southern bank of the Amur River, west of the point where the Sungari River runs into the Amur [Komai Yoshiaki, 1961, pp. 329–330]. Another Japanese historian, Tamura Jitsuzo, came to the conclusion that the Mongols of the 6–7th centuries 'lived a nomadic life in the steppe region south of the Ergune River' [Tamura Jitsuzo, 1971, pp. 363–366]. The French academician L. Hambis wrote that 'the most ancient texts place the Mongols west of Nonni's upstream flow, perhaps, in the northern portion of the area located between the river and Lake Khelen, where the Ergune, the main part of the upper Amur, starts, and to the south of this river' [Hambis, 1970, p. 130].

Thus, the Mongol-speaking peoples (the Shiwei, Kumo Xi, Khitan) colonised the lands between the Turks in the west and the Tungus or Manchu in the east (the Mohe, the Balhae, and others). Shiwei's general subjection to the Turks explains why archaeologists discover Turkic elements in the archaeological cultures of the Amur.

When and how did Mongols migrate to the east and drive the Turks out of the Khalkha territory? The Mongolian legend telling us about Chinggis Khan's paternal ancestors traces his lineage to Bata-Chigan (Batachi)—the descendant of Dapple Wolf (Borte Chino) and Beauful Doe (Goa Maral). Wolf Borte Chino



Driving hunting. Miniature. Iran. 14th century

'was born at the pleasure of the Highest Heaven' [Kozin, 1941, p. 79]. In the legends about the origin of Turks, the primal forefather is either a she-wolf or a male wolf. Turks also have a legend about forefather Deer, Golden Horns. The Mongolian legend about the origin of Chinggis Khan's clan somewhat unifies these two legends (the wolf and the doe), indicating a deep connection between Turkic and Mongolian lore.

The husband and wife, Wolf and Doe moved west. As this legend reflects the factual Mongolian migration, this migration must have had a reason. Rashid al-Din assumed it was 'conflicts with other tribes'. 'Other tribes overtook the Mongols and perpetrated such slaughter that there was no more than two men and two women left alive. In fear of the enemy, these two families fled to an inaccessible region, which was surrounded by mountains and forests and had no road leading to it from any side, except for a narrow and heavy-going path, which could be traversed only with great difficulty... Among these mountains there was abundant grass and a healthy (in terms of climate) steppe. The name of this place was Er-genekon'. [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 2, pp. 153–154]. It happened during the period of time



Mythical ancestors of Chinggis Khan. From the Timurid chronicles, 15th century. Topkapi museum, Istanbul

when Central Asia was dominated by the Uighur. Rashid al-Din points out that by the moment future Chinggis Khan was born (1154 or 1155), his clan had been 'around 400 years old' [Ibid., p. 8], so the migration happened in mid to late 8th century. Late Mongolian source provides us with the date of wolf and doe Batachi's son's birth: 786 [Baldanzhapov, 1970, p. 137]. Ergenekon is the area of the Ergune River and the Bolshoi Khingan Range. The names of two men who did not want to leave their home grounds and settled in Ergenekon were Nukuz and Kiyan. Rashid al-Din further explains that Kiyan was the name of a Mongolian tribe. The Mongols were a feeble people: 'as for the word Mongol, it was originally pronounced mungal, which means "powerless". The core of Mongolian tribes at the time consisted of the Kiyat. In Mongolian language, kiyan means "a great flow heading from mountains to a lowland", ravine, fast and powerful. As the Kiyat were valiant, brave and extremely courageous, this word was set to be their name. Kiyat is the plural of Kiyan. Those of their clan nearest to its beginnings were called Kiyat in ancient times' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 1, p. 154].

It was namely in Ergenekon where the ancestors of Mongols multiplied and gained strength. They became excellent smiths and experts in melting metals. This helped them to leave Ergenekon, which they had outgrown. The Kiyats and their ally tribes, according to legend, melted a mountain, mined a lot of iron, and there appeared a pass out of the Ergenekon gorge through the mountain. According

to Rashid al-Din, Borte Chino (Dapple Wolf), the anthropomorphous ancestor of Chinggis Khan's clan, was just one of those who left Ergenekon [Ibid.].

We should point out one more similarity between Turkic and Mongolian lore. The ancient Turks (*türk budun*) were good smiths, 'slave smiths', which worked for the Ju-juan. Chinggis Khan's ancestors were good smiths and metalworkers, and Chinggis Khan himself was called Temüjin, a smith.

When did the Mongols arrive in Mongolia, in Khalkha? Tamura Jitsuzo dates it to the late 10–early 11th centuries [Tamura Jitsuzo, 1973, pp. 6, 13]. L. Hambis wrote that the Mongols occupied the 'territories west of the Bolshoi Khingan to the region extending up to Lake Khelen, which flows into the Kerulen, and up to Buir Lake, the region occupied by the Tatars, who also inhabited the territories to the south', [Hambis, 1970, p. 131] without stating the date of the event.

In the pre-Mongol era, power in Central Mongolia was subsequently transferred from the Turks to the Uighur and from the Uighur to the Kyrgyz. The ancestors of the Mongols appear in Mongolia roughly at the moment Uighur rule was replaced by that of the Kyrgyz. After the Kyrgyz, there must have been some Tatar period, a sufficiently powerful period of Tatar dominance. That is because in the 11–12th centuries, or even from the middle of the 10th century, those inhabiting the territory of Mongolia become known as Tatars among their southern neighbours, the Chinese, which led to the worldwide popularity of this name. We find another convincing argument in Tangut sources, which call the whole population of Mongolia Tatars as well. Due to their 'extraordinary greatness and honourable position, other Turkic clans also became known under their name and are all called Tatars', just as in times of Rashid al-Din 'they (too) call themselves Mongols out of self-glorification' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 1, pp. 102–103].

The Tatars are mentioned in Turkic runic inscriptions from 732 to 760 [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2000, pp. 133–134]. Chinese author Wang Ming-zi wrote that in times past, the Khitans were shepherds for Uighur, and

Tatars herded cows for Uighur. The Tatars are mentioned as allies of the Uighur Khagan during the time of the defeat of the Uighur by the Kyrgyz. At the end of the 9th century, the Kyrgyz from the upper reaches of Et-sin Gol subjugated the Tatars, and the Tatars agreed to pay tribute. When the Gansu Uighur Kingdom emerged in the western part of present-day Gansu province, the Khitan and the Tatars began their struggle for superiority against the Uighur. Thus, it can be supposed that at least two Tatar enclaves existed in the 10–11th century: near Buir Lake, somewhere in the region of western Gansu; and to the north of that region.

When notifying the Song court of his acceptance of the imperial title in 1039, the Tangut emperor Yuan-Hao wrote that the Tibetans, Tatars, and Gansu Uighur had surrendered to him. This referred to the group of north-eastern Tibetans in the region of present-day Wuwei (Gansu), the Gansu and Suzhou Uighur Khanates, and the Tatars living to the north of the city of Suzhou and the Helan Mountains. Later, however, not a single Tangut document mentions the Tatars among the peoples living in the Tangut Great Xia state. The 11th century Chinese map of Great Xia three times refers to the Tatars as the northern neighbours of Xia, that is, in this case the map reflects the fact that the ethnonym 'Tatars' not only denoted the Tatars proper but was also a generalised name for the entire population of the territory of Mongolia. During the 11th century, in both the Turkic and Muslim habitats, as well as in China, all peoples living in Mongolia were called Tatars [Ibid]. Rashid al-Din indicates that due to the past strength of the Tatars, today (the beginning of the 14th century) 'in the land of the Kirghiz, the Kelars, the Bashkirs, in Desht-i Qipchaq, in the areas north of it... all Turkic tribes are called Tatars [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 1, p. 103].

The scarcity of sources makes it difficult to answer the question of the Tatars' ethnic affiliation: were they a Turkic-speaking, Mongol-speaking, or mixed people? Traditionally, many consider that during the Khitan Liao dynasty's rule in the 10–11th centuries, Chinese sources mention the Tatars as Tszubu. Komai

Yoshiaki believed that Tszubu were not Tatars but rather Shato Turks [Komai Yoshiaki, 1961, pp. 342–354]. His assumption is supported by the sources from this time where the Tatars are quite often mentioned simultaneously with the Tszubu, so there were some differences between these peoples.

The period when the Mongols spread throughout Khalkha is probably late 10–early 11th centuries. While the paternal ancestors of Chinggis Khan were moving along the Onon river to Burkhan Khaldun (the Khentii Mountains), his maternal ancestors came from the Transbaikalia, from the Khor-Tumat land. His progenitress Alan Gua was a beautiful woman from a very noble clan. Rashid al-Din, who wrote his work in 1300–1311, suggested that Alan Gua had lived 300 years prior, in other words, in late 10–early 11th centuries [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 1, p. 103]. The 18th century chronicle 'Altan Tobchi' even states the exact birth date of Chinggis Khan's direct ancestor, the fifth son of Alan Gua, Bodonchar: 970 [Baldanzhapov, 1970, p. 138].

The successful Mongolian advance to the west was helped by the emergence of the Khitan state in south-western Manchuria in the early 10th century. From August 916, Khitan Taizu Abaoji, having been enthroned as Emperor, launched several campaigns against neighbours to the west and north-west. 'His Majesty marched forth against the Turk, Tuhun (Xianbei), Dangxiang (Tangut)... and Shato peoples, and pacified them all. He took their rulers and families captive, a total of 57,600 people, seized more than 90 thousand pieces of armour and munitions. As for the valuables, goods, horses, cows and sheep, their numbers were countless' [Liao Shi, 1958, vol.1, p. 15]. Abaoji ordered to immortalise his victories in a stone stele with a description of his deeds, and also erase the old inscription from a stele of a Turkic Khagan and use it to describe his deeds and merits in Khitan, Turk, and Chinese writing. The Khitan campaigns into the depths of Central Asia put an end to Kyrgyz dominance and established a cover for the successful Mongol advance westward and the ousting of the Turkic population from Mongolia.



The Tatars of Chinese miniatures of the 13–14th centuries
(according to M. Gorelik)

During the migration process, the Mongols ousted and partially assimilated the Turkic-speaking peoples of Khalkha. Their migration was connected to a shift in economic activity: in steppe and forest-steppe conditions, Mongolian tribes switched to a nomadic animal husbandry economy, having adopted the centuries-long Turkic experience. In the Mongolian language there are native Mongolian names for only dog, horse, and pig, and those animals mentioned in Chinese sources describing the Shiwei economy. The Mongols borrowed the names for sheep, ox, camel, and mule from the Turks [Kyzlasov, 1975, p. 171].

Again we touch upon a very important historical (and nowadays political) question: which of the peoples mentioned in the sources of 11–12th century Mongolia should be considered as either Turks or Mongols? We cite several opinions. L. R. Kyzlasov thinks that the Tatars were Turks. Ilinchzhen (Irinchin), a Mongol and historian of the early Mongols from Inner Mongolia, considered the Khitan to be Mongols, the Shiwei to be Tatars, but also

the ancient original Mongols. He believed that Tszubu, mentioned during the time of the Khitans was then a common name for Mongols. As for the Keraites and the Naimans, according to him, they too were Mongols, but were ruled by Christianised Turkic nobles. White Tatars, the Onguts, are a mixed people comprised of Turks, Mongols, and Tanguts [Ilinchzhen, pp. 63–72]. Another historian from Inner Mongolia, Namuyun, supported the Turkisation of the Mongols during their migration. Their contacts with the Turks and the wide acceptance of the achievements of Turkic nomadic civilization by the Mongols. The Mongols assimilated a part of the Turks.

The Mongols in the 11th century were herders. Yeh Lung-li wrote: 'The Mongolian state. This state has no ruler to rule it, neither is the soil ploughed and sowed.

They hunt. They migrate once per season, chasing only water and grass. They eat only meat and kumis. That is all. They do not fight the Khitan but rather exchange oxen, rams, camels, horses, leather, and woolen items' [Yeh Lung-li, 1979, p. 304]. The Mongols obviously had rulers. Take, for example, Chinggis Khan's ancestors. They received the title Tutuk from the Khitan. Those who directly served Liao were appointed Ling Wen and Xiang Wen, border military commanders. Tatar rulers also received the title Tutuk from the Khitan. Not all Mongolian tribes were friendly with the Liao. The Merkits, a 'part of the Mongolian tribe', a 'large tribe' that had a 'very belligerent and powerful army' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 1, p. 114] was at war with the Khitans. In the year 1093, the Khitans launched a campaign against the Merkits and occupied some Merkit lands. The Merkit ruler, Khuluba asked to have these lands returned to him, and in reply he was attacked again the following year, in 1094. In 1102 the Khitans launched yet one more campaign against the Merkits.

The Merkits lived along the lower reaches of the Orkhon River and along Selenga. They seem to be the first to come to the territory of Mongolia. Chinese historians suppose that the Merkits were a mix of Mongols and Uighurs. In 1094 the Khitans also attacked the Jajirats. There was a Jajirat called Jamukha, Chinggis Khan's rival for rule of Mongolia. After all, the enmity of various tribes and the Khitan was not so deadly. When the Liao fell, destroyed by the Jurchens, the last member of the ruling house Liao Yelü Dashi was supported both by the Mongols and the Turks.

In the context of the Khalkha 'Turks—Mongols' problem, which has not been solved yet and is hardly solvable in the foreseeable future, an interesting question is the ethnic affiliation of Chinggis Khan's main rivals for unification of Mongolia: the Keraites and the Naimans. The Keraites nomadised south of the Kerulen River in the east and up to the Khangai Mountains in the west, along the lower reaches of the Tola and Orkhon rivers. Summer camps of the Kereit Khagan were set in Dalan-Daba near the Orkhon's riverhead and near Lake Guse-Nor. Winter camps were located along the Ongi River in the region of the present-day Arvaikheer city. According to Rashid al-Din, the Keraites were 'a Mongolian clan'. Modern Chinese authors think that the Keraites were the first of the Shiwei to leave for the west, lived together with the Turks and next to them, and were strongly affected by them. The highest ranks of the Keraites were Nestorian Christians. Liao Shi mentions Kereit rebellions in 1092 and 1100 led by their ruler Markus. Chinggis Khan's biographer Paul Ratchnevsky believed quite the opposite, that the Keraites were originally not Mongols but rather Turks (compare to the Kirei tribe among the Kirghiz and Kazakhs). At first, they lived along the Irtysh River and the Altai Mountains but were driven out by the Naimans. Retreating from the Naiman press to the east, they encountered Mongol-speaking tribes and rather soon became associated with the Mongols. The Keraites were at enmity with the Naimans and the Tatars. Their ulus included Mongols as well [Ratchnevsky, 1983, S. 3].

The western areas of Mongolia, Mongolian Altai were inhabited by the Naimans. Rashid al-Din wrote: 'Their customs and habits were similar to those of the Mongols'. In the 12th century, they were subservient to the Kara Khitan state the Western Liao. In the time of Chinggis Khan, they lead a nomadic life, roaming in the western regions to the rivers Irtysh and Aley and to the upper reaches of the Ob. In the north, they bordered the Kyrgyz (some Chinese scholars consider them part of the Kyrgyz). In the east, they bordered the Keraites; in the south their domain territories extended to the Black Irtysh [Yuáncháo mǐshǐ, 1986, p. 33]. P. Rachnevsky viewed the Naimans as a Turkic people, construing the word 'naiman' as the Mongolian name for the Turks 'Sekiz Oghuz', 'Eight Oghuzes'. The Naimans appeared in Altai after the rout of the Uighur Khaganate by the Kyrgyz. In the years of the Uighur Khaganate, they were subject to strong Uighur influence. Like the Keraites, the Naimans were Nestorian Christians. The Naiman ruler Tukusa is mentioned in Liao Shi under the year 1097. The modern Mongolian science is not inclined to view the Naimans as Turks. Chuluuny Dalai classifies the Naimans as 'the nomadic Oirats-Mongols' but acknowledges substantial Turkic-Uighur influence on them, particularly the fact of the use by the Naimans of the Uighur script. Neither he agrees with the opinion that the Naimans were a Mongolian tribe that spoke a Turkic language [Dalai, 1983, p. 151].

Thus, in the 9–11th centuries, the territory of Central Asia became an arena where Turkic ethnic groups were gradually supplanted by Mongol ethnic groups. That was a great event in the history of Asia, another routine migration of peoples, an event which eventually changed the ethnic picture of Central and Middle Asia and Eastern Europe. Among the Central Asian ethnic groups, the Turks, Uighurs, and the Kyrgyz were undoubtedly Turkic-speaking peoples, while the Khitan and Mongols belonged to the Mongolian-speaking group. As for other cases, there still remain many questions, mainly because of the lack of the records and sources. The Shiwei, from whose midst the Mongols descended, are rec-

ognized by researchers as Tatars, but whether the Tatars were a Turkic- or Mongolian-speaking people is unknown. The Tatars were the ethnic group, which were, by their neighbours' acknowledgement, the most powerful in Central Asia in the 10–11th centuries. It was for this reason that the Chinese, the Tangut, and adjacent Muslim peoples began to call the whole population of the Central Asia by the name Tatars. In such a situation researchers should always be careful to differentiate between the Tatars proper, at least as a people adversarial to the clan of Chinggis Khan, and the Tatars as the generalised name for the peoples of the Central Asia, that included both the Mongols and other Khalkha peoples. Because of the absence of reliable sources, researchers do not have one uniform opinion about the ethnic affiliation of the Naimans and Keraites in the 12–early 13th centuries, who were Chinggis Khan's chief rivals in the strife for the dom-

ination in the future Mongolia. No one knows whether they were Turks, Mongols, or ethnically mixed peoples.

In this situation, perhaps it can be more surely said that in the course of the advance of the Mongolian-speaking peoples on the territory of Central Asia, there took place a mutual cultural influence, acculturation, and the Mongols, while transiting to the nomadic way of life, borrowed a lot from the Turkic-speaking ethnic groups. Assimilation processes were under way along with this, resulting in the Mongolisation of those Turkic ethnic groups that had not migrated west. A part of these ethnic groups, if not totally, then to a large extent, were annihilated. There is nothing unusual in this. The demise of ethnic groups which suffered a defeat, acculturation, and assimilation phenomena are general universal processes of the disintegration of some ethnic groups and the advent of new ones.

CHAPTER 2

The States of Central Asia: From the Turks to the Mongols*Eugene Kychanov*

Before the appearance of Chinggis Khan on the international arena, the Turkic states had successively replaced one another on the territory of Central Asia: Turkic Khaganates, the states of the Uighurs and the Kyrgyz, Proto-Mongol states and related states: Liao of the Khitans, the Great Xia of the Tanguts, and Jin of the Jurchens.

The formation of statehood of various peoples passed through a number of common stages. Specific features were also present, for example, in the case of nomadic states. This does not mean that only amorphous communities, wherein the power was defined as 'chiefdom', and not early states existed in the nomadic world. By the time of Chinggis Khan's rule, the nomadic states had already existed for one and a half thousand years. The Turkic states had behind them the states of the Hsiung-nu, Tuyuhun, Ju-juan, etc.

All nomadic states, as any ancient or medieval states, had a charismatic ruler of a 'heavenly', divine origin. The ruler was a sovereign, that is, he governed the territory upon which his sovereignty extended. The ruling dynasty was the pinnacle of the social stratification of the society into the aristocracy, common people, and slaves. Poverty and wealth divided the society into the dominant class, whose representatives went to wars, commanded the troops and ruled the society, and the class of subordinates, who also fought in battles, pastured and tended livestock and were in service. Social differentiation, especially by the criterion of participation in wars, was sometimes indistinct, but common people, poor men paid 'the tax of blood', which, by the way, was not a specific attribute of only nomadic societies.

Turkic society was divided into the rich (bai), poor (chugai), free (bosh), and slaves (kul-kun). The free were subdivided into the noble (bek)

and common people, plain folks (kara-budun, budun). The Mongolian society had the rich (bayan) and the poor (yadagu huvun). Besides, the society had a division of slaves: male slaves (bogol), female slaves (inje). Free people consisted of noble, good people (syau huvun), and common people (karachu). The aristocracy was represented by 'natural khans' (tus kan).

The ruling clans (dynasties) of both the Turks and Mongols were of a 'heavenly' origin and enjoyed a special grace. For the Turkic Khagans that was the kut, a charismatic 'heaven sent' grace; for the Mongols, kyuchyu and su, also a 'heaven sent' charismatic grace.

The head of state, the Kagan-Khagan, ruled the people with the help of the law (Tore [Torah] for the Turks, Yasa for the Mongols). It is not known whether the Turks had written laws, though they had their own script, but Yasa was evidently already a written codified collection of laws since the time of Chinggis Khan's accession. Chinese tradition during the period of the Tang dynasty (7–9th centuries) compared Turkic statehood with that of the Hsiung-nu (Huns). According to Chinese tradition, it was considered that the title of Khagan was similar to the old Hsiung-nu title of Chanyu, while the title Katun of the Khagan's wife 'meant the same as the ancient huangdi', the title of a Chanyu's wife. In 696 when Khagan Mochuo routed the Khitans, the Tang Empress Wu Hou granted him the title of Chanyu. According to the conception of ancient Turks, the dynasty of Turkic Khagans emerged together with the formation of the sky and earth, together with the people, who lived in between the sky and earth. The people were governed and administered by Khagans. Khagans were 'born by the sky' and were 'sky-like'. A Khagan received in support from the sky a yarliq in order to govern by the will of the sky, a kuch to govern by the power and might of the

sky, and a bilig to govern by the wisdom of the sky [Mori Masao, 1967, p. 3]. The sky granted wisdom (bilge) and courage (ali) to Khagans. The whole dynasty, the whole 'house of the Khagan' (eb-Khagan) were in heavenly grace kut. Khagan's uncles and brothers, his nephews along the male line, that is, the grand dukes, held the title of Tegin. Besides the will of the sky, the Khagan dynasty was born by the will and power of earth and water. Per old Turkic perceptions, the people were not put aside. The people gave to the Khagan 'labours and forces' and granted to him el, the state. In his rule a Khagan was assisted by his administration. It was formed from his relatives of the masculine line, representatives of the allied tribes and begs. The begs were subdivided into those standing to the right of the Khagan and those who stood on the left side from the Khagan. The administrators were of two grades: Tarkhans of the highest grade and Buyruk of the lowest. The highest grade included Yabgu, Shads, Tegins, Eltebers, and Tutuks. The composition of Bayruks is not known. Khagan's immediate circle was comprised of his guard ('wolves'—böri).

It is difficult to differentiate the position (title) of Yabgu from the position (title) of Shad. These positions (titles) are considered to be of Iranian origin. Chinese historian Lin Gan compares them to the position of Xianwang (wise prince) of the Hsiung-nu and supposes that, unlike Shads, Yabgu more frequently became the rulers of the western regions of the Khaganate. This supposition is quite justifiable, because the Hsiung-nu did have eastern and western Xianwangs. Shads indeed most probably governed the eastern part of the Khaganate: sources provide the following formulations—the Shad commands 'the troops of the eastern headquarters', leads 'the army and people of the eastern side'. Shads collected taxes from people in accordance with the set tariffs.

An elteber was a vicegerent managing the affairs of the peoples subservient to the Khagan, who preserved their own government structure. Commensurable to the elteber title was the title of irkin. According to the conclusion of Mori Masao, a Japanese researcher of the ancient Turks, the leader of the people, who had ten and more thousand warriors, received

Male and female dresses of wealthy Mongols in the 13th century.
Reconstruction by M. Gorelik



the title of elteber, and the leader with less than ten thousand warriors was called irkin [Mori Masao, 1965, p. 55].

Tutuk was a Khagan's vicegerent delegated to govern the conquered peoples and to collect tributes and taxes from them in favour of the Khagan. It is known that a tutuk was sent to the conquered Khitans, three tutuks were forwarded to the Shiwei, and a Turkic tutuk was placed in each district of the Western Region. Tutuks 'supervised the subordinates' and 'collected taxes from them' on the territories of the non-Turkic population [Mori Masao, 1967, pp. 366–367].

A nomadic state traditionally was subdivided into the centre and left and right 'wings' (the Hsiung-nu, Wusun, Xianbei, with the Turks not being an exception either). The left wing corresponded to the East, and the right one to the West, provided that the Khagan was facing the South. That was specifically a Central Asian tradition, as the original Turkic orientation was different: the fore side was the East; the back side, the West; the right side, the South; and the left side, the North. An Uighur Khagan would sit in his golden tent facing the East. The line

of titles and positions in the Uighur Khaganate was similar to that of the Turks.

A Kyrgyz ruler subordinated to the Turks had the title of *elteber*, and when subordinate to the Uighurs, the title of *Irkin*. When the Uighurs were routed and the Kyrgyz Khaganate came into being, it apparently was subdivided in three parts, each being governed by a *tutuk*. Taxes were collected by the *tarkhans*. The troops were commanded by *senguns* (generals, of the Chinese *jiāngjūn*). *Zǎixiāngs* (*viziers*) were in charge of the central government administration, and heads of secretariats *Zhan-shi* handled the records management. Records management in the Kyrgyz Khaganate was conducted in the Uighur script.

In the 10–12th centuries, the Mongolian statehood was developed by the Khitans, and in the 11–12th centuries, by Khalkha uluses. At the turn of the 7th century, the Khitan ruler took the title of *khagan*. The Khitans, however, soon suffered a defeat, and their head had to be content with the title of *elteber*. Later the Khitan rulers became again titled *khagans*. In the 9th century, the Khitans had in use the title of *irkin*, but as an internal one. The father of Abaoji, the founder of the Liao state, bore the title (position) of *irkin*. Abaoji himself served as *irkin* under the Khagan Yaolian.

The Khitan *khagan* was 'appointed by the sky' and 'born of the earth' (sky is the masculine origin, earth is the feminine origin). Like the Central Asian *khagans*, during the ceremony of the ascent to power he was seated on felt and lifted up. The *khagan* reported to heaven about his ascent to power by a fire, a large bonfire. The highest administrative ruler in the Khitan state was called a *yuyue* (from the Uighur '*ogyut*'—adviser), and he was in charge of political and military affairs. The *Khagan* clan matters were handled by *tiin* (*tegin*). There existed positions of the supreme judge (*dilemadu*) and head of the secretariat (*lingya*). The treasury was supervised by *achzagechi* (key-keeper, a derivative from the Turkic '*achku*'—a key); public works, by *Dalin*. An important role was allocated to the *Khagan's* Guard, which was called 'the heart and stomach'. The Guard was stationed at the headquarters called *valudo*—horde. The Chinese translated the word 'horde' as 'headquarters (palace) pro-

tected by the Guard'. There were several hordes. During the rule of Emperor Shizong (988–1031), his horde was called Golden, that is, not taking into account the camp of the Uighur *Khagan*, who sat in a golden tent, what allowed N. Bichurin to translate the name of the headquarters as the Golden Horde, with the name of the Shizong *orda* '*Nyugu valudo*'—'Golden Horde'—being the first such name of the headquarters (one of the headquarters) of a ruler. From the first half of the 10th century, the Khitan statehood started being rather quickly sinicised.

The first Mongolian state *Khamag Mongol Ulus* (the state of all Mongols), *Da Menggu* Go in Chinese—the Great Mongol State—appeared in Khalkha in the middle of the 12th century. *Khabul Khan* was its ruler with the title *Khagan*. '*Khabul Khan* was in charge of all the Mongols... *Ambaghai Khagan* became in charge after *Khabul Khan*' [Kozin, 1941, pp. 84, 208]. *Ambaghai* bore the title of 'the all-people's *Khagan* and sovereign of the ulus'. Chinese records about the Great Mongol State appear after the reports on the war of 1135–1147 between the Mongols and the Jurchen state Jin. The Mongol ruler *Aolo* (*Hoelun*) *beile*, who is identified with *Khabul Khan*, under the peace treaty was recognized by the Jurchens as the sovereign of the Mongol state (*menfu guo zhu*). *Aolo*, however, was not content with the title 'sovereign of the state' (*guo zhu*) and within the boundaries of its state started to bear the title of Emperor (*Huangdi*). According to the Chinese custom, he took the motto of the reign *Tang-sin*—'the blossoming bestowed by heaven'. The Jurchens demanded from *Aolo* to renounce the emperor title and offered him a lower rank of *Go Wan*—'a prince of the state'. *Aolo* rejected this [Komai Yoshiaki, 1961, pp. 331–338]. The Jurchens tried to poison *Khabul Khan*. *Khamag Mongol Ulus* and his rulers were at enmity with the Tatars. The Tatars captured *Ambaghai Khagan*, *Khabul Khan's* successor, and handed him over to the Jurchens, who subjected him to a cruel execution. That became a starting point of even more irreconcilable feud between the Mongols and Tatars—the clan of the future *Chinggis Khan*, to which actually *Khabul Khan* and *Ambaghai Khagan* belonged, was by the testament of *Ambaghai Khagan* to avenge his death on the Tatars.

Tatar, Naiman, Kereit, Mongol, Merkit, and other uluses existed on the Khalkha territory in the 12th century. All of these large uluses were early state formations. At least in the 12th century, to the fore comes the specific feature of a nomadic state, meaning that an ulus was, first of all, the people, although all main uluses had their territories (nuntuk). As Turkic Khagans collected and united their el, so the Mongolian and other Khagans were also getting together and united their people in uluses, which basis was formed by the dominating ethnos. According to the 'Secret History of the Mongols', Kereit Wang Khan promised to Temüjin: 'I will unite your fragmented ulus'. A khagan was elected and put up on the throne by representatives of different tribes. The people in ulus were distributed among aimags, with aimags being military-administrative units capable of providing a hundred, thousand, tumen (ten thousand) warriors. A thousand called kuren was the main formation. Rashid al-Din reported: 'Kuren (term) has the following meaning: when many wagons and carts are placed in a circle and form a ring in the steppe, they are called a kuren. In that epoch, a thousand wagons positioned in this way were considered as one kuren' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 2, p. 18]. An ulus was governed by a 'natural khan', who had his power 'granted to him by heaven' and was elected, placed and raised to the throne by the noyons. Khagan had a council of his relatives and representatives of noblemen; the council participated in the discussions of the ulus matters. Khagan was surrounded by his retinue, his nukers, who were the same noyons and the noyons' sons and brothers. Khagan was protected by his guard—keshig. The Mongolian name for the guard was of Turkic origin, from the Turkic 'kazik'—'queue', which meant to serve by turns, in rotation. Special attention was paid to the night guard, to the turkhauts, also a Turkic term, from 'turkhak'—'night guard'. A thousand tunghauts were in service under the Kereit Wang Khan.

The nukers, keshigtens, turkhauts guarded the khagan's headquarters—aurug or horde. The guardsmen defined the location for the placement of the headquarters and aurug, guarded the khagan's yurts. A shift was three

days. Special protection was accorded to the Khagan's power symbols: the banners and drums. Men from the guards took care of the khagan's and aurug household, were responsible for the maintenance and use of yurts and carts and wagons, household utensils and cookware. The guardsmen were charged with the responsibility for migrations to other places, settlement at summer and winter camps, for the safety of the Khagan's livestock. Specific people could be in charge of sheep and horse herds, served as equerries-aktachins. Khagan's board was taken care of by bavurchins. Police function was performed by sword-bearers; elchis acted as couriers and envoys.

Large, strong uluses had their sovereign territory and borders, which were at least occasionally guarded. The Kereit Wang Khan perished in an accidental encounter with Naiman border patrol, guarding the Naiman ulus. The Tatars had 'the places of their nomadic roaming, encampment and yurts clearly defined'. The father of Chinggis Khan, Yesugei, 'every several months set out on campaigns to fight back Turkic tribes present in the vicinity of his ulus' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 1, p. 101; 1952, 1, 2, p. 75]. Records management in the Naiman ulus was conducted in the Uighur script. The Naiman and Kereit nobility adopted Nestorian Christianity. A khagan ruled on the basis of the law, which could be the norms of either the common or state law. The Secret History of the Mongols mentions 'The Great Truth' (Eke Tore).

Even before the establishment of the one Mongol state of Chinggis Khan, the Turkic and Mongol nomadic societies formed and developed the nomadic statehood, which their predecessors had had before in the Central Asia. That was the power, though closely connected with the people, which still stood above the people, the plain folks and slaves, the power, which reflected the interests of begs and noyons, of the dominant class, a public power embodied in the state mechanism of a certain system. The state of Chinggis Khan could not be born out of void. Like a settled rural community, governed collectively by its members, does not deny the existence of a monarchic state, the same way a nomadic ail, with its seeming primitiveness, fits in the structure of a nomadic state.

CHAPTER 3

Desht-i Qipchaq on the Eve of the Chinggis Khan Epoch

Aleksandr Kadyrbaev

The historical role of the Kipchaks, known in Rus' as the Polovtsians, in Byzantium and Europe as the Cumans, in China as the Qīnchá, later participating in the ethnogenesis of the modern Turkic peoples—the Nogais, Kazakhs, Bashkirs, Tatars, Karakalpaks, Kumyks, Karachays, Balkars, Uzbeks, Turkmen—was already defined back in the epoch preceding the conquests of Chinggis Khan. With all the commonness of ethno-political and social process on the vast expanses of Desht-i Qipchaq—the country or the steppe of the Kipchaks—the history of the tribal groups living on this territory at the beginning of the 2nd millennium CE was first of all connected with the nomadic alliances of the Kipchaks, which also included the Kangly. The name Desht-i Qipchaq appears in Islamic, that is, Persian-Arabic language sources since the 11th century. After the weakening of the Oghuz state in the first half of the 11th century, the Kipchaks gradually ousted the Oghuz from the steppes of present day Kazakhstan, while the tribes that remained there submitted to the Kipchaks and integrated with them. Having conquered the Oghuz lands in the basin of the middle and lower reaches of the Syr Darya, the steppes of the Aral and Caspian Sea Regions, the Kipchaks came right up to the northern borders of Khwarezm, at that time the centre of a huge state. Khwarezm Shah Altun Tash wrote in 1030 about the Kipchaks inhabiting the steppes adjacent to Khwarezm. At the end of the 11th century, the Kipchaks reached in the south the suburbs of Taraz, where they built fortification Kandjak Sangir [Al-Kashgari, 1963, 3, p. 444].

The eastern boundaries of the Kipchaks in the 11th century were the Irtysh right bank area and the slopes of the Altai mountains. The left bank is marked on the map of the Turkic scholar Mahmud al-Kashgari as the

habitation place of a Kipchak tribe the Yemeks, while the interfluvium of the Irtysh and Ob are shown as that of the Kai or the Uran tribe, from which some of the Kipchak khans descended [Akhinzhanov, 1973, pp. 59–70]. The northern borders of the Kipchaks lay through a forest-steppe zone, separating today the Kazakhstan steppes from the Western Siberia. The following words by Mahmud al-Kashgari give an idea about the Kipchaks western borders: 'Itil (Volga) is the name of a river in the Kipchaks country' [Al-Kashgari, 1960, 1, p. 103]. Arab scholars al-Bakri and al-Marwazi call the Kipchaks the northern neighbours of the Pechenegs [Chwolson, 1869, p. 49]. M. al-Kashgari also writes about their being neighbours [al-Kashgari, 1960, 1, p. 64]. Since the Pechenegs, prior to their migration to the Black Sea Region, lived in the steppes of the Aral Sea area, then in order to have them at the southern borders, the Kipchaks were to inhabit the lands of the Southern Urals. Yuanshi, a Chinese dynastic history of the 14th century, reports: 'Tutukha. His ancestors earlier, from the very beginning were a tribe dwelling northwards from Upin, by the Zhenglan River, nearby the Altai mountains. With (leader) Quychu they moved north-westwards to the mountains Yuyliboli. For this reason, (the word Yuyliboli) became the name of the clan. While calling their country, they say Qīnchá (Kipchak). Their lands lie at a distance of 30 thousand li from China...' [Yuanshi, 1958, Juan 128, p. (1486)27438].

It is definitely established that the initial location, where the Qinchak/Kipchaks migrated from to the Volga (Itil)–Ural (Yaik) interfluvium, was the Jairan valley (in Chinese Zhenglan River, in Mongolian Djerem-Keer) to the north of the river Lohamuren in the Inner Mongolia. The transcriptional spelling of the Anda-

han mountains corresponds to Altahan (Gold). The name 'Altahan' is fixed in the Mongolian chronicles Altan Tobchi. Their parallel Chinese name was 'Qinwei'—goldish, gilded. The Kipchaks' sojourn in the Altyndy-tau mountains, mentioned in the Kazakh epos, can be probably viewed as an indication of the above. The Upin region is another reference point. Its detailed historical and geographical characteristics are provided in the work Menggu yumu-ji when describing the Karqin (Harachin) aimag. The Upin district was spreading over both sides of the river Lokhamurzya (in Chinese Laoha-he), while the ruins of Upin town are situated in the locality Botaji.

The Altahan mountains are the Bolshoi Khingan Range to the north of the Loha-muren, the right tributary of the Sharamuren (Huangshui). At a distance, in the east from the Bolshoi Khingan, there lies the valley of the presently drainless river Dzeren, Djeran-Keer in the Mongolian epos. Thus, there is an understanding of the southern, eastern and western habitation bounds of the Kipchaks in their ancestral home in the Inner Mongolia. The Chinese historian Wang Guowei addressed the issue of the historical and geographical synonyms of the Golden (Goldish) mountains of this part of Asia and came to the conclusion that other traditional names of the Bolshoi Khingan included Jinshan (Golden mountains) and Kara-un-chidun (Black cart) [Zuev, 2001, pp. 419–422; Altan Tobchi, 1858, 4, pp. 148, 164, 174; Koblandy batyr, 1975, pp. 149, 151, 155, 310, 312, 316; Popov, 1895, pp. 12, 196; Wang Guowei, 1959, pp. 725–730].

Apparently, not all the Kipchaks went west. The supposition that some of the Kipchak clans stayed and lived among the Mongol tribes is confirmed in Yuanshi by the biography of the military commander Esenuhu, who is described as a descendant of a 'Mongol Kipchak clan' [Yuanshi, 1958, Juan 121, p. (2159)28111]. In the biography of Kangly Buhumu, it is reported that his grandfather Kairanbey (in Chinese Hailangbo) was in service of Tooril Wang Khan, the ruler of the Kereit ulus in the Northern Mongolia, in the valley of the river Tola and the middle reaches of the Orkhon River, and lived there on the eve

of the Chinggis Khan invasion, together with his family and clan, whose several thousand warriors-horsemen, similar to their leader, were in the Keraites service. The Yuanshi text says in this regards: 'Buhumu... His ancestors from generation to generation were noblemen of the Kangly tribe. His grandfather Hailangbo served the Kereit Wang Khan. When Wang Khan was killed (by the Mongols), Hailangbo left the family and, accompanied by several thousand horsemen, dashed away in the nor-westward direction... [Ibid., Juan 130, p. (1502)27454]. The facts noted in Yuanshi confirm the possibility to put under question the opinion, still being expressed in some research works, claiming that all the Turkic clans and tribes had already left Mongolia before the epoch of Chinggis Khan. This point of view is based on a mistaken assumption that the loss by the Turkic ruling elite of its dominant positions after their westward migration and arrival to this place of the Mongols equals to the demise of the ethnos. The real situation in the Central Asia, however, was much more complex and multi-faceted.

As for the Yuyliboli mountains, where the Kipchaks resettled from the Inner Mongolia, then in the opinion of German orientalist I. Marquart, they represent the foothills of the Southern Urals [Marquart, 1914, S. 114]. And according to French sinologist P. Pelliot, the word Yuyliboli is a Chinese transcription of the ethnic name of the Kipchak tribe Ilbari. P. Pelliot also supposes that the migration, described in Yuanshi, refers to the tribe of the Bayauts, who later became a part of the Kipchaks [Pelliot, 1920, Hambis, 1951, p. 107].

Persian sources confirm the information from Yuanshi, noting that the Kipchaks of the Ilbari tribe were living at that time in the area of the Ural mountains. I. Marquart and P. Pelliot, therefore, are quite right in their opinion, when, commenting on the above Chinese text, they localize the Yuyliboli mountains in the area of the Urals [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 467].

By the end of the 11th century, the Kipchak tribes were occupying the steppes from the Irtysh to the Volga river, with some of



Kimak (1), Kyrgyz (2), and Kipchak (3) horsemen. Reconstruction by M. Gorelik

their groups having penetrated the Mangyshlak. Kipchak settlements were marked on the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea on the map by M. Kashgari. They were subjected to an attack by the Turks-Seljuks' Sultan Alp-Arslan during his campaign against Mangyshlak in 1065 [Materialy' po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii, 1939, p. 467]. Arab scholars al-Umari, Ibn Khaldun, and Ibn Arabshah give overall dimensions of the territory held by the Kipchak tribes [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, pp. 235, 378, 459].

By the middle of the 11th century, the Kipchaks had occupied the Black Sea Steppes. In ancient Russian sources this territory of the Kipchaks settlement acquired the name of the Pole Polovetskoe, and the Kipchaks were called the Polovtsians. The lands of the eastern Kipchaks—the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions, the Caspian and Aral Sea Region, Sary-Arka, and the Irtysh River Region—were called in the Persian-Arab language sources Desht-i Qipchaq, the term, which in the 12–14th cen-

turies also started to include the Black Sea region.

In the pre-Mongol period, five basic groups of Kipchak tribes finally formed in the middle of the 11–beginning of the 12th century: the Altai-Siberian, Kazakhstan-Ural (including the Volga-Urals), the Don (including the Ciscaucasian), the Dnieper (including the Crimean), the Danube (including the Balkans) groups [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 1992, p. 117].

The Kipchak alliances were natural successors to the preceding state and ethno-political formations that had existed on the territory from the Irtysh to Dniester. They absorbed the ethnic groups and tribes that inhabited the region in the preceding centuries and became subordinate or vassal to the Kipchaks in the 11th century. The Yemeks were one of the ethnic components that joined the Kipchaks. They were a Turkic tribe and resided in the Irtysh area. In the 12th century, their individual groups migrated as a part of the Kipchaks to the Cis-Ural and Volga Region. The presence of the Kipchaks and Yemeks in this area is indicated by oriental sources, ancient Russian chronicles and the anthropological and toponymic data. Turkic tribes of the Bayandurs, Urans and Kangly affiliated with the Kipchaks. Close relationship between the Kipchaks and Kangly is unquestionable; Muslim scholars of the 12–early 13th centuries used the names of Kipchak and Kangly as synonyms. 'The Kangly are one of the great people of the Kipchaks', reported Mahmud al-Kashgari [Al-Kashgari, 1963, 3, p. 379]. In favour of this also stands the fact that various Muslim scholars submit contradictory data on the origin of Terken Khatun, the mother of Khwarezm Shah Muhammad, defeated by Chinggis Khan.

According to one statistic, it stemmed from the Kipchaks, while other reports name it from the Kangly, that is, the Kipchaks and Kangly were viewed as identical to one another [Pelliot, Hambis, 1951, pp. 96–97]. Juvayni, William of Rubruck and later N. A. Aristov and V. V. Bartold regarded the Kangly tribe as a part of the Kipchaks [Travels, 1957, p. 123]. The Juvayni's information does not produce an impression that the Kangly were subordinate to the Kipchaks. He states that 'Terken Kha-

tun stemmed from the Turkic tribes called the Kangly' (as cited in [Aristov, 1896, p. 407]). Following him, Abu al-Ghazi mentions the same. According to al-Nasawi, she belonged to the Bayauts, a Yemek branch, and it is additionally explained that the princesses, married off to the rulers of the Khwarezm Shahs state, were born Kipchaks, what is also upheld by Juzjani [al-Nasawi, 1973, p. 87; Tabakat-i-Nasir, 1881, 2, p. 240].

If one takes into account the political events of that time, then it should be noted that in the 12–early 13th centuries, the Kangly acted independently of the Kipchaks in their relations with other states and peoples (for example, with Khwarezm, the Kereit ulus, and the Mongol state of Chinggis Khan). This is in particular evidenced by Chinese sources, which do not equate them one to the other, not denying though their close links. For example, Yuanshi clearly places apart biographies of representatives of these tribes [Yuanshi, 1958, Juan 128, 133, 124, 138, 180, 136].

By the 11th century, the Kangly tribes nomadised to the north of the river Ili, in the area of the lower reaches of the Syr Darya and in the nor–eastern coastal Aral Sea Region. The chief headquarters of this part of the Kangly, the town of Karakurum, was situated in the Lower Syr Darya region. The Kangly also inhabited the areas in the east from the Urals and by the Irtysh [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 1, pp. 136–137]. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine wrote about them as the eastern neighbors of the Kipchaks, while William of Rubruck trekked through the Kangly steppes in the eastern direction in 1253 [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 72].

According to a number of scholars, the Kangly are an ancient ethnic group, whose origins are related to the state formation of Kanju [Bichurin, 1950, 2, pp. 150, 184–186, 229]. The ethnonym 'Kangly' as such appeared in Persian-Arabic sources as the result of the migration of Kipchak tribes to the Syr Darya banks between the 1st and 2nd millennium CE, where they collided with the Kangar-Pecheneg tribes. S. P. Tolstov considers the ethnonym a variant of 'Kangar', changed after part of the Pecheneg tribes had been assimilated by the

Kipchaks [Tolstov, 1943, p. 101]. The adoption of the name, first by the elite Kipchak clans, was representative of their aspiration to connect themselves to the genealogical tradition of the ancient tribes that had been living on the Syr Darya, thus justifying their right to these territories [Klyashtorny, 1964, p. 179].

It is curious that Chinese sources, in particular the 'Yuanshi', directly mention the relationship of succession between the Kangly and the more ancient population of the Syr Darya. 'The Kangli (Kangly) are those who were called Gao-che-go (the country of tall carts) in the Han epoch (260 BCE–220 CE) [Yuanshi, 1958, Juan 130, p. 1502 (27454)]. Persian chronicler of the Mongol epoch Rashid al-Din provided similar, though less complete, data on the Kangly. He mentioned them to have invented carts, or 'kangly' in Turkic, which determined their name. Both Rashid al-Din and the authors of 'Yuanshi' might have relied on the same source for information on the Kangly, to which the similarity of the data is attributable. The first time that the ethnonym 'Kangly' appeared in Chinese sources was in the Jurchen dynasty history—'Jin Shi'—between 1161 and 1190 in the context of the trip of Uighur merchants from Guz-or-do (on the Chu River) to the Jurchen emperor's camp [Jin Shi, 1958, Juan 121, p. 1100].

Chinese sources also provide geographical and ethnographic data. According to the 'Yuanshi', in Desht-i Kipchak 'valleys and steppes are even and wide; there are good grasses and bushes. The abundance of grass favours horse-breeding... The people of these places are pugnacious, courageous, and cold-blooded...' It also reports the Kipchaks to have been good at making kumis, a drink made of mare's milk: 'Kipchak Banduchar served at the court of Mongol khans. He was responsible for the herds of horses that belonged to the emperor (of the Mongols). He collected mare's milk and presented it (to the emperor). The milk was pure and tasted wonderful. It was called black mare's milk...' [Yuanshi, 1958, Juan 128, p. (1486)27438]. The Kipchaks also did handicrafts. The 'Yuanshi' mentions that 'the Kipchaks produce leather...' [ögel, 1964, S. 278].

Shortly before the era of Chinggis Khan, Desht-i Qipchaq witnessed the dissolution of clans and the establishment of early state relations. Clan leaders turned into clan noblemen; khan clans formed. 'Yuanshi' reports the following: 'Buhumu. His ancestors were noble people from the Kangly tribe from generation to generation...' [Yuanshi, 1958, Juan 130, p. (1502)27454]; 'Asanbuka is a descendant of a noble Kangly khan clan...' [Ibid., Juan 136, p. (1565)27517]. Chinese dynastic histories provide data which indicates directly that power was passed on from father to son in Desht-i Qipchaq: 'Quchu (Kuchug) brought into the world Somon, and Somon brought Inassa. (They) were rulers of the Kipchak state from generation to generation...' [Shaomin, 1936, 8, Juan 200]. As can be inferred from the further text of 'Yuanshi', Inassa was succeeded by his son Hulusuman, and Hulusuman by his son Banduchar. 'Xin Yuanshi' ('The New History of Yuan') also reports, 'Kundutai comes from the clan of Kipchak rulers. His father Kuchun was the head of a Kipchak tribe...' Thus, power inheritance was practiced in Desht-i Qipchaq, which is characteristic of nomadic states at their formation. Kipchak unions covered a certain territory and had borders: 'Xianzong (Möngke Khan) had been ordered to march his troops and was knocking at their (Kipchak) borders...' [Yuanshi, 1958, Juan 128, p. (1486)27438]. A biography of Kangly Asanbuka states that the wife of the Kangly ruler named Shanmetgumali, 'having crossed the borders of (the state of) Kangly and several more realms, reached the (Mongol) capital...' after the Mongols ravaged the Kangly state [Ibid., Juan 136, p. 27537(1565)].

It is also interesting to analyze Chinese political terms used to denote various forms of nomadic social organization, which have come down to us in Chinese dynastic histories. For instance, 'Yuanshi' constantly applies the term 'Go' ('State') to so 'significant tribal unions and the Naimans and the Keraites'. Rashid al-Din also wrote, '...the Naimans and the Keraites... each had a state' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 1, p. 75; Eschedy, 21 (1963), n. 3, p. 151]. It is well-known that the Naiman and Kereit tribal unions had complex social relations and

largely paved the way for the Mongol statehood. Thus, the fact that the same term 'Go' was applied to the tribal unions of the Kipchaks and the Kangly people is of great importance in terms of their social development. It should be noted that Kipchak and Kangly tribes established states in Central Asia back in the previous epoch. Dynasties of Kipchak and Kangly origins in various areas of Central Asia, for instance, Khwarezm, ruled local sedentary agricultural states, which favoured their adoption of the statehood tradition. To prove that the Kangly and Kipchak people had a certain level of social relations, Chinese sources report them to have professed the world religion of Islam. For instance, 'Yuanshi' and 'Xin Yuanshi' mention such names of Islamic origin, given to Kipchaks, as Kara Hoja, Hasan, and, given to Kangly people, Osman. Rashid al-Din provides a series of indirect evidence suggesting that the Kipchaks had a certain written tradition: 'Rashid... having corrected and criticized, scrutinized the accuracy of the evidence contained in the records, collected them, and put them in order... what is not told in the records in detail he shall learn from Chinese, Indian, Uighur, and Kipchak scholars and sages and from the noble' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 1, p. 67]. Therefore, the discussion on the application of the term 'Go' to the Kangly that arose around the Yuan historiography is of great importance. For instance, Chinese historian of the 20th century Tu Ji in his work 'Menuer Shiji' commented on and corrected a text from 'Yuanshi' which contains information on the Kangly. The text from 'Yuanshi' reads as follows: 'Ashabuhua (Asanbuka). He is a descendant of the Kangly khan clan (Kango wanzu). At the very beginning, when Taizu (Chinggis Khan) was crushing the Kangly, his grandmother Shanmetgumali became a widow. She had two sons. Their names were Chulü and Yaya. They all were minors. Since disorder reigned in the state (Go), the family was impoverished and had no support. She reached the palace (of the Mongol khan), having left the ruined state, though she had thought that she would not be able to get there. Once at night, several heavily loaded camels entered the camp unexpectedly. People tried to

make them go away, but they would not. They put the camels' load next to the camels. They brought them to the camp again at night. They expected to find somebody looking for camels to return them. They waited for over ten days. They never found anybody looking for them. Then they opened the bags. They contained very valuable things from the Western Land (that is, from the countries of Central and Western Asia). They were scared. Probably heaven wants to help us go eastward. Is this what we are to have? She drove the camels, on which she had put her sons, and... reached the capital. At that time Taizu (Chinggis Khan) died. His successor took the throne. She presented everything that she had. On the emperor's order, officials gave her a residence and an allowance from the treasury so that she could live. She lived for two years. Having found out that order had been restored in (her) state, she turned to the emperor, asking if she may return... Yaya, her son, was granted the title "Kan Go Wan" (khan of the Kangly state). He had six children. Among them, Ashabuhua was the most talented in state administration... He was granted the titled "Kan Go Gun" (prince of the Kangly state)... [Yuanshi, 1958, Juan 136, p. (1565)27617]. In his notes to the text, Tu Ji corrected the term 'Go' into 'Bu' ('tribe'), believing that the term 'Go' was inapplicable to the level of social relations that the Kangly and the Kipchaks had. However, the fact that Chinese historiographers had used clear terms to denote the level of development of neighbouring peoples indicates that he was wrong. For instance, 'Jiu Udaui Shi' contains a description of peoples directly reported to 'have no state, provinces, or commanders. So, there is nothing to write down about them' [Kychanov, 1968, p. 15; Tu Ji, 1934, Juan 120].

In this case, we can rely on the above-quoted text from 'Yuanshi' to infer that the Go clan was the noblest Kangly clan. 'They (the Chinese) name people so that everybody knows his grade and the limit (of his power) from his name...' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 1, p. 139]. The narrative about the caravan and Shanmetgumali's conversation with god suggests that her wealth was based on the nobility of her clan, which was marked, to quote 'The Se-

cret History of the Mongols', 'with a seal of heavenly descent,' representatives of which were khans according to the will of the Eternal Heaven and on its behalf [Kozin, 1941, §1, 187]. It is possible that the nomads of Desht-i Qipchaq had an idea of the khan as possessing power similar to that of the tsar.

Chinese sources contain data on the relations between the tribes of Desht-i Qipchaq and their eastern neighbours—the peoples of Central and Eastern Asia. For instance, the Kerait ulus, which has been mentioned above in Buhumu's biography in 'Yuanshi'. Reports by a number of other Chinese stories also suggest close connections between the Kangly and the Keraites. They represent a clearer tradition, similar to that reported by Rashid al-Din, and indicating genetic connections among the peoples. To prove it, the family of Kangly Buhumu is reported to be descendants of the Keraites [ögel, 1964, s. 86]. The report contained in 'Menuer Shiji' is even more concrete: 'The Keraites were the ancestors of the Kangly. The western tribes were called the Kangly, and the eastern the Keraites' [Tu Ji, 1934, Juan 20].

It can be assumed that the nomads of Central Asia had a stable genealogical tradition, according to which the Keraites were viewed as part of the Turkic circle of tribes.

According to V. V. Bartold, the Kipchaks and the Kangly lived in the domain of another large state formation of Central Asian nomads—the Naiman Ulus [Bartold, 1968, p. 6]. Rashid al-Din wrote, 'The Naiman tribes were nomadic; some lived in highly mountainous regions; some lived in plains. The places where they sat... the Bolshoi Altai... mountains: Elui Siras and Qoq Irdysh (the Blue Irtysh)—the Kangaly tribe also lived within the borders—Irtysh Muren, which is the Irtysh River...' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 1, p. 136–137]. Mahmud Kashgari reported that the Kipchak Kai, or Uran tribes also lived in the interfluvium of the Irtysh and Ob, to which 'some famous Kipchak khans belonged' [Kashgar, 1960, 1, p. 6].

'Yuanshi' provides data indicative of close relations of kinship between the Kangly and Naiman nobilities. For instance, the biography of Naiman Chaos (Shaosi) reads,

'Shaos from the Naimans. His great-grandfather Tayan (Dayan) was a ruler of a Naiman tribe. His grandfather Qushulan (Kuchlug)... Taizu (Chinggis Khan) crushed the tribe (of Kuchlug)... The latter fled to the Kara Khitan people, leaving behind his son... Bedein (Bede) was Shaosi's (Chaos's) son. While Shaosi was appeasing Jin, Bedei was living with his maternal grandmother, who was from the Kangly tribe...' [Yuanshi, 1958, Juan 121, p. (1433)27375]. Besides, Uighur travellers reported the Naimans to be related to the Kangly back in the latter half of the 12th century. Telling about what they had seen or heard on their way, they mentioned the tribes Nian Ba En (the Naimans) and Kangli (the Kangly) to live in the Altai Mountains [Jin Shi, 1958, Juan 121].

Thus, the sources report that part of the population of the Naiman and Kereit uluses was represented by Turkic-speaking Kipchaks and Kangly in the 11–12th centuries.

The Kipchaks and the Kangly stayed in contact with the ulus of the Mongolian-speaking Merkits, who had their camping grounds north of the Kereit ulus, on the Selenga River. Rashid al-Din mentioned Merkit ruler Kudu to have been killed when going to the Kipchaks after he had left the field of a battle against the Mongols.

The Merkits fought against Chinggis Khan many times. Another Persian historian, Juvayni, also reported the Merkits, whom Chinggis Khan had sent away from Mongolia and who were chased by Mongol troops, to have appeared in the Kipchak and Kangly country in 1218 [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 1, p. 124; Bretschneider, 1910, p. 73]. The data contained in the biography of Kipchak Tutukh in 'Yuanshi' confirms and adds to the reports of Rashid al-Din and Juvayni: '...Taizu (Chinggis Khan) undertook a campaign against the Merkits. Their ruler Hodu (Kudu) fled to the Kipchaks. Inassu (the Kipchak ruler) accepted him. Taizu (Chinggis Khan) sent a messenger to say, 'Why did you hide the deer that I wanted to shoot? Bring him back immediately. I will inflict misfortune on you unless you agree.' Inassu replied, 'Even the thicket will grow thicker so that a sparrow escaping from a hawk can

stay alive. Am I worse than grass and trees?' Taizu (Chinggis Khan) then ordered that a campaign should be undertaken to punish him. Inassu was already old. There was no unity in the state (of the Kipchaks). Inassu's son, named Hulusuman, sent a messenger to express his subordination to Taizu. However, Xianzong (Möngke Khan) marched his troops off.' Another report in 'Yuanshi', contained in the biography of Mongol commander Subedei, attributes the pursuit of the Merkits to him and not to Khan Möngke: 'Fighting against the Merkits, (Subudai) crushed them within a single battle and captured two leaders... Their (Merkit) ruler Hodu fled to the Kipchaks; Subudai ran in pursuit of him. He fought against the Kipchaks and crushed them...' [Yuanshi, 1958, Juan 128, p. (1486) 27438; Juan 121, pp. (1413)27365–(1414)27366]. Finally, similar reports are contained in the Mongol source 'Yuan Chao Bi Shi' ('The Secret History of the Mongols'): 'Kuchlug Khan, having lost his ulus, decided to join Merkit Tokhtoa... Having approached them, Chinggis Khan initiated a battle... The Naimans and the Merkits fled. When crossing the Erdysh (Irtysh), they lost most of their people, who drowned. Having crossed the river, the Naimans and the Merkits with a small number of survivors took different roads...' Though not all the detail in the reports above are identical, they provide the same information on the most essential event—the escape of the Merkits to the Kipchaks and the Kangly. 'The Merkit sons of Tokhta, like the rest of the Merkits, headed for the Kangling people...' [Kozin, 1941, p. 210]. The fact that the Merkits fled to the Kipchaks and the Kangly is just more evidence that the Kipchak tribes had connections to the peoples living east of them.

The Kangly also maintained relations with the Jurchen Jin Empire, which covered the territory of present-day Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, as well as North China. For instance, Chinese sources mention the Kangly as Kang Li in the 12th century (1161–1189) in connection with a Kangly and Naiman embassy to the court of the Jin emperor [Jin Shi, 1958, Juan 121, p. 1100].

Thus, according to sources written in various languages, most importantly, Chinese dy-

nastic histories, the Kipchaks appeared in the vast territory of present-day Kazakhstan, in the Cis-Ural and Volga Regions in the 11th century after they migrated from their ancestral home, Inner Mongolia, to inhabit the Northern Caucasian and Black Sea Steppes up to the Carpathian Mountains before the end of the century. There were a lot of Kipchaks and Kangly in Khwarezm. Some remained in their ancestral home. The period is when the Kipchak and Kangly tribes consolidated to form relatively stable nomadic state-type unions in the territory of the Eurasian steppes from the Altai

Mountains to the Danube which were known as Desht-i Qipchaq in the 11–14th centuries, the traces of which remain in the ethnic memory of the territorial successor of the medieval Turkic tribes—the modern Turkic steppe peoples, such as the Nogais, the Kazakhs, the Bashkirs, the Crimean Tatars, whose entire clan and tribal structures contain Kipchak and Kangly clans. A certain ethno-cultural continuity is also present at the linguistic level as the languages of the above-mentioned steppe peoples and those of the Volga and Siberian Tatars belong to the Kipchak group of Turkic languages.

CHAPTER 4

Volga Bulgaria on the Eve of Batu Khan's Campaigns

Iskander Izmaylov

Following the famous Battle of the Kalka River, Subedei turned to the steppes of the Don River Region, from where he marched against the Bulgars in the autumn of 1223. According to Ibn al-Athir, the Mongols set off for Bulgaria in the Hijra year 620 (4.02.1223–23.01.1224). However, 'when the citizens of Bulgar found out that they were approaching, they lay several ambushes for them; they faced them and made them follow them to the ambush place, then took a rear attack, leaving them (the Tatars) in the middle; they blew their sword in every direction; many were slain and few survived. They say there were 4,000 of them. They went to Saqsin to return to their king Chinggis Khan, and the Kipchak land was free of them; their survivors returned to their land' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde; 1884, pp. 27–28]. The report is to some extent confirmed by another independent source. When Franciscan Friars from Hungary visited Bulgaria and the Magyars along its eastern border in 1237, the Hungarians told them that they had been fighting against the Tatars for fourteen years when they were able to subordinate them [Anninsky, 1940, p. 81; also see: Zimoni, 1993, pp. 87–89]. It can be inferred that the Bulgar troops included various detachments, in particular those of Cis-Ural Magyars.

According to T. Allsen [Allsen, 1983, p. 11], the Mongols were defeated because they were tired. However, the chronology of the campaign suggests that the Mongol troops attacked the Bulgars after a rest, in the late autumn. Therefore, their defeat resulted from a number of reasons, most importantly, the Bulgars' good tactics, choice of place and time of the battle, as well the readiness and durability of their troops.

Scholars disagree about the place of the battle greatly. It is traditionally believed to have taken place 'at the southern border of Bulgaria,

somewhere near the Samara Bend [Khalikov, 1978, p. 85; Khaliullin, 1995, p. 122].

However, in recent times, thanks to the archaeological research of G. N. Belorybkin, near the ancient town of Zolotarev [Belorybkin, 1988, pp. 82–87; 2001], there was yielded a set of discoveries that can shed light on the circumstances of the battle and its location.

The archaeological site of Zolotaryovka is, indeed, the southernmost part of the Bulgar domain in the Sura River Region, where several trade routes lay, in particular those leading to Ryazan, Kiev, the Lower Volga Region. The archaeological site, which is dated to the 11–1st third of the 13th century, is unique to Bulgar fortification as it is the only ancient town of a cape sort, with four rows of fosses and ramparts on the field side. Of greater interest is, however, the set of discoveries found in near vicinity of the ancient town, which includes arms (for instance, sabres with cuffs in the top one third of the blade), multi-purpose cut and thrust weapons (palms), fragments of horse harness and belt plates, which is indicative of their Central Asian and Far Eastern (as far as the Amur River Region) origin. It is clear that the set could have been formed and come to East Europe only with the troops of Subedei and Jebe. Even though certain aspects of the issue remain controversial, it is possible to say that the ancient town is the most probable place of the events of 1223. Such a unique set of discoveries could have only emerge following the crushing defeat of Subedei's troops, as the result of which the winners, who had also suffered heavy losses, were unable to collect all weapons, parts of military costumes, and horse munitions. Any attempts at attributing the discoveries to a detachment from Kirghizia that was presumably staying there results from a misunderstanding, misdating, and cultural and chronological confusion of complexes pertaining to different

periods [see Belorybkin, 2000, p. 138; Rudenko, 2001, p. 67].

The events of the late 1223 can be imagined as follows. Following a several months' rest, the Mongol troops marched against the Bulgars. However, the Bulgar commanders had learned from the Kipchaks' mistakes and did not intend to enter an open battle, though they were determined not to cede the strategic initiative to the enemy by letting it get deeper into the country. They made additional fortifications in a town in the bend of the Sura River (The ancient town of Zolotarev) during the summer of 1223 and apparently prepared ambushing locations. The tactic was characteristic of the Bulgar military art [Izmaylov, 1997; 2006a, pp. 361–367]. When the Mongol troops were engaged in besieging the town, the united Bulgar army surrounded them and began to exhaust them with short passages of arms. The Mongols were defeated in the following battle (or probably when part of Subedei's troops broke the siege) and, as the discoveries from Zolotaryovka area suggest, suffered grave losses there. From there they withdrew southward the Lower Volga Region and eventually returned home via Saqsin.

For the most far-sighted of Bulgar politicians, the threat of a new Mongol invasion became clear. The Bulgars relied on their peaceful relations with Rus' to take a number of measures to protect their borders in the south and south-east, to additionally fortify their cities [Khuzin, 1988, pp. 46–47].

The Mongol presence in Eastern Europe and the disaster on the Kalka River had a repercussion on the Russian-Bulgar border. Vladimir troops are known to have been reluctant to help southern Russian princes. It is entirely possible that they believed the campaign to be 'not their war' and tried to make use of the situation for their gain. Probably, they took advantage of the Bulgar forces being distracted in the south to break the peace treaty through hostile actions. Only the Bulgars' victory had a sobering effect on them and made the policy of Russian princes more reserved and less aggressive. However, the situation was far from peaceful. The chronicles do not report any large-scale anti-Bul-

gar campaigns in that period, but, apparently, minor raids and mutual attacks, during which prisoners were taken, continued.

The Russian-Bulgar tension heightened again in 1229. On the one side, there was an attempt at kindling anti-Muslim sentiment in Vladimir following the murder, whether real or alleged, of a Christian Abraham, 'of a people other than Russian.' He was allegedly killed by Bulgars for refusing to convert into Islam. A campaign for recognizing him as 'a new martyr' for the faith and reintering him in Vladimir broke out. After a year, in 1230, 'New Christian martyr Abraham was carried from the Bulgar land to the glorious city of Vladimir', where he was very soon canonized and declared a saint [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 1, p. 352; 15, p. 86]. The anti-Bulgar intention of the canonization and political campaign is obvious. It is entirely possible that it was meant to exert ideological pressure on the Bulgars against the backdrop of the 'local conflict' in Mordovia.

The land of the Mordvin tribes was an old source of tension between Bulgaria and the north-eastern Russian principalities. After Nizhny Novgorod was founded in 1221, Russian princes tried to establish their power over the Sura and Oka interfluvium, which caused a series of military conflicts with Mordvin small-scale princes, some of whom were supported by the Bulgars (see [Izmaylov, 2006b, pp. 375–376]).

The tension was resolved in the autumn of 1229, when 'the Bulgars bowed to Great Prince Yurgi and asked for peace after 6 years of war; they made peace and let their people in, and they accepted their people too; and they kissed the cross to them, and the Bulgars went to their army, the nobility and common people' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 311] (see a different text of a more recent chronicle [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 30, p. 87]).

The peace between Bulgaria and the Principality of Vladimir-Suzdal lasted until the Mongol invasion, when Khan Batu's troops inflicted a crushing defeat on both Bulgaria and Rus'. The Mongol pressure on the peoples of the Volga Region increased...

Section 2

The Mongol Invasions and the Establishment of the Chinggisid Empire



CHAPTER 1

Chinggis Khan and the Establishment of a United Mongol State

Eugene Kychanov

Temujin, who later became Chinggis Khan, was born in the Mid-12th century. The exact date of his birth is unknown. According to Rashid al-Din, it was 1155; according to 'The History of Yuan' ('Yuanshi'), it was 1162; the famous French sinologist P. Pelliot estimated it at 1167. The range is 12 years, or one cycle of the Central Asian calendar. His father, Yesugei Baghatur, was an ulus ruler; his mother Hoelun belonged to the Olkhunut tribe. Yesugei abducted her from the noble Merkit Yeke Chiledu, which caused the Merkits to persecute Temujin in his youth. Temujin was born when his father had just returned from another campaign against the Tatars, the main enemy of the ruling clan of Mongol Khagans. According to the legend, the boy was born with a blood clot in his hand. This is quite possible. However, it may be just another folklore narrative in the biography of Chinggis Khan in 'The Secret History of the Mongols.' The boy was born in Dulun-Boldaq district, the name of which is believed to have been preserved, 250 km from Nerchinsk, not far from the mouth of the Baldji River, a tributary of the Onon. Yesugei returned from the campaign with captives. The boy who was to become the future Chinggis Khan was named after one of them, the Tatar Temujin-uge. His ancestor Bodonchar, the fifth son of ancestress Alan Goa, who mysteriously had three children by a ray of light that entered her yurt through the smoke and thus entered her loins, could have been a son of Alan Goa's slave, apparently a Kyrgyz captive. Traits of Temujin's clan included fair (red) hair and light (blue, green) eyes as well as tall males. Temujin spent his childhood and youth near Burkhan Khaldun, in the present-day Khentii Mountains, where the Orkhon River has its source.

When he was nine years old, Temujin was betrothed to Borte, aged ten, from the Onggirat tribe. Yesugei took his son to the family of his wife-to-be and left him there as a temporary son-in-law, as was the ancient custom. He was poisoned by Tatars on his way back under unclear circumstances. Temujin was brought back to his mother after his father's death. Yesugei's ulus dissolved when he died, or more specifically, the Taichiud (Taijiud) tribe, related to Yesugei, came to power, while Yesugei's family was impoverished. Rashid al-Din dated the events at 1166.

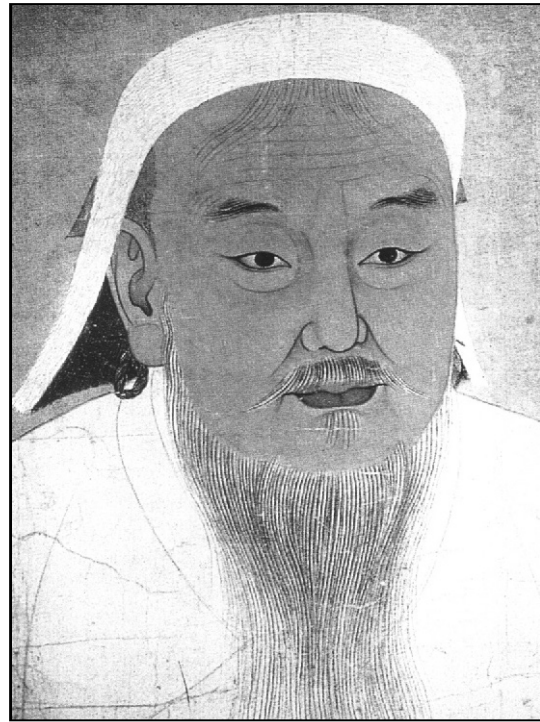
Hoelun stayed with Yesugei's second wife and his four sons, two by her and two by the other wife, whose name was probably Ko'agchin. 'The Secret History' depicted the misfortunes of Temujin and his mother very vividly. However, P. Ratchnevsky believed the source to have deliberately over-dramatised the situation to show the rough life of Temujin as a teenager. At that time Temujin and his younger brother Hasar killed their consanguineous brother Behter, Ko'agchin's elder son. The episode is only present in 'The Secret History,' while other sources do not mention of it. After killing Behter, Temujin was recognised as the head of the family. Taichiud Targutai-Kiriltuh (the name suggests that he could have been a Christian named Cyril), who had succeeded to Yesugei as head of the ulus, naturally wanted to prevent the late Yesugei's family from growing stronger. He ordered that Temujin should be punished for murder under the ulus law. Targutai personally came to see Hoelun's family and demanded rendition of Temujin. Temujin managed to escape and hide in a thicket on a mountain top. The Taichiuds had to wait for fifteen days before hunger made Temujin come out of the woods. They put a heavy wooden

board, or kanga, around his neck and brought him to the Taichiud camp. Rashid al-Din does not mention that Temujin killed his brother and claims that the Merkits captured Temujin.

Temujin was able to escape from the Taichiuds. The story of Temujin's captivity and escape was widely known. According to Chinese diplomat Zhao Hun, Temujin was captured by Jurchens as a child and kept as a slave until he was able to escape after ten years [Men-da Bey-lu, 1975, p. 49]. Ratchnevsky calculated that Temujin was captured at the age of 15 [Ratchnevsky, 1983, p. 76].

After reaching maturity, Temujin married the girl to whom his deceased father had betrothed him. That was about the time when his general Mongol political activities began. Tooril Khagan, the ruler of the Kereit ulus, was Yesugei's sworn brother. Temujin went to Tooril Khagan's camp on the Tolu River, gave generous presents to him, and asked Tooril to help him to gather Temujin's ulus. The Merkits found out that they were negotiating and attacked Temujin's family unexpectedly. Temujin himself was able to hide, but the Merkits caught his wife Borte, who was probably pregnant. They gave her to Chilcher, the younger brother of Chiledu, from whom Yesugai once abducted Temujin's mother Hoelun as a concubine.

The birth of Temujin's first son Jochi was therefore shrouded in mystery. According to Rashid al-Din, the Merkits gave Borte, who was then pregnant, to Keraite Tooril Khagan, who gave her back to Temujin. She gave birth to Jochi on her way home; 'his name meant a child who was born unexpectedly' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 1, p. 98]. According to 'The Secret History,' Temujin asked Tooril Khagan to help him to free Borte. Tooril agreed but allied with Jamukha, a sworn brother of Temujin as a child, who was the leader of most of the Mongols at that time. The Keraites provided two tumens (20,000 warriors), and Jamukha provided two more. It is unknown how many warriors Temujin had. In 1177–1178, when Temujin was 22–23 years old, the Keraites and the Mongols attacked the Merkits and crushed them. Temujin won Borte back. Borte gave birth to Jochi, and Temujin secretly doubted the origin of his firstborn until the end of his life, as he could



Chinggis Khan. Watercolour on silk.
China. 15th century

have been half Merkit. Temujin never forgave the Merkits for his disgrace and ordered that his troops should never take Merkit captives or spare their lives.

Relations of mutual dependence were established among three forces of the Mongol Steppe—Tooril Khagan, Jamukha, and Temujin—and expressed in terms of kinship. Tooril Khagan was considered to be the father; Temujin, his son; Tooril Khagan, elder brother; and Jamukha, the younger brother. As his patron's 'younger brother' and thus belonging to the same generation as him, Jamukha was superior to Temujin as the patron's 'son'—that is, a member of the younger generation. No mutual dependence was established between Jamukha and Temujin, and they remained sworn brothers.

The following three years is the most mysterious period of Temujin's life. Temujin and Jamukha decided to migrate together to symbolise the unity of a large part of the Mongols. This lasted for a year and a half, during which time Temujin was able to draw part of the Mongol noyans over to his side. This may be attributable to Temujin's higher personal virtues or

to fact that there was no direct representative of the house of Khabul Khagan—Ambaghai Khagan, while Temujin may have been a more noble indirect successor. In any case, part of Mongol noyans and part of the Mongol nobility elected Temujin as khan and gave him an ulus. When Temujin was declared khan, he received the title Chinggis Khan, meaning 'great among khans,' 'khan of khans' for the first time. Assuming that Temujin was born in 1155, he was 25 years old at that time. Rashid al-Din reported that the shaman Teb-Tengri invented the title for Temujin.

After becoming khan, Temujin set about ordering his ulus. In particular, he made his *nökürs*, or bodyguards, responsible for the khan's camp, migration, ulus economy, and army. Some sources report that Chinggis Khan soon had three tumens—that is, 30,000 warriors. In any case, he was soon able to thank Tooril Khagan properly by winning his ulus back for him after he had lost it because of a dispute with his younger brother.

Jamukha, who did not want Temujin to become more powerful, attacked his ulus. 'The Secret History' attributes the victory to Jamukha; and Rashid al-Din, to Chinggis Khan. The wars against Jamukha and other uluses were long. It is a second obscure period in the history of Chinggis Khan's rise to power and his struggle for leadership in Mongolia. Not all wars were successful for Chinggis Khan. Rashid al-Din's report is evasive: 'Chinggis Khan suffered various misfortunes... caused by his older and younger relatives, as well as the... Merkit, Tatar, and other tribes at that time. Tribes captured him many times, but he was able to free himself in various ways' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 248].

In the 1180s the Jurchen state Jin waged war against the Tatars as the nation was closest to the Jin borders and probably the strongest enemy in Mongolia. A policy of 'reducing the number of adults' was applied to the Tatars. In fact, Jin wanted to exterminate the Tatars. It was in the thick of the war against the Tatars that Chinggis Khan appeared. In 1196 the punitive Jin expeditionary force crushed the Tatars at the Kerulen River. Part of the Tatars fled to the Uldza River. The Jin rulers ordered Tooril

Khagan, a vassal to Jin, to embark on a joint anti-Tatar operation. He turned to Chinggis Khan for help. In the early summer of 1196 the joint army crushed the Tatars on the Uldza River. The Jin rulers rewarded Chinggis Khan with the title of *j'aut quri*, which is interpreted as a hundred commander. Tooril Khagan was titled Wang, or Ong, which is similar to prince. This is why more recent sources mention his name (title) Ong Khan, and the legend about a Christian ruler in Central Asia, Prester John.

After crushing part of the Tatars, Chinggis Khan settled accounts with one of his Mongol rivals—Sacha-beki of the Djurki tribe.

In 1198–1199 Ong Khan, Jamukha, and Chinggis Khan together defeated Naiman Buyuruk Khan and forced him into the area known as Kem in the upper reaches of the Yenisey. When the winners were returning, a Naiman army blocked their way. Night came, and each of the allies made a camp to begin the battle against the Naimans in the morning. However, the troops of Ong Khan and Jamukha left secretly at night, leaving Chinggis Khan face to face with the Naimans. The Naimans probably did not take Chinggis Khan seriously. At any rate, they chased the Keraites and ravaged Ong Khan's camps instead of attacking him. Ong Khan soon asked Chinggis Khan for help, which came in time. The Naiman attack was repelled. Ong Khan was so deeply moved by Chinggis Khan's gracious forgiveness of his treachery that he decided to adopt him, although he was already believed to be his son, to bequeath his ulus to him. The adoption ritual took place on the banks of the Tola River. Chinggis Khan wanted more; so he suggested that his eldest son Jochi should marry Ong Khan's daughter Sangum. Ong Khan's eldest son and the Kereit nobility were opposed to the marriage.

In 1200 Ong Khan and Chinggis Khan waged war against the Taichiuds and the Merkits. The battle against the Taichiuds was probably the first one in which Chinggis Khan personally participated. Chinggis Khan was wounded in the battle. When night fell, the Taichiuds fled the battlefield. They were pursued but not crushed. A coalition of different tribes and peoples formed in Mongolia in 1201 and established itself as an independent force op-



A Battle. Miniature. Iran. 14th century.

posed to Chinggis Khan and Ong Khan. The Tatars joined the coalition. At a kuriltai on the Gan River, a tributary of the Amur, Jamukha was elected head of the coalition with the title of gurkhan. The Naimans, headed by Tayan Khan, took a wait-and-see attitude.

In 1202 Chinggis Khan dealt a blow to the Chagan Tatars and the Anchi(Alchi) Tatars. It was the first time that he undertook a campaign against a powerful enemy on his own. The Tatars were defeated near Buir Nor Lake. Those who survived surrendered themselves as prisoners. Noble Tatar rulers were executed at once. The future of the rest was to be decided by a meeting of Chinggis Khan's relatives and *nökörs*. The meeting resolved to exterminate all male Tatars taller than a cart wheel, which was probably in accordance with the 'adult reduction' policy. According to Rashid al-Din, the punishment was more cruel—Chinggis Khan ordered that 'all Tatars should be beaten without leaving anyone alive to the set limit... women and small children were to be beaten to death, and pregnant women's stomachs were to be cut open to exterminate them completely' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 1, p. 106].

While Chinggis Khan was fighting against the Tatars, Ong Khan crushed the Merkits. In 1201 or 1202—the exact date is unknown—Ong Khan and Chinggis Khan (this time together) defeated Jamukha's coalition. Either during the Kereit and Mongol campaign against him or later Jamukha decided that he could only succeed by driving a wedge between Ong Khan

and Chinggis Khan. He was able to agree on joint actions with Ong Khan's son Sangum. The Keraites and Jamukha's troops attacked Chinggis Khan. Even though he had been warned, it came unexpectedly. The Keraites turned out to be his main enemy; the cunning Jamukha was able to avoid fighting at the last moment. The Keraites crushed Chinggis Khan. Rashid al-Din even reported that if Sangum had not been wounded in the battle, Chinggis Khan would have 'faced the danger of complete loss.' A large part of Chinggis Khan's army left him; he was accompanied by several thousand people as he fled to Baljuna Lake, somewhere near the present-day Agin-Buryat Autonomous District, Chita Oblast. Chinggis Khan and the people who stayed loyal to him swore that they would never leave each other and drank muddy water from the lake to seal it. When Chinggis Khan did win, he rewarded these people in a special way.

Chinggis Khan began to negotiate with Ong Khan. He asked him, 'Why are you angry with me, my khan and father?' His message to Jamukha was harsher, 'You have separated me from my khan and father out of hatred!' Wanting to drive a wedge between Ong Khan and Sangum, he declared to Sangum that he wanted to become khan before his father even died. Sangum was quick to answer and told Chinggis Khan that he had never called his 'father and khan' anything other than old rascal. Sangum would not negotiate and declared, 'If we win, we will devour him. If he wins, he will devour

us!' [Kozin, 1941, pp. 134–136; Yuanshi, 1935, Juan 1, p. 66]. We must give credit to Sangum where it is due. He gave a very accurate account of the situation in Khalkha, although Chinggis Khan found himself in a difficult situation. Not all of his family supported him. In 1203 his uncles, Jajirat, Baarit, and Mangut noyans, along with Kutu Temur, the leader of the Tatars, formed another coalition against Ong Khan and Chinggis Khan. They decided to ally neither with Ong Khan nor with Chinggis Khan and to begin by attacking Ong Khan. However, Ong Khan's response was rapid. He attacked the new allies himself and 'plundered them.' While Ong Khan was carelessly celebrating the victory in the upper reaches of the Kerulen River, Chinggis Khan's troops attacked him. The Keraites suffered a heavy defeat. Ong Khan was able to break the Mongol blockade and escape with a group of warriors. He apparently ran away to the Naimans. However, he encountered a Naiman frontier sentry when crossing the border of the Naiman ulus and was killed, either intentionally or accidentally. It was Chinggis Khan's second crushing victory after the one over the Tatars. Now the Naimans and Jamukha's group were his only strong enemies. However, not all Mongols were willing to support Chinggis Khan.

The Naiman Ulus was weakened because its leader Tayan Khan had been at odds with his brother Buyurt Khan and his son Kuchlug. The Naimans were overconfident; they were not properly aware of Chinggis Khan or ready to fight. Jamukha proposed that Tayan-Khan should ally against Chinggis Khan but turned out to be unreliable. Tayan Khan proposed that the Onguds join him against Chinggis Khan, but the Onguds refused the alliance. The Ongud ruler also warned Chinggis Khan that Tayan Khan intended to attack him.

Before starting a campaign against the Naimans Chinggis Khan implemented a number of reforms in his ulus in 1204. His army was divided strictly into tens, hundreds, and thousands, and 140 of the best warriors formed Chinggis Khan's personal guard. A special thousand best warriors was obliged to fight 'before the eyes' of Chinggis Khan in battles and serve as his personal guard in peace time. Six

noyans were entrusted with the ulus's economy. The ulus administration system, which disrupted because of the Kereit attack in 1203, was thus restored.

In the summer of 1204 the Mongols and Chinggis Khan's allies attacked the Naimans. The battle against the Naimans is probably the only case where Chinggis Khan was recorded to have personally commanded the troops in the advance detachment. The battle was fierce. Tayan Khan fell. Only his son Kuchlug was able to escape with a small detachment. Chinggis Khan finished off the Naimans. What remained of them fled to Dasht-i Kipchak. Seeing Chinggis Khan's victory, most of the Mongols took the side of the stronger party. Jamukha was turned over by his people and executed (probably in 1205). Therefore, a reversal of fortune took place in only two years, taking into account the defeat of Chinggis Khan by the Keraites in 1203, and he was able to crush all his rivals in Khalkha.

The Great Kuriltai gathered at the headwater of the Onon River in the spring of 1206. They raised a white nine-bunchuk banner, in which they believed the spirit *Sulde*, the patron of Mongol warriors, lived. They 'gave Chinggis Khan the title of khan' ('The Secret History') at the Kuriltai, 'all wangs and officials presented the title of Emperor Chinggis to him together,' 'the great title Chinggis Khan was given to him, and shaman *Teb Tengri*, *Kokochu* affirmed the title' [Yuanshi, 1935, Juan 1, p. 8a; Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 150]. Chinggis Khan sat on a throne under a sunshade symbolising the emperor's power. As we saw above, he was confirmed with the title Chinggis Khan.

Thus, the struggle for a united Mongolia, which had lasted for almost twenty-five years, was over. Temujin turned out to be more gifted and luckier than his rivals, more flexible and resolute in action, although he was not very different from his rivals, whether Tatar, Merkit, Kereit, or Naiman Khagans, even if we take into account the favourable tone of all sources that have come down to us. We have no information on many events pertaining to the struggle; no sources report the Chinggis Khan deliberately and consistently set the goal of uniting Mongolia and fought for it.

CHAPTER 2

The Establishment of the Chinggisid Empire

Eugene Kychanov

On his way home from the Naiman campaign in 1205 Chinggis Khan attacked the westernmost areas of the Tangut state known as the Great Xia (982–1227).

The Tangut State was adjacent to Mongolia in the south-west. The border was not rigid along the southern margins of the Gobi and in the Nan Shan Mountains, although it was guarded by Tangut frontier sentries, who were expected to keep away migrants from Xia and robber bands from neighbouring Mongolia. Their relations with the Tatars, which was the Xia term for the population of Khalkha, were complicated. The government prohibited the export of weapons, armour, metals, coins, and some agricultural products to Khalkha. In spite of the restrictions, the internal Mongolian struggle forced members of various Mongol tribes to take shelter in Xia. Kereit ruler Ong Khan was one of them.

In 1205 Chinggis Khan's troops attacked Shazhou and Guazhou, which had a large Uighur population. The role of the Uighurs in the Naiman Ulus is well known. They were probably not only Uighurs from Turpan, and on a larger scale, Eastern Turkestan, but also those living in Xia. The purpose of the attack was not to separate the regions from Xia but to plunder them, probably specifically to take as many camels as possible, which is stated in 'Yuanshi': 'attacked,... robbed the people, and took away camels.' [Yuanshi, 1935, Juan 1, p. 8a]. According to Rashid al-Din, the Mongols 'occupied some...regions of Tangut and plundered them, and...turned back with an uncountable number of camels and cattle' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, pp. 149–150]. Chinggis Khan himself was not involved in that Xia campaign. This proved that the Mongols were capable of fighting against settled people and besieging and conquering fortresses, although only small ones at that time.

Xia could have been a testing ground in preparation for a war against the main enemy, the Jurchen state of Jin. Chinggis Khan personally took part in the second campaign against Tangut (Xia). This time he attacked the northern and central regions of Tangur. After securing themselves in a fortress near the Helan Mountains, the Mongols kept plundering the nearby regions until the summer of 1208. The Tanguts were able to prevent the Mongols from moving farther into the country but failed to defeat them, and Chinggis Khan left for Mongolia carrying a lot of plunder.

In the same year 1207 the Mongols undertook a northward campaign against the so-called 'forest peoples'—the Oirat, Kyrgyz, and Tumat people. Chinggis Khan's eldest son Jochi commanded the troops. The 'forest peoples' surrendered to Chinggis Khan. Their ambassadors arrived with tribute and presented white hunting falcons, white horses, and white sabres to the khan. In turn, the Oirat rulers and their sons received Mongol princess Chaga as another wife.

Chinggis Khan was becoming increasingly active in foreign policy. In the late spring of 1209 he personally marched his troops against Tangut again. This time the Tanguts gave the Mongols a major battle, but their army, commanded by the successor to the throne, was defeated. Chinggis Khan marched his troops farther to the Xia capital Zhongxing (today's Yinchuan, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, PRC); the Tangut army halted the Mongol advance in a mountain pass in the Helan Mountains. The Tanguts won the first battle, and the Mongol army had to stop. The sides remained face to face throughout the summer. The heat prevented the Mongols, who were also expecting more troops to arrive from Mongolia, from mov-



Chinggis Khan is declared the supreme ruler of Mongolia. Miniature. Iran. 14th century.

ing any farther. Chinggis Khan took advantage of the favourable weather in autumn to continue his attack on the Xia capital. The Tanguts were crushed in the new battle, and some of their generals were taken prisoner. In October 1209 the siege of Zhongxing began. It was the first time that the Mongols had fought a large-scale siege war using advanced siege and defense techniques. It was there that the Mongols began to master the techniques by engaging local military experts and started to take actions that later became characteristic of them. The Mongols rounded up thousands and tens of thousands of locals and made them fetch soil, brushwood, and logs and fill trenches. They used them as a shield to protect them from arrows and stones shot by the besieged citizens. The Tangut court would rather die than give up. Having failed to take the city by storming, the Mongols decided to flood it. It was raining heavily. The Huang He River, smaller rivers, and irrigation channels were overflowing. The Mongols used local labour and those who

knew how the irrigation system worked to direct the water into the city. At first everything happened as they had expected. Water flooded the streets of the city and ruined clay houses and outbuildings. Xia secretly sent an embassy to Jin to ask for help. Both the Tanguts and the Jin court knew that Chinggis Khan, now that he had broken with the Jin, was preparing to wage war against the Jurchen people. The kuriltai discussed the issue. A large number of higher Jin officials suggested that the emperor should help Xia, trying to persuade him that the Mongols would attack Jin as soon as Xia fell. Relations between Xia and Jin were almost friendly until the 1190s; minor border incidents caused them to degrade later. The Jin emperor had just ascended the throne. He would not follow his subjects' advice, declaring, 'My state benefits from its enemies attacking each other!' He refused to help. The situation was critical in the besieged city. However, it was the Mongols who fell victim to their method of flooding the Xia capital. Water broke the dams around the city, flooding the Mongol camp. They had to give up the siege and start peace negotiations. The first prerequisite of peace according to Chinggis Khan was the Tanguts' obligation to keep from helping Jin when it attacked him. The Xia emperor had to promise to be Chinggis Khan's 'right hand.' The unreasonable step taken by the Jin emperor when he refused to help Xia at a critical moment to some extent determined the future fall of both Xia and Jin. The Chinese state of Southern Song could not ally with Jin. Chinggis Khan was right to expect that the Chinese would help him to destroy the Jurchen state. The negotiations between Chinggis Khan and the Xia emperor resulted in a peace treaty known as Heqin, under which Tangut princess Chahe became another wife of Chinggis Khan's.

Other neighbours of the Mongols were impressed by their victories over the Naimans, the Keraites, and the Tanguts. In 1209 the Uighurs submitted to Chinggis Khan of their own free will. Their ruler Idikut Barchuk wanted to be Chinggis Khan's fifth son and devote all his energy to serving him. When

Chinggis Khan returned to Mongolia from the Tangut campaign, he personally received the Uighur Idikut in his camp and married off his daughter Al Atunu (Yeli Khatun). The Karluk Turks also submitted to Chinggis Khan in 1211. Their ruler Arslan Khan wanted to put an end to their dependence on the Kara Khitan people. He killed the Kara Khitan vicegerent and submitted to the Mongols. The Kurluk ruler of the city of Olmaliq Wazdar wanted to do the same. Kuchlug, the son of the deceased Naiman Tayan Khan, who had escaped to the Kara Khitans, became the ruler of the Western Liao. After discovering Wazdar's intentions, he attacked Almalyk and took Wazdar prisoner. Mongol troops hurried to help the Karluks. Kuchlug killed Wazdar and left Almalyk. Wazdar's son became the ruler of Olmaliq, submitted to Chinggis Khan, and was given a wife from Chinggis Khan's house for his loyalty to the Mongols.

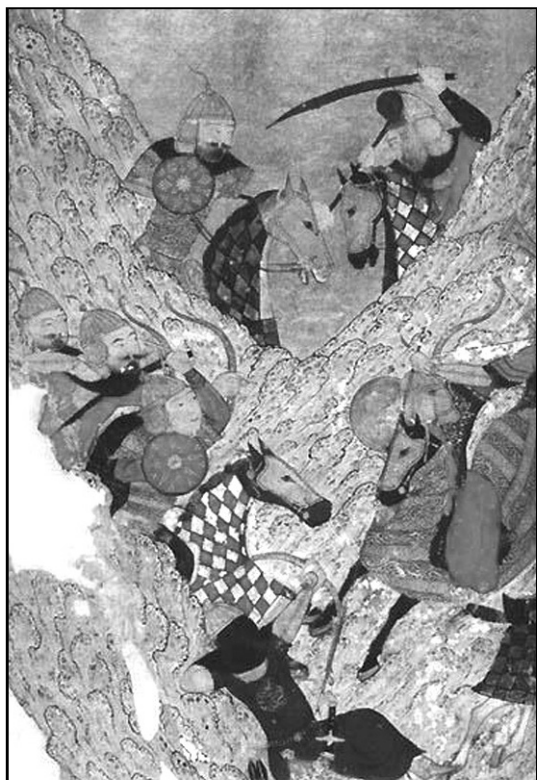
Thus, the situation in Central Asia and the Far East changed dramatically in favour of the Mongols in 1211. Chinggis Khan broke with Jin in 1209. Jin Emperor Wei Shao Wang, the one who refused to help the Tanguts, ascended the throne in 1209. He sent embassies to inform Chinggis Khan of his accession to the throne and demand that he confirm allegiance to Jin at once. According to the procedure, Chinggis Khan was to go down on his knees, and while kneeling, accept a decree on the enthronement of the new Jin emperor. When the ceremony was to take place, not only did Chinggis Khan refuse to kneel down in public, but he even spat in the direction where he believed the Jin capital Beijing to be, after which he mounted his horse and galloped away. It was in fact a declaration of war.

Chinggis Khan's Tangut campaign left Jin face to face with the Mongols. Chinggis Khan's house also had very old accounts to settle with Jin.

While waging war with Jin, Chinggis Khan had to secure himself within Mongolia. To this end, a regiment of 2,000 faithful warriors was formed 'to cover his rear lines to protect him from the Mongols, the Keraites, the Naimans, and others when he went to the Khitai country' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 163].

In the second month (15 February–16 March) of 1211 Chinggis Khan's troops crossed the Jin border in the south and southeast. Chinggis Khan commanded the troops during the first period of the Jin war from 1211 to 1216, while Jebe commanded the main forces. After conquering a number of border cities, the Mongols stopped all military action to let their horses have a rest and feed on pasture. The Jin emperor took advantage of the pause to send an ambassador to negotiate. However, the ambassador took the Mongol side. The main battle took place near the Yehuling Range, which protected the approaches to Beijing, the Middle Capital of Jin. The size of Chinggis Khan's army is unknown. Sources report that the Jin army numbered 300,000 people. It was defeated, and 'famous Khitai and Jurchen people were exterminated in the battle' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 167]. A second big battle took place near Beijing, at the frontier post of Juyong Guan. The Jin troops lost it, 'over 80,000 heads were severed' [Yuanshi, 1953, Juan 119, p. 2a]. In the ninth month (9 October–6 November) of 1211 the Mongols reached Beijing. The Jin defeats caused the Khitan people, whose state the Jurchens had destroyed almost a hundred years before, to rebel. Two years later, in 1213, the head of the Khitan rebellion, Yelu Luge, declared the Liao state restored.

Chinggis Khan spent the winter of 1211–1212 in Mongolia. In the spring of 1212 military action moved to the territory of today's Inner Mongolia. Along with Chinggis Khan, his sons Jochi, Ögedei, and Chagatai were involved in the campaign. Chinggis Khan participated in battle himself and was even slightly wounded by an arrow during the siege of one of the towns [Ibid., Juan 1, p. 9a]. The Mongols occupied all Jin territories north of the Huang He in 1213. Many Chinese took the side of Chinggis Khan. One of them, Shi Tianer, was promoted to head of a *tumen* and commanded a Chinese army. A palace coup took place in Beijing in August, when the emperor was killed. Hushahu, who initiated the plot, took his place. In the early 1214 Chinggis Khan came to the walls of Beijing personally, and negotiations took place. A truce was con-



Chinggis Khan in a battle. Miniature.
Iran. 1397–98.

cluded, and the daughter of the previously deposed Jin emperor was married off to Chinggis Khan. The truce lasted for a month until the Mongols conquered Beijing. Military actions continued until the autumn of 1215. According to 'Yuanshi,' the Mongols had occupied 862 walled Jin cities by that time [Ibid., p. 10a]. This could only have happened if the Chinese, Khitan, Bohay, and other non-Jurchen population of Jin largely took the Mongol side. In 1214 the Tanguts waged war against the Jin. The war lasted for ten years until 1224. It only hastened the ruin of both states.

In late 1215 the Mongols proposed peace to Jin on two conditions. First, the Jurchen people had to give up all land north of the Huang He. Second, the Jin emperor had to reduce his title to wang and rule the regions between the Huang He and the southern border of the Southern Song. The Jin emperor rejected the conditions.

Chinggis Khan returned from North China to his camp on the Kerulen River from in

1216. The Mongols did not develop the conquered territories or leave any garrisons in cities during the war of 1211–1216. They merely plundered and took prisoners when they needed to. In places where the population resisted strongly, they did not take prisoners but simply exterminated everyone. Their plunder was abundant. For instance, Chinggis Khan rewarded his commander Subedei with 'a cart of gold and silk' for conquering a Jin city.

Subedei also returned to Mongolia. Chinggis Khan instructed him to put an end to the Merkits in 1216. According to Rashid al-Din, 'no trace remained of the tribe' after the campaign [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 178].

In the winter of 1217–1218, the Mongols besieged the Xia capital again. The siege dragged on again, and Chinggis Khan agreed to conclude a truce, provided that the Tanguts supplied troops for his westward campaign. Chinggis Khan understood after years of war against Jin that it was easier to use others for wars. The Tanguts refused to join the Mongols in their westward campaign. Chinggis Khan withdrew his troops from Xia, promising to settle accounts with the Tanguts on his way back from the west.

After his return from China Chinggis Khan decided to wage war against the Khwarezm Shah's state in the west. He realised that the war against Jin would take a long time. Muqali was instructed to continue it. By 1227—the year Chinggis Khan died—the Mongols had only conquered Shandong in North China. This was probably because most of the forces were engaged in the western campaign. At the time it began, Chinggis Khan's state bordered on the Kara Khitan Western Liao, the state of the Khwarezm Shahs, and the Kipchak steppes, or Dasht-i Kipchak, in the west. Kuchlug, who fled to the Kara Khitans following the Naiman defeat, at first was favoured by the Kara Khitan gurkhan, married his daughter, and even converted from Christianity to Buddhism. Kuchlug took advantage of the gurkhan's defeats by the Khwarezm Shah to dethrone him. As the head of the Western Liao, he introduced a policy of persecuting Muslims, which caused him to lose the support of most of the local population.

In 1216 part of the Merkits defeated by Subedei fled to the Kipchaks. Jochi was ordered to pursue them. When the Mongols caught up with and crushed the fleeing Merkits, the troops of the Khwarezm Shah on a campaign against the Kipchaks appeared there. Jochi was reluctant to fight against the Khwarezm Shah, but the latter declared that all non-believers would remain his enemies and forced the Mongols to fight. The battles continued for three days without any of the parties winning. The Mongols left the battlefield on the fourth day.

Inspired by his successful wars in Middle Asia, Khwarezm Shah Ala al-Din Muhammad was thinking about a campaign to China and Mongolia.

After learning that Chinggis Khan was conquering China, he sent an embassy to him. Chinggis Khan received the ambassadors in a friendly way and instructed them to send the following to the Khwarezm Shah: 'I am the ruler of the East; you are the ruler of the West.' He offered trade. Chinggis Khan's embassy in turn brought luxurious gifts. The ambassador said that the ruler of the East was prepared to treat the ruler of the West as equal to his favourite son. The Khwarezm Shah understood that subordination was being proposed to him. When Chinggis Khan sent a rich trade caravan to his land, it was robbed in the city of Otrar (it is still unclear on whose order), and nearly all the merchants and guards were killed. The incident triggered a war.

Before he waged war on the Khwarezm Shah, Chinggis Khan sent Jebe against Kuchlug. The Muslim population of the Western Liao, which was informed of the Mongol campaign, forced Kuchlug out of his camp in the city of Kashgar. Kuchlug fled. According to one of the versions, the locals caught him and turned him over to the Mongols, who killed him. Alternatively, he could have been killed by a man of the former Kara Khitan gürkhan. The Kashgar Region and Semirechye were included in Chinggis Khan's domain.

In 1219, after settling his Tangut affairs and conquering the Jin, at age 64, Chinggis Khan along with all his sons and an army of 150,000–200,000 people started a campaign



Mongol Army. Miniature.
Iran. 1301–1314.

against the Khwarezm Shah. In February 1220 Otrar fell, and Chinggis Khan reached Bukhara. The city was besieged on 7 February and fell after 3 days. The Mongol troops entered the city, 'plundered it, and killed whoever they found,' 'they divided women among them,' 'Bukhara was reduced to ruins, as if it had never existed, by the following morning' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordj', 1884, pp. 9–10]. A total of 30,000 men were killed, while the rest were forced to besiege Samarkand, which fell on 17 March 1220. In April the troops commanded by Jochi conquered the cities of Jend, Sygnak, and Benakent. Chinggis Khan 'was able to easily crush the powerful state of the Khwarezm Shahs' before the end of April [Buniyatov, 1986, p. 146].

Jebe and Subedei were ordered to imprison the Khwarezm Shah. He fled to the southern shore of the Caspian Sea and hid on an island not far from the mouth of the Gurgan River. He died there in December 1220.

In the summer of 1220 Chinggis Khan fought near Nasaf, Termez, Kulyab and 'conquered these places. He wiped them off the map, robbing and beating the whole population, ruining and burning everything down' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 218]. Chinggis Khan spent the winter of 1220–1221 on the banks of the Amu Darya. In the spring of 1221 the Mongol army made a forced crossing of the Amu Darya and occupied the city of Balkh. After Khwarezm Shah's son Jalal ad-Din exterminated the Mongol forces of Shigi Khutukhu near the city of Pervan, Chinggis Khan faced him in person. He occupied the city of Ghazna that autumn. On 23 November 1221 Jalal ad-Din's army was exterminated on the banks of the Indus River.

Chinggis Khan spent the whole summer of 1222 in the mountains near Kabul and the winter of 1222–1223 near Samarkand. A *kuriltai* gathered in the spring of 1223. No information is available on its resolutions. In the summer of 1224 Chinggis Khan migrated within the Irtysh Valley. He moved to the Emil River in the winter of 1224–1225. From there he arrived in Mongolia. It is not clear why the way back took him three years. The western campaign, like the eastern one, ended with his troops crushing the enemy's army without fully defeating it. The war continued in Iran and Iraq as well as in North China.

Chinggis Khan spent the whole of 1225 organising his newly conquered lands and preparing for a war against the Tanguts. He introduced the title of *darughachi* (*dargha*) for vicegerents. Their responsibilities in the newly annexed territories included a census of the population, tax collection, military conscription of the local population, mail services, and delivery of tribute to Mongolia.

The Tanguts and the Jurchen people made peace in 1224. 'The Xia emperor...made a secret alliance for outside help,' although it is not clear with whom he allied [Yuanshi, 1935, Juan 119, p. 5a]. It was apparently with some peoples in Mongolia, with whom the Xia emperor allied or tried to do so. This was what Chinggis Khan had always feared—'his' people.

In the spring of 1226 Chinggis Khan personally led his army against Xia. The Mongol

troops crossed the border near the mouth of the Etsin Gol River, where the city of Ejina (Heishui, Khara Khoto) was occupied after a stubborn battle. Moving southwards, the Mongols divided the Xia territory into two parts. Chinggis Khan spent the summer in the mountains near the city of Ganzhou; all major western Xia cities fell then—Suzhou, Ganzhou, and Lingzhou. Chinggis Khan's troops reached the Huang He. They defeated the Tangut army in the battle of Lingzhou (now Lingwu), in which Chinggis Khan participated. Lingzhou fell, and a third siege of the Xia capital began in the winter of 1226–1227 and lasted for several months.

Chinggis Khan died in August 1227. The exact cause of his death is unknown. It is also unclear whether he lived to see the capitulation of the Xia emperor. The Great Xia ceased to exist in 1227.

The Mongols undertook no campaigns to Tibet when Chinggis Khan was alive. Thus, apart from his Mongolian victories—he exterminated the Tatar, Kereit, Merkit, and Naiman Uluses—Chinggis Khan destroyed two states of the Kara Khitans, namely the Western Liao and the Tangut Great Xia. The state of the Khwarezm Shahs did not fall until 1231. Jin ceased to exist in 1234. The Khitans fled from Jin to North Korea in 1216. In 1219 Jurchen General Puxian Wannu, who had taken the Mongol side, crushed the Khitan people with his Mongol detachment, and the king of Korea agreed to vassal relations with Chinggis Khan and a tribute. The Koreans supplied fur, silk, other fabrics, and paper to Mongolia [Serov, 1970, p. 143]. The great Korean campaign took place in 1231–1231 after Chinggis Khan died.

In a way, Chinggis Khan's wars can be classified into internal Mongolian (not taking into account the exact ethnic affiliation of the peoples of Mongolia from Manchuria to the Altai Mountains) and external ones, fought outside of Mongolia. They can also be classified into wars against nomadic states and settled ones. It was not easy for Chinggis Khan to subordinate his main rivals in Mongolia. His two aspirations were to restore the Mongol ulus and to avenge. The gen-

eral political situation in Mongolia and his personal ability to use it, which is beyond doubt, ensured his success. The practice of establishing large nomadic states in the region was millennium-old. It would be wrong to neglect Chinggis Khan's personal belief that heaven had given him power both over the peoples of Mongolia and over all peoples outside of it.

The conquest of 'heaven-given' peoples and plunder were the key motives for external campaigns. According to one of Chinggis Khan's noyans, people used to rob each other;

but now that there was a large united ulus, the khagan had to allow his warriors to rob others, to rob their neighbours. There is no need to speak of Chinggis Khan's deliberate geopolitical goals, such as uniting the East and the West, or uniting the scattered peoples of China within an empire. Temujin, or Chinggis Khan, personally carried out campaigns across a vast territory from Beijing to Kabul, from the upper reaches of the Indus River in North-Western India to the Irtysh, punishing whoever refused to submit, aggressive as a hunter pursuing his game and cruel.

CHAPTER 3

Form of Government in Chinggis Khan's Empire

§ 1. Civil and Military Administration System in the Chinggisid State

Eugene Kychanov

Chinggis Khan's activities were largely focused on organising the great Mongol Ulus after the 1206 kuriltai. He appointed his relatives, *nökürs*, guards, sons, younger brothers, and commanders of hundreds and thousands— young people of outstanding appearance, intelligence, and physical strength—civil and military administrators. Guardsmen were Chinggis Khan's 'blessing' (*kutukh*), his 'emchu kheshig,' or personal guard. *Hishigtens*, or guardsmen, were former *nökürs*. A *hishigten*, as a privileged civil or military state administrator, 'an outstanding representative of the ruling class in Mongol society' [Hsiao, 1978, p. 37], was to some extent a hostage in the Khagan's court, ensuring that the father or elder brother of a ten, hundred, or thousand commander remained loyal to the Khagan. *Nökürs* were personally dependent on the Khagan. Some *nökürs* were people adopted by the Khagan's family, and some were 'foundlings.' All were treated as younger members of the family. The guard needed night sentries, or *khebeuls*. It was strictly forbidden to know the number of *khebeuls* or be near them when it was unnecessary. A *khebeul* would even bring messengers carrying urgent reports to the Khagan. *Hishigtens* were the central state administrative body during the rule of Chinggis Khan. There was no clear distinction between functions such as guarding the Khagan and his camp, administering the court (the Khagan's clan, *aurug*) and administering the ulus (state) at the early stage of the Mongol state.

The Mongols adopted the Uighur script during Chinggis Khan's rule; young men in the Khagan's family and noble youth were obliged to learn to read and write. Some court people knew Uighur, Turkic, Jurchen, Kh-

itan, and Chinese. Did Chinggis Khan know any languages apart from his mother tongue? We do not know with certainty. However, the course of his life suggests that he could have had some knowledge of Turkic and Jurchen. Was he literate? Most likely, he was not. It was the *bichechi*, or scribe, who did the clerical work for the Khagan. The first *bichechi* was the *hishigten Sira Yagun*, then *Yelu Chucai*, a descendant of the Khitan ruling house, who served the Mongols. The *bichechi* managed a number of officials, including the *yarliqchi*, a dedicated position for executing the Khagan's orders. The secretariat kept '*koko defter bi-chig*'—that is, 'Blue Books.' They were used to record lists of subjects—that is, to register the population of the ulus; books of the same name were used to record court rulings.

Khebeuls were responsible for the Khagan's treasury. *Ulechis* and *morinchis* were responsible for horses, carts, and yurts in the Khagan's camp; *temchis*, for camels; *khonichi*, for flocks of sheep; and *khukerchi*, for herds of cows. *Nuntuuchis* were responsible for any migration of the Khagan's camp. *Hishigtens Ongur* and *Boro* were responsible for the Khagan's table, as well as for allocating food during military expeditions. The *khurchi* managed the court orchestra. Falconers and a group of hunting archers were responsible for the Khagan's hunts. 'Sabre carriers' 'eradicated theft and deception'; they performed police functions and apparently acted as judges at lower courts. The khagan's Supreme Court was known as *Gurderein Dzargu*. There is evidence that the code of law known as the Great Yasa initially contained common law regulations. Chinggis Khan said to his supreme judge *Shigi Khutuktu*: 'You hold the Great Yasa, Yeke Iosu. You,

Shigi Khutuktu, are the eye with which I see and the ear with which I hear!' [Kozin, 1941, p. 182]. It is unknown whether the Yasa was recorded when Chinggis Khan was alive. It probably was. It may have been found in his tomb. The official who kept the calendar was responsible for 'watching...years and months.' Shamans and court doctors lived with the Khagan's family. Kheboteul marshals of ceremonies were responsible for offerings made by the Khagan and his families, burial ceremonies, and funeral feasts. A special official was responsible for the Khagan's servants and those of his family.

It was common practice during the rule of Chinggis Khan, especially in the first years, to classify all affairs into 'domestic' and 'field.' Domestic affairs, namely those of the aurug and the Khagan's camp and his horde (nuntug), were addressed domestically. Field affairs, which apparently included military campaigns and various secret matters, were addressed in the field—that is, outside of the horde, where third parties could not see anything. Historian Hsiao Qi-Qing believes that the guard and its functions, which have been described above, constituted 'the nucleus of the original state apparatus' of Chinggis Khan [Hsiao, 1978, p. 44].

The khagan's camp looked like a ring with Chinggis Khan's yurts and those of his family and bichechi secretariat in the centre, surrounded by those of guard detachments. Hishigtens preserved their special status even after Chinggis Khan's death, under Yuan rule, when they continued to occupy at least one-tenth of all positions in the enormous administrative apparatus of Yuan China. Guardsmen mainly lived at the expense of the hundreds and thousands which they represented as hostages (apart from plunder). In 1263 Kublai resolved that new guardsmen should bring their people, horses, and cattle. Hishigtens began to live partially on salaries in 1281. The change was not completed in 1291. The guard as well as the army was replenished with subordinated and conquered peoples. By the early 13th century guard corps divided into wei sentries, and military agricultural units in the form of settlements of Chinese, Tangut, Karluk, Kipchak, and Alan people began to form.

Four ministers with the title of aka (viziers, or xiang in Chinese) were included in the central apparatus during the rule of Ögedei. As the conquest progressed, the practice of appointing vicegerents, known as darughachis (dargas), was developed and strengthened.

As for internal Mongol administration, when Chinggis Khan was titled Chinggis Khan as the Khagan of the all-Mongol ulus, he took the military administration model of nomadic states and divided the ulus into ninety-five military administrative units, called thousands. He appointed the people who had actively helped him to get the ulus, or to quote him, 'worked with me on creating the ulus,' as thousand commanders. Thousands were included in larger tumens of ten thousand warriors each and divided into hundreds, which in turn were divided into tens. Out of the eighty-eight thousand commanders, mentioned in the records as having been appointed before Chinggis Khan died, twenty-eight was his nökörs and hishigtens; the rest were their brothers [Ibid., p. 36]. That is, they represented the ruling class that surrounded the Khagan and his aurug without their ethnic affiliation being taken into account.

A thousand commander was responsible for administering the territory entrusted to him and its population, mobilising men bound to service to the army in wartime, and ensuring that every warrior had his own horse and weapons. A thousand commander collected taxes for the khan's treasury. He was obliged to arrange and ensure proper mail and transport service, or ula, and supervise the performance of these duties by his subjects, in particular, to ensure proper transport for elchis, who were the Khagan's messengers carrying paizas. The local population supplied horses for the ula—that is, the mail and transport system. The system had been in place for centuries in China; it was perfectly organised for the Khitans in Liao and the Tanguts in Xia. Descriptions of it that have come down to us suggest that it was fully adopted in Chinggis Khan's ulus and later spread beyond Mongolia.

The division of the population into tumens, thousands, hundreds, and tens was aimed at abolishing the old ulus system and tribal organisation where it had been preserved. Chinggis

Khan simply dissolved the Kereit, Naiman, Tatar, and other uluses, dividing the surviving population among different thousands, which he entrusted to his relatives and nökörs. When a tribe was smaller than a thousand people, it was

included in another tribe's thousand to reach the necessary number (that is, the size of an administrative unit's population that could supply a thousand warriors if necessary). Prisoners of war were also used to make up shortages.

§ 2. The Reforms and Yasa of Chinggis Khan

Mirkasym Usmanov

From the time of the Mongol conquest almost to the present all authors, writing about the military and political events of the 13th century, either directly or indirectly asked the same questions. They can be generalised as follows: What enabled the nomads—that is, culturally and socially backward people (sometimes called 'wild and cruel barbarians'), which were not even numerous, to regularly defeat settled populations, meaning culturally advanced and civilised states, and create an enormous empire—the Great Mongol Superpower—unparalleled in human history?

Many authors in the past, when posing the question, either fully or partly, reduced the answer to personal qualities—the 'genius' of Chinggis Khan and his talented commanders. Or correctly refraining from drawing any categorical conclusions, they left the questions completely open or confined themselves to stating well-known facts.

It was mostly Soviet historians of the latter half of the 20th century who began to provide more confident and categorical answers to these questions, trying to exhaust the problem as a whole. The multifaceted dedicated collection of articles 'Tatar-Mongols in Asia and Europe' [Moscow, 1970], which a reviewer assessed as the most effective attempt at generalising the complex issue [Kargalov, 1972, pp. 179–182], is representative of the trend. This is obviously why the second edition of the collection appeared only a few years later [Moscow, 1977]. To sum up the opinions and conclusions by the leading authors of the book as well as other Soviet historians who agreed with them, the following key reasons, formulated by another reviewer [Usmanov, 1972a, pp. 182–185], were

responsible for the Mongol victory: high discipline in the Mongol army, its incredible cruelty enabled by joint responsibility, the common practice of destroying cities and annihilating or enslaving the population of newly conquered countries using military equipment from China, Middle Asian states, etc.

The arguments aimed at persuading naive and ill-informed readers, or those confused by the pressure of propaganda, did not hold up under any criticism by serious historians, most of whom still had to keep silent for fear of being termed 'anti-Soviet falsifiers' or 'bourgeois nationalists.' First, it is not the backwardness, poor culture, wildness, or unruliness of 'savage people' that largely determines all social and military conflicts but a mature civilisation, high culture and social development, which—when taken together—provide extensive administrative experience and well-developed technology, in particular, military equipment. Second, it seems perfectly logical that the people who created powerful military equipment had every opportunity to use them, and not wild nomads from the steppe. Thus, the above arguments and reasons, which have been passed on from studies to textbooks, are dubious, to say the least.

Taking this all into account, it would be reasonable to shed more light on an important issue. Many general works more accessible to the general public, which to some extent deal with the history of the peoples of Central Asia, especially their relations with the population of settled communities, rely on a single definitive appraisal criterion, the key word—nomads. Nomads mean relatively uncultured or wild primitive barbarians, who usually not

only have no respect for other nations' cultural values, but who are also incapable of any transformations in terms of such development. They overemphasise the content of the appraisal criterion, which is questionable in principle. For instance, it is not reasonable to equate the nomads who lived three thousand years ago and those of the late Middle Ages, or the nomads from Central and Eastern Asia of the 1st century AD and those from the jungles of Polynesia, even the central part of Africa, of more recent times.

In fact, nomads can be very different. Unlike those of the Polynesian islands or African jungle, who have been frozen in their social development and more importantly are few in number, Central and Eastern Asian nomads, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, have taken a long path of social, economic, spiritual, and cultural development, for which various sources provide extensive evidence. That is, they created an authentic lifestyle, which is only possible in rough and hard geographical and climatic conditions, in which settled life would have been nearly impossible, while the land where it could be practiced had been long occupied by others. To stay alive, eat regularly, reproduce properly, and find enough water and grass both for themselves and for their livestock, they had to remain mobile—that is to say, nomadic. At the same time, they had to unite, eventually forming states, which they perfected to protect themselves from enemies and attack them. This is the way they lived for hundreds and thousands of years, resulting in a unique civilisation that would have been impossible in a place other than the steppe—the civilisation of steppe nomads of the climatically and geographically severe Central Asia and Europe in general. It may be qualified as a special type of civilisation.

* * *

From about the middle of the 1st millennium BCE to the early 2nd millennium AD, various nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples established themselves in Central and Eastern Asia, one after the other or, occasionally, somewhat synchronously. There were around twenty states, some of which were great empires that ruled

over vast territories (see overview in: [Kychanov, 1997; Klyashtorny, Savinov, 1994]). The first major state formation, which existed for several centuries, was the state of the Xiongnu (Hsiung-nu) people, the latest descendants of whom are known in the west by a variant of the ethnonym, the Huns [Materialy', 1968; Inostrantsev, 1924; Gumilyov, 1960]. During the rule of Chanyu Maodun The Huns State, with a population of 1.5 million people, was, to quote Sima Qian, 'as powerful as the Middle Kingdom,' which possessed considerably greater human resources [Materialy', 1973, p. 4].

After the Xiongnu people had left the historical arena of Central Asia, which at times encompassed parts of the Far East, there appeared the Xianbei, Tuyuhan, and Rouran state formations, consecutively or in part simultaneously. In the Mid-6th century the Turkic Khaganate was established, which existed until the middle of the 8th century. There then emerged, following the Uighur and Kyrgyz states, which were successors to the Khaganate in their own right, the states of the Khitan, Jurchen, and other peoples [Ye Lung-Li; 1979; Vorobyov, 1975].

These and other Central Asian states were mostly created by nomadic peoples. It must be pointed out, in this respect, that the overwhelming majority of these states, named after their individual ethnicities, had mixed populations, which was conducive to the exchange of experiences and cultural achievements. The names that have come down to us were mostly given to the states by their contemporary neighbours or were derived at a later stage from the ethnonym of the dominant ethnicity or tribal union.

The heads of many of these states, beginning with the Xianbei and the Rouran, were called khans or khagans, meaning they had similar systems of power and administration. The decimal system was used in some form or other in their military organisation. They lived in yurts and bred traditional forms of livestock, such as horses, cattle, sheep, goats, camels, and donkeys. They cross-bred the latter with mares, which would give them sturdy mules and stubborn hinnies. The skins, fur, and down of domestic and often wild animals were used to make everyday objects, including various arti-

cles of clothing. They had the skills necessary to produce essential arms. They were active hunters, which was important for securing their food supplies, and their cattle provided them with meat and dairy products. They used mares' milk to make a special drink known as kumis. They would often attack their near and more distant neighbours and rob them, frequently protect their land against attackers, but occasionally establish peaceful contacts with them, enter into marriage relationships, then break off alliance agreements, and form new alliances only to break them again. In short, they behaved like ordinary people. Hence, socially, organisationally, politically, economically, and culturally they had a lot in common.

The Mongols, who emerged on the historical arena in the 12th century but only became a dominant power in the 13th century, possessed all the above-mentioned life attributes of the earlier nomadic societies. Their military affairs and state administrative order, more specifically, their traditional origins and roots, are of particular interest to us here.

These issues were the subject of a dedicated and very detailed contemporary study by V. Trepavlov in his monograph 'The State Structure of the Mongol Empire in the 13th Century.' Relying on a wide range of sources and considerable historiographic experience, the author of this work analyses the main components of such traditional origins as information contained in written works, national memory (folklore), data provided by laws and regulations, and certain administrative skills that the Mongols borrowed from their neighbours and predecessors [Trepavlov, 1993, pp. 31–34]. The author provides reasoned evidence that these sources date back to the era of the Xiongnu and also the Ancient Turks [Ibid., pp. 18–21]. The latter 'had a decisive influence on the formation of economic types, political communities, and cultural traditions specific to Central Asia' [Klyashtorny, 1973, pp. 254–255]. His opinion that what was of great significance for Chinggis Khan was his relatively peaceful rapprochement with the Uighurs, the Karluks, and other Turkic peoples, who had a rich tradition of statehood, which was in fact a continuation of that of the ancient Turks, is very

convincing [Trepavlov, 1993, pp. 51–53]. All of this gave V. Trepavlov just cause to form the conclusion that, first, Chinggis Khan 'succeeded in ensuring that a large number of Turkic princes declared themselves his subjects,' and, second, 'the use of the ancient Turkic tradition of statehood in 1207–1223 enabled Chinggis Khan and his associates to secure additional social and military support outside Mongolia [Ibid., p. 58].

The reader may well be wondering in what way these traditions were adopted, or what 'devices' and means were used to impose them on the newly formed Mongol state.

I am inclined to see the answers to this question in the reforms by Chinggis Khan, which the overwhelming majority of recent and contemporary authors have hardly mentioned. Even objective studies by authors striving to ensure impartiality, who have seen and taken account of the results of Chinggis Khan's transforming actions, have managed to evade the issue—that is, failed to call this process by its proper name [Vladimirtsov, 2000, pp. 56–66]. It is probably their traditional prejudice that has prevented them from assuming that a leader of illiterate nomads could be capable of introducing any reforms. After all, sociopolitical, military, and administrative reforms are, in their understanding, attributes exclusively of civilised—that is, sedentary societies. However, what they have failed to take into account is the fact that the Mongol society, as an inherent part of the vast Central Asian world, having experienced over a thousand years of relatively close contact with other undoubtedly cultured and highly-developed countries of the Far East, had such direct predecessors as the ancient Turks and the Uighurs, who had created their own written tradition as well as a civilisation of its own, well adapted to the geographical and climatic conditions. This is evidenced by the ability of the Mongols to adopt, as mentioned above, the experience and traditions of their predecessors and contemporary neighbours at an early stage in the formation and development of their statehood. It is thus entirely feasible that Chinggis Khan succeeded in introducing a number of reforms in his ulus (khanate) in 1204, as noted by Ye. Kychanov,

which helped to consolidate his power and—in the long run—ensured successful external expansion. It is appropriate to note here that the term 'reforms,' used in reference to Chinggis Khan's activities, was only recently used legitimately in Russia [Usmanov, 2000, pp. 27–29], and, as we can see, this opinion is supported by Ye. Kychanov.

There is a body of sources that specifically provides evidence of the historicity of Chinggis Khan's reforms: a code of laws known amongst the Mongols as the *Jasaq*, and as the *Yasag*, or *Yasa*, amongst the Turks ('the Great Yasa' in the sources and certain studies); a collection of the khagan's pronouncements or, more specifically, instructions and recommendations called the *Bilig* ('knowledge,' 'wisdom'), which adds to or expands on certain provisions contained in the *Yasa*. It would be appropriate, therefore, to view them as a whole since, from all accounts (the way in which extracts from it have been preserved alongside fragments of the *Yasa*, or mixed up with articles of the code), the *Bilig* carried almost as much influence as the *Yasa*.

Of the Russian Oriental scholars, I. Berezin, an expert in medieval Persian and Turkic written sources, gives serious consideration to the importance of the *Yasa* and the *Bilig* [Berezin, 1864, pp. 404–421]. Ya. Gurlyand paid due attention to the extracts from the *Yasa* and the *Bilig*, which he regarded as one of the sources of later Mongol legislation [Gurlyand, 1904, pp. 60–80]. E. Khara-Davan presented a dedicated study on the history of the 13th century based on these materials in his book 'Chinggis Khan as a Commander and His Legacy' [1929]. The scholar was described by an expert in the history of Eurasia as 'the author of a profound biography' of the commander [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 34]. The materials contained in the *Yasa* and the *Bilig* were fundamental to the research carried out by V. Ryazanovsky, who published a major work on the common law of the Mongols in Harbin [Ryazanovsky, 1931, pp. 9–26].

The rather short but highly informative book by G. Vernadsky, published in Brussels in 1939, is of special significance for the historiographical interpretation of the importance of the *Yasa*. This author used the information contained in the *Yasa* in his research, too [Vernadsky, 2000].

However, in spite of the existence of such publications (albeit by earlier researchers, who have, for obvious reasons, remained barely accessible to a wider audience) and the accumulated experience, domestic historians have also tended to overlook, or rather ignore, those articles of the *Yasa* that are available to them, even though the source itself has not emigrated anywhere...

There are several reasons for this. First, the text of the *Yasa* and the *Bilig* has not been preserved in full, all that remains of them is scattered fragments, 'pathetic remnants,' to quote B. Vladimirtsov, 'which hardly enable us to imagine the whole picture' [Vladimirtsov, 2000, p. 64]. (The statement is, as we shall see, both categorical and somewhat one-sided.) Second, in the fragments that are preserved there appears to be a preponderance of articles reflecting everyday life and behaviour, which also seems to have given rise in some scholars to a caution, or rather a cautious distrust, in respect to their accuracy [Trepavlov, 1993, pp. 8, 40–41]. Third, and most importantly, the idea of a scientific approach to the question of Chinggis Khan's reforms in general was—and still is—met with prejudice, implying that nomadic and 'barbarian' life is not compatible with reformative changes. Finally, of political importance was the fact that Chinggis Khan's transforming activities were the focus of the so-called first-wave Eurasian scholars, who wanted to view the 'Mongol legacy' and experience as something positive for Russia.

The accuracy of the contents of the fragments that have been preserved, and of the historicity of the *Yasa* and the *Bilig* themselves, is beyond doubt [Vernadsky, 1939, pp. 5–6]. A simple comparison of materials by Rashid ad-Din, Juwayni, Maqrizi, Abu-l-Faraj, and certain Armenian and other authors of the 13th century will confirm this (contemporary studies also reveal considerable experience in this respect, for instance: [Vernadsky, 2000, pp. 106–116]). Thus, the fragments can be used to form an idea of a past event in general and of its individual elements in particular, for example, by biologists and archaeologists who use drops and pieces of broken crockery. It is no coincidence that authors contemporary to the

events as well as more recent scholars, striving to gain a deeper understanding of the history of the Mongols and the causes of their victories, have given due consideration to certain provisions and the entire content of the Yasa and the Bilig (for examples, see sources: [Juwayni, 2004, pp. 18–24; Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, pp. 259–265]; recent studies: [Bartold, 1963; Vladimirtsov, 2000; Vernadsky, 2000, et al.]) All of this justifies our use of the surviving fragments of the Yasa and the Bilig.

Of course, the fragmentary nature of the materials and the untidy way in which the content of some articles is presented make the information obtained relative. However, even this relative information is representative to some extent. Let us, therefore, turn to the texts. (The extracts provided are from medieval records as well as contemporary publications, to enable the reader to compare and contrast them with other variants [Khara-Davan, 1996]. For the sake of clarity, I shall use longer quotes.)

According to one Mongol legend, Chinggis Khan took measures to create a code of laws, 'which would ensure the peace and well-being of all his subjects.' To this end, he invited 'a great teacher and his 18 disciples' and instructed them to 'make laws' [Ryazanovsky, 1931, p. 10]. This is how the Yasa was created, which was approved and adopted for universal use at the Great Kuriltai of 1206. New articles were added on numerous occasions, for instance, in 1210, 1218, and 1226. The Bilig was also enriched during the reign of the Khagan, as his new pronouncements and instructions were added. That is, they developed to meet the needs and interests of the rapidly growing state for 'the Great Yasa of Chinggis Khan formed the legal framework of the empire' [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 115].

The state, as is clear from the Bilig, **was viewed** by Chinggis Khan **as the composite** of a well-disciplined society, which recognises the priority of seniority and the principles of subordination, all of its members, and its clearly functional administrative links and their leaders, **who are responsible for the well-being of their subordinates** and their accountability to superior bodies up to the Khagan. Otherwise,

if these conditions—that is, legal requirements, were not met, society and the state could fall apart: *'If great people, bahadurs, and emirs (...) do not abide by the law, the state will be convulsed and fall apart; they will be eager to find [a new] Chinggis Khan but will fail'* [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, pp. 259–260; Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 209]. It must be emphasised that the instructions contained in the Yasa were binding on both the rulers of that time and on future rulers of the state: *'if their descendants, who come into the world and are raised to the position of khans, also maintain the law and customs of Chinggis Khan, which apply to every aspect of the people's lives, without changing them, heaven will help their state, and they will always live a content and happy life. The Lord of the universe will be graceful to them, and the inhabitants of the world will pray for them; they will live long and enjoy riches'* [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 260; Khara-Davan, 1996, pp. 208–209].

These lines from the Bilig, according to which the misfortunes or well-being of the society and its different leaders are determined by the violation of or compliance with Chinggis Khan's instructions, are reminiscent of the famous ideas of the Turkic khagan, as expressed in 8th century epitaphs. They convey, in their own way, a very similar message, but in terms not of a positive but of a negative course of development of relations within the society: 'Turkic Beks and people, hear this! I have carved here [on the stone] how you, having gathered the Turkic people, have created a tribal union, how sinfully you have split apart (...),' and when 'younger brothers did not act like their elder brothers, and sons were not like their fathers,' their enemies 'separated the younger brothers from their elders (...); the Turkic people have disrupted their existing tribal union and brought about its destruction' [Malov, 1951, pp. 35–37].

Naturally, it would be wrong to infer the ideas contained in the Bilig directly from the ancient Turkic text. But it is entirely conceivable that a similar idea existed and was passed on from generation to generation in the memory of the peoples of the Central Asian societies, in their folklore mentality.

The earlier idea that there were prerequisites for the state's prosperity during the reign of Chinggis Khan was developed and implemented in accordance with his expectations. Chinggis Khan would, naturally, have taken the experience of other Central Asian states and those of the Far East into account. That is, the so-called 'Mongol idea' [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 104] of statehood had deep historical roots and was not confined to an ethnically narrow world. Hence, the Bilig and the Yasa were created not as aphorisms for everyday use but as a special tradition-based concept, according to which the entire society—that is, the state, was to be organised.

The accuracy of this conclusion is substantiated by the fact that the preserved fragments of the Yasa suggest that Chinggis Khan had an almost multifaceted—that is, holistic, approach to the structuring of the population of his state. He attached importance, above all, to the duties and responsibilities of leaders at every level, their ability to work and 'learn.' 'Only the emirs of the tens of thousands and hundreds, who come to listen to Chinggis Khan's biligs at the beginning and end of the year and then return, are capable of leading an army. Those, however, who sit in their yurt and do not heed the biligs, who resemble a stone that has fallen into deep water or an arrow shot into thick reeds (...), such people are not fit to be leaders!' Also: 'All those capable of maintaining order in a [whole] estate, all those who can properly marshal ten men for battle deserve to be given a thousand or ten thousand for they can marshal them for battle' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 260; Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 142].

As is clear from this text, Chinggis Khan's leaders were, first and foremost, military commanders because all men in the nomadic population who were subordinated to Chinggis Khan were, to use a contemporary expression, liable for military service: 'Every man (...) must serve in the army,' while 'those who do not participate in war personally must work for the benefit of the state for no remuneration for a certain period' [Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 144]. Abu-l-Faraj develops the wording of this provision more clearly: 'Men aged twenty years and older are recruited as warriors. An officer must

be appointed for each regiment of ten, a hundred, a thousand, and ten thousand men (...). No one may leave the regiment he has been assigned to for another place; if he does he will be killed, and so will the officer who accepts him' (quoted by: [Vernadsky, 2000, pp. 110–111]; see also: [Juwayni, 2004, p. 24]). The establishment of this military and, at the same time, serf order [Vernadsky, 1939, pp. 17–18] was possible because the decimal system was perfected and applied to all of the nomadic population that had preserved its tribal structures on the basis of the population's ability to supply the regiments of tens, hundreds, and thousands of warriors. This combined military and civil structure of the state's population, where 'the commander of a large army unit was, at the same time, a civilian regional vicegerent' [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 132], enabled the creation of an extremely mobile society, easy to control and keen to enjoy the spoils of war, which has been felicitously termed 'army people' [Gumilyov, 1970, pp. 174–175].

It was also convenient for levying taxes in the conquered countries. There is a clear description of this in one of the sources: '...standard census was introduced everywhere, the entire population was divided into tens, hundreds, and thousands, an army enlistment procedure was established, and duties on transport, travellers, and food were imposed in addition to the monetary taxes, and on top of all this a kopchur (a levy on cattle) was introduced' ([Juwayni, 2004, p. 25]; alternative translation by V. Minorsky: [Vernadsky, 1939, p. 50]). The implementation of a census in Samarkand, thus confirming the words of Juwayni, was reported by another historian [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 208].

Whereas in the earlier nomadic states, beginning with the Xiongnu, the decimal system was only used for military organisation (at first apparently in the Khan's guard, and later in the rest of the army), Chinggis Khan applied it to all the population ruled by the Khagan. Thus, a revised decimal system was employed in the Mongol State (and later throughout the empire), facilitating the creation of the above-mentioned phenomenon—the 'army people'—on the basis of military territory and tribal affiliation, with

responsible commanders who were also vicegerents of certain areas.

From all accounts, these results did not come about immediately but were achieved by Chinggis Khan gradually. According to 'The Secret History of the Mongols,' after being elected khan and receiving the title of Chinggis Khan, he began by introducing new elements and the corresponding ranks of commanders in the military administrative system. Following his victory over the Keraites, he then implemented the decimal system in full [Kozin, 1941, pp. 109, 144; Trepavlov, 1993, p. 27]. Thus, Chinggis Khan's accomplishment of these transformations, or reforms, was conscious, not spontaneous, like the passive continuation of the long-established nomadic traditions. The fact that these measures and changes by the Khan were entirely deliberate is confirmed by the categorical instruction to: 'divide the troops into tens, hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands. This order will enable us to gather an army within a short space of time and form command units' [Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 143]. This system ensured that the forces were enlisted 'with clockwork precision' [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 123].

From the beginning of his rule Chinggis Khan clearly took a number of measures necessary to optimise the administration of large units (thousands, tens of thousands) of his multitribal troops, such as the introduction of new military and court positions [Kozin, 1941, p. 110]. A somewhat indirect, or rather heavily folklorised, account of this process is given in the first section of the anonymous historical literary record 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' [Usmanov, 1972, pp. 106–111]. It reports in detail that the newly enthroned Temujin assigned distinctive attributes to his associates—the tribal chiefs—that is, at the same time commanders of military units who had brought him to power. These included a special call (*uran*), a particular mark (*tamga*), a military costume (*saut*), and a symbolic bird (*kush*, possibly a banner element) [Ivanics, Usmanov, 2002, pp. 56–60, 228–232; Ivanics, 2002, p. 328].

Other aids were also used to ensure an efficient control of the forces in the battlefield. In addition to bearing diverse banners of various

colours, which belonged to the larger units, warriors of the units of hundreds and thousands were mounted on horses of the same coat colour [Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 149]. This presumably enabled the soldiers to quickly find their horses on the pastures, to distinguish some units from others, and to quickly find their place in the combat formation following joint attacks, battles, or withdrawals. This method was later used by the Tatar Mongol conquerors. For instance, Batu Khan imposed a horse tithe on the conquered princes of Ryazan not 'by articles,' which was the usual way, but by coat colour: 'white, black, chestnut, red, piebald,' etc. [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 514; Ivanin, 2003, p. 139, Note 6]. Horses were registered both by items and by coat colour in censuses carried out in Rus' [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 287]. There is further evidence that this procedure was traditional for the Mongols. For instance, in 1223 Jochi made his father a gift of '20,000 white horses' [Bartold, 1963 p. 522]. The question here is simply who was the inventor of this procedure—Chinggis Khan or his predecessors?

The fact that the military reforms were well thought out is evidenced by the importance that was duly attached to the behavioural or, to use a contemporary term, the psychological qualities of the troops. Above all, the commander was responsible for maintaining order and ensuring that the unit was constantly prepared to execute any order from above: 'Each emir of the units of ten thousand, a thousand, and a hundred must keep his troops in full order and prepared to start a campaign at any time when a firman (edict) or order is given, regardless of whether it is night or day' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 264; Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 143]. The commander had to ensure proper living conditions for the troops. The leader was supposed to be 'the person who knows what hunger and thirst are and can thus assess the state of others, who carefully prepares for the journey, and prevents his army from becoming hungry and thirsty and his animals from wasting away' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 262]. This conviction of Chinggis Khan explains the well-known fact that among his military leaders and talented commanders were many

men of common origin. Leaders were required to be personally (that is, internally, morally) upright: 'Anyone who can purify his inner being [of evil] can purify a [whole] domain from thieves' [Ibid., p. 260; Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 209]. Military commanders (who were civil administrators at the same time) and warriors were expected to lead a generally decent and modest life: 'Be meek as a young calf amongst the [civilian] population, but in war fight like a ravenous hawk swooping down its prey' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 261; Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 142 (variant)].

The requirement to be modest and meek amongst the population, the common people applied not only to the warriors and their direct commanders but also to higher officials, including the ruling dynasty. For instance, the Yasa introduced 'a laudable custom, which closed the door to servility, vaunting by titles, extreme arrogance, and unapproachability, which are common amongst the successful and the powerful. When one of them accedes to the throne as khan, he is given only one name—Khan or Kaan—and nothing more (...), while his sons and brothers go by the names that were given to them when they were born, both to their face and behind their back. This rule applied to the common people as well as the nobility (...) without distinguishing between the sultan and the common man' ([Juwayni, 2004, p. 20]; the same text is translated by V. Minorsky: [Vernadsky, 1939, pp. 43–44]). The historicity of this article of the Yasa is confirmed in Abu-l-Faraj's brief narrative that the custom of 'giving various lofty names' was characteristic of the Muslim rulers [Vernadsky, 1939, p. 54].

It was also the duty of the military commanders-administrators to prepare the youth to fight as soldiers: 'Military emirs must teach their sons to shoot arrows, ride on horseback and to engage in single combat properly, and make sure they exercise these skills. And in so doing, make [them] brave and fearless (...)' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 262]. Abu-l-Faraj provided the following detailed interpretation of the order: 'When Mongols are not engaged in war, they must devote themselves to hunting. They must also teach their sons to hunt wild animals so that they become experienced and

strong, energetic, capable of enduring fatigue, and ready to face the enemy as they face wild and untamed animals, without sparing [themselves]' (quoted by: [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 110]). A description of the types and techniques of the Khan's hunting, which was intended for training in the military arts, is given by Juwayni ([Juwayni, 2004, pp. 20–22], see alternative translation by V. Minorsky: [Vernadsky, 1939, pp. 44–46]). A more recent scholar also cites the importance of hunting for the development of the Mongol military art [Khara-Davan, 1996, pp. 154, 192].

Chinggis Khan established strict, even cruel regulations for his army. The slightest breach of discipline entailed some form of punishment, from corporal to capital. As I. Berezin notes, 'capital punishment is the predominant form of punishment' in Chinggis Khan's criminal code [Berezin, 1846, p. 45]. Members of the perpetrator's family were also subjected to repression. His treatment of those found guilty of deceit, betrayal, or treachery was particularly harsh. The instructions and the authority of the Yasa presumably played an essential role in the establishment of these regulations. As a result, Chinggis Khan succeeded, by 'suppressing every other will with his personality,' in establishing in his army 'a discipline so rigid that stealing and lying (...) were inconceivable' [Bartold, 1963, pp. 527–528].

The subjects' duty towards the state was not limited to military service. As has already been mentioned above, other duties also existed. However, 'each duty was assigned on an equal basis to all subjects of the Khan' [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 111]. The Yasa stipulated this in the following manner: 'Each person shall work like any other; there shall be no distinction between them on account of either their wealth or their power' ([Juwayni, 2004, p. 23]; alternative translation: [Vernadsky, 1939, p. 47]).

The quotes from the Yasa and the Bilig might create the impression that Chinggis Khan was striving by legal means to consolidate his state and create a highly disciplined, effective army, which would be 'meek as a calf' amongst his population. Indeed, he liked things to be legal and found it necessary to legalise in the Yasa savage, reprehensible human conduct,

such as robbery and plunder: 'It is forbidden, under penalty of death, to begin to plunder the enemy until the high command gives permission to do so. Once such permission is given, equal conditions must be ensured for all soldiers so that every soldier can take as much as he can carry, provided that he pays the collector the emperor's due share.' [Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 144].

This article of the Yasa reflects the essence of all the aspirations, the activities, and the military policy of Chinggis Khan, who, being a son of his epoch, took the path, as elsewhere during the Middle Ages, of 'legalised' plunder, robbery, and quite naturally the further exploitation of conquered peoples.

The results of Chinggis Khan's military reforms are familiar to everyone. Bloody conquests, the death of tens and hundreds of thousands of people, the suffering and humiliation of millions of survivors bear witness to them...

The so-called 'triumph of the Mongol arms' in the first half of the 13th century was in fact a heavy blow for the Mongols as it reduced their numbers dramatically, turning the country into a backward peripheral state (see: [Sandag, 1970, p. 42]), while at the same time serving as another illustration of the prospects of imperial peoples. There is, therefore, no need to provide further evidence of the consequences of these military transformations with the help of other authentic sources.

The Yasa contains special civil regulations, in particular those concerning family relations. Chinggis Khan evidently viewed the family as a unit of the state. The following statement is characteristic of him: 'When her husband is away hunting or at war, the wife must keep the house neat and tidy so that an ambassador or guest staying in the house can see that everything is in order; she must also prepare good food and provide everything the guest needs. [Such a wife] naturally creates a good reputation for her husband, raises his name, and [her husband] will be elevated at public gatherings like a mountain. The good qualities of the husband are told on the good qualities of his wife.' ([Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 261]; alternative translation: [Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 209]). And 'women accompanying the troops did the mens'

work while the latter went off to battle' ([Ibid., p. 214]; according to Maqrizi: [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 111]).

The subordinate social status of women was determined by the following instruction: 'The son shall determine the future of his dead father's wives, except for his mother; he can marry them or marry them off to another.' The following directive of the khan is also representative of the ideas of the time: 'introduce all your daughters to the sultan (khan) at the beginning of each year so that he can choose some for himself and his children' ([Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 214]; see variant: [Vernadsky, 1939, p. 49]). Taking into account the fact that, for instance, Chinggis Khan had many concubines in addition to his four official wives [Bartold, 1963, p. 528; Vladimircov, 2000, pp. 122–125], while Batu, as reported by William of Rubruck, had twenty six women; his son Sartaq, six; and the latter's eldest son, two or three more ladies [Puteshestviya, 1957, pp. 92, 111], the need for such an annual 'beauty pageant' is apparent.

Scholars have always been particularly interested in the attitude of Chinggis Khan and other Mongol khans to religion and to religious tolerance. The range of opinions is wide. Some, mostly medieval authors, attribute the Mongols' 'strange behaviour' to their backwardness and lack of education; others, especially scholars, tend to view the unique phenomenon as indicative of a kind of abstract humanism. A third group believes that the peculiar religious policy of the early Chinggisids can primarily be attributed to their 'political pragmatism.' The author of these lines once adhered to a similar opinion, as he was influenced by the wide-spread historiographic tradition (for more information on this and a short list of sources of dedicated studies, see: [Usmanov, 1985, p. 117 ff.]).

Several works have appeared in recent years that correct some biased concepts of the past, including my ill-considered statement that the actions of Mongol khans were predominantly motivated by 'political pragmatism.' 'The Mongols' religious tolerance is solely attributable to their beliefs and not political motives' [Krivoshcheyev, Sokolov, 2002, p. 165]. I agree with the correction. It is rightfully applicable to the

actions of the early Chinggisids—that is, until approximately the middle of the 14th century, exclusively. However, the situation changed dramatically later, and the pragmatism of religious policies increased. By imposing the mores of recent politicians onto figures of the ancient past, we cannot but ignore their right to have beliefs of their own. This is the first point. The second is that by ignoring data from adequate sources, which in this case includes the legal regulations of the Mongols of that epoch—enshrined in *Yasa*—we also commit such mistakes.

The following articles in *Yasa* are important: 'We order everybody to believe in the One God, the creator of the sky and the earth, the only granter of wealth and poverty, life and death.' Also: 'respect all faiths without giving preference to any (of them). This all (...) as a means of pleasing God' [Khara-Davan, 1996, pp. 134, 213; Ryazanovsky, 1931, p. 13]. As Chinggis Khan 'did not profess any religion, he did not show any intolerance or prefer any religion to another (...); on the contrary (...), he looked at Muslims with respect as well as favoured Christians and pagans' ([Juwayni, 2004, p. 20]; variant by V. Minorsky: [Vernadsky, 1939, p. 43]).

Data provided by authentic sources suggests that Chinggis Khan's beliefs were not merely declarative. Not only abstract religions but also ministers of various denominations and their temples enjoyed significant privileges. Representatives of different religions admitted this, as seen in their statements about the *Yasa* articles. For instance, according to a Muslim author, all descendants of Ali and other saints were relieved of 'any taxes and tributes; taxes and tributes were not imposed on any fakirs, readers of Al Quran, lawyers, doctors, scholars, prayers and hermits, muezzins, and those who wash the bodies of the dead.' Vartan, a Christian, gave a clear and informative account of some provisions contained in the *Yasa* articles: 'Chinggis Khan's *Yasa* prohibits lies, theft, adultery; it states that one must love one's neighbour as oneself, insult nobody and forget any insults completely, spare countries and cities that are willing to submit, relieve of any tax and respect temples dedicated to God

as well as his ministers' ([Khara-Davan, 1996, pp. 213–214]; see variants.: [Vernadsky, 2000, pp. 108, 111]).

Reports in other authentic sources, such as works by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, William of Rubruck, and Marco Polo, confirm the historicity of the regulations as they not only provide detailed accounts of the Mongols' devoutness but also emphasise their tolerance to representatives of other religions [Travels, 1957, pp. 28–29, 118–119, 127–130, etc.; Marco Polo, 1955, pp. 95–98, 102–103, etc.].

Thus, according to I. Korostovets, *Yasa* generally encouraged 'religious tolerance, respect for temples, the clergy, and the elderly, and mercy for the poor' (quoted by: [Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 136]), which a contemporary scholar presented in a briefer and clearer manner: 'GChinggis Khan's *Yasa* ensured equal conditions for all religions' [Yurchenko, 2002a, p. 246].

At the same time, there is a phenomenon that might at first seem counter-intuitive: in spite of the individual preferences of Chinggis Khan's sons and grandsons for certain religions and their constant squabbling and rivalry over power (for details, see: [Bartold, 1963, pp. 531–584]), the key regulations on religious equality contained in *Yasa* were adhered to. This can be seen in the successions to the throne in the Jochid Ulus. First, Sartaq, a Christian (Nestorian), succeeded the Shamanist Batu, who was then followed by the Muslim Berke, and then the Shamanist Mengü Temür, etc. [Bosworth, 1971, p. 203; Vernadsky, 2000, p. 143].

Thus, the founder of the Mongol Empire carried out a major transformation and established a rigid order in the society's spiritual life. As a result, from the time the Mongol state was established in the early 13th century to the Mid-14th century—that is, during the rule of the khagan and the early Chinggisids, there were no religious wars, violence against specific ethnic groups, or mass campaigns to force people into Islam, Christianity, or Buddhism in the Eurasian domain. Shortly prior to this, the crusades were aflame in the West, and measures to combat 'religious heresy' developed into the inferno of the Inquisition (in the 11–12th centuries). Some members from

the clan of the Muslim Berke Khan 'adhered to all pagan rituals no less than in Mongolia' [Bartold, 1968, V, pp. 506–507]. It was during his rule that an Orthodox Christian eparchy was founded in Sarai, and the Christian clergy was privileged [Poluboyarinoва, 1978; Kri-vosheyev, Sokolov, 2002, pp. 166–170]. The Chinggisids were able to preserve elements of religious tolerance later on. For instance, Rus' captives were not subjected to circumcision in the Khanate of Kazan...

Yasa apparently contained numerous articles and regulations on ownership and property rights, both between individuals and within the same family. For instance, 'Children born by a concubine shall be treated as legitimate and will gain their share of the heritage as established in their father's will. Division of property shall be as follows: The eldest son gets more than the younger ones; the youngest son shall inherit his father's household. Children's elder-ship shall be determined by their mother's status; one of the wives is always senior, mostly by marriage time' [Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 215].

Reports by foreign travellers of the epoch, who were able to adequately analyse what they witnessed, confirm that the population of the empire adhered to all the paragraphs of the Yasa regulations on 'family affairs.' [Putesh-estviya, 1957, pp. 26–27, 92, 94; Marco Polo, 1955, p. 88, etc.]

Any form of property was considered sacred. One who violates the law shall be subjected to a strict punishment, including corporal punishment [Khara-Davan, 1996, pp. 143, 213]. For instance, even one who sees a piece of luggage fall off a transport in front of them but does not return the dropped item to the owner shall be punished, as well as one who hides a runaway slave without returning him to the previous owner [Khara-Davan, 1996, pp. 143, 213]. If 'anybody is found to keep a stolen horse, he must return it to the owner along with nine more similar horses; if he cannot pay the fine, his children shall be taken away; if he does not have any children, he shall be slaughtered like a ram' [Ibid., p. 214]. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine reported that it was common to return all lost items and live-stock for no charge, adding that the population

of the empire did not lock their doors [Putesh-estviya, 1957, p. 34].

The code contained articles then viewed as dealing with behavioural, moral, and ethical issues. Mongols had the same vices as representatives of other human societies, including normal civilised countries—various types of sexual deviations, from adultery to sodomy, drinking, rudeness in everyday life. So the punishment for any adultery was death 'regardless of whether the person is married or not'; both parties were to be punished; 'they can be killed at the scene' [Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 216]. Those who besmeared water and fireplace ashes with their urine were subjected to the same punishment [Ibid., p. 213] because for a Mongol living in the steppe, like any nomad, water and fire, apart from being sacred (fire was believed to be purifying), were always valued in everyday life as they prevented death from heat and cold (glowing embers were often kept in ashes, which could be used to make more fires...).

Policy makers attached particular attention to the problem of wine and drinking. 'To drink wine and vodka is neither healthy, reasonable, nor virtuous, nor does it ensure good manners and deeds.' On the contrary, it causes bad deeds, fights, and murder. It is especially harmful to rulers: 'An emperor who has an addiction to wine and vodka cannot commit great deeds, issue biligs, and [establish] important customs; an emir who has an addiction to wine and vodka cannot keep neither a thousand, a hundred, nor a ten [of his troops] in order and cannot complete his tasks [successfully], because 'a person who drinks wine and vodka gets drunk and becomes blind, (...) deaf (...), and dumb (...)' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 262; Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 210]. Drinks from hops are also harmful to common people for those addicted to them 'drink away their horse, their herd, and everything that they have and become poor' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, pp. 262–263].

At the same time, while emphasising the negative effects of drinking, the severe conqueror, who established cruel punishments for violating the rest of his orders, remained quite mild to drunkards. He did not establish any strict punishments for them. On the con-

trary, he found it acceptable for a person with a heavy addiction to alcohol to get drunk 'three times per month,' preferably two, while 'once is even more commendable; if he does not drink at all, what can be better?!' The following thoughtful conclusion is also characteristic: 'But where can one find a man who does not drink! If such a person exists, he should be appreciated greatly!' [Ibid.]. The indulgence of drinking must be attributable to the fact that Chinggis Khan enjoyed wine at times, though he always did it to a moderate extent [Vladimirtsov, 2000, pp. 122–124], while some of his sons, for instance, Ögedei, were known to be wine lovers [Bartold, 1963, p. 532]. (It should be noted that the severe khan himself was selective in applying established punishments. While common people found guilty of a crime were subject to 'physical annihilation'—that is, capital punishment, members of the khan's clan were only subject to removal from their position 'for violating Yasa' (!)[Vernadsky, 2000, pp. 112–113].) Reports in authentic sources are indirectly representative of the policy maker's peculiar attitude to spirits, which he ostensibly did not favour. According to Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and William of Rubruck, drinking was very common for the Mongols [Puteshestviya, 1957, pp. 35, 95]. Thus, the absence of any categorical prohibition caused the vice to survive, presenting another, though indirect, evidence of the efficiency of the regulations contained in Yasa, their influence on the state structure, everyday life in the society, quality of its military organisation, and the populations' behaviour. To sum up, as Yasa was 'relentlessly strict, perfect order was soon established in Chinggis's empire; murder, robbery, deception, and adultery became rare in the Mongol community' [Vladimirtsov, 2000, p. 64].

Quite naturally, the strict regulations of Yasa and Bilig did not prevent Mongols, like members of any other society, from breaking laws, which was done both secretly and with the assistance of the powers that be, for example, with princes. Some scholars are inclined to view the intention of certain uluses, such as the Golden Horde, to withdraw as a violation of Yasa [Berezin, 1864, pp. 416–420; Gurlyand, 1904, p. 72]. In such a case, the agreement

made by princes on the Talas River in 1269, under which the Jochid Ulus was recognised as sovereign [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 77] was a collective violation of Yasa. However, minor violations were too few to be noticeable, while the Agreement of Talas was 'legitimised' by the kuriltai of the same princes...

The legal framework established during the rule of Chinggis generally survived his successors in all the uluses of the empire, which was positively influenced by the preservation of the union as a confederation. Rulers of the Golden Horde adhered to the Yasa provisions. For instance, Yasa violators were executed on the order of Batu Khan. Besides, the Turkic-Mongol peoples of the epoch 'attributed a semi-magical power to the Great Yasa'; it influenced the law of other Turkic-ruled countries as well. For instance, the Mamluk 'Sultan Baybars intended to apply the laws and regulations of Yasa to Egypt. The essentially secular law of the Mamluk Kingdom, known as as-Siyasa, was in fact based on Chinggis Khan's code' [Vernadsky, 2000, pp. 107, 115–116]. During the rule of Berke the provision on religious tolerance expressed in Yasa was adhered to. Ibn Battuta reported that there was no practice of stealing and guarding pasturing cattle, and that it was common to return a stolen horse with a nine-fold fine [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 282]. Besides, all foreign travellers visiting the Golden Horde from the Mid-13th century to the Mid-14th century, having been all across the country (from Giovanni da Pian del Carpine to Ibn Battuta), emphasised that it was generally safe and favourable for travellers. In fact, they did not mention any attacks or robberies.

The postal and transport service functioning 'all along the country and across it' was efficient and safe (quoted by: [Vernadsky, 1939, p. 49]). It was also stipulated in Yasa that the service must be organised (all rulers were to establish permanent post structures 'so that all state news arrived quickly') [Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 214]. Another witness, who travelled across most of Eurasia in the Mongol epoch, described the types of services provided by the smoothly operated, well-supplied transport service and

the efficiency of this communication system ([Marco Polo, 1955, pp. 121–122]; see also [Vernadsky, 2000, pp. 132–133]).

Thus, the above-mentioned social and organisational transformations and reforms in the various spheres, including everything from the state's military and administrative structures to the population's spiritual, moral, and living standards, resulted, as has already been stated, in the emergence of a mobile, highly disciplined, 'army-people,' easy to control, and transparent. It is thus no coincidence that competent western diplomat-spies, who had visited the Chinggisid domain, such as the Franciscans, 'described the empire as a highly organised social world and not a world of chaos, as their western contemporaries had believed' [Yurchenko, 2002c, p. 115].

It should be emphasised, however, that a number of innovations put into practice by Chinggis Khan were not novel for the nomadic world in general. Many of the military, administrative, social, legal, and behavioural rules and regulation that he established were not invented by him. He adopted elements or ideas from the experiences of many centuries, including the ancient administrative tradition and common law of many Central Asian peoples, and formed a more or less well-structured system, which he raised to the level of special Yasa articles—an official Law binding 'for everyone, including the Khagan, Chinggis Khan' [Vladimirtsov, 2000, p. 63].

All of this taken together enabled the ruler to quickly mobilise the physical energy and material resources of the very manageable 'army people' and, metaphorically speaking, hit the enemy or, to be more accurate, the victims with a tight fist. The victims responded by waving their hands with 'fingers spread wide'—hastily gathered, loosely-knit, often inharmoniously acting fighters from sedentary societies and states. The societies were torn by internecine feud—that is, deep sociopolitical crises, while their separatist princes and rulers 'placed their personal interests above that of the society' [Gumilyov, 1970, p. 369]. Think of the relations between North and South China, the internal differences within the vast state of the Khwarezm shahs, which in fact turned out to be

'truly a colossus with feet of clay' [Petrushevsky, 1970, pp. 101–116], as well as the inter- and intra-tribal internecine feud in the Great Steppe, and, finally, the fratricidal squabble among the principalities and princes of the Rus', which lasted for more than a century. To crown it all, think of the shameful disaster of the Battle of the Kalka River, dated 31 May 1233.

The enormous Chinggisid superpower, covering more than half, or even 4/5 [Khara-Davan, 1996, p. 162] of the entire Old World, stretching from the Pacific Ocean and almost to the Atlantic, was created within as little as 60–70 years. Thus, the establishment of the Mongol super-empire resulted from both the general boom of nomadic civilisations, which peaked in the 12–14th centuries, and the weakness and fragmented state of many sedentary countries and peoples of Eurasia, which entered a period of a dramatic sociopolitical crisis in the same period.

It is because of the events and against the backdrop of the crises and victories that the new state formed and developed—the Jochid Ulus (the Golden Horde), which, contrary to all recent debates, had a civilisation of its own (for more detail see: [Kramarovsky, 2005, pp. 15–31, 37–53]), which had both Central Asian and Far Eastern roots and a Eurasian, Middle Eastern origin.

This is a brief answer to the 'difficult' questions set at the very beginning of the text.

* * *

The material analysed helps to trace the substance of Genghis Khan's reformatory changes in a very clear and comprehensive way. Whether or not one believes the transformations were carried out in the Mongol State in the early 13th century depends on whether one wants to admit their historicity. The issue of the real or questionable existence of a unique nomadic civilisation among the peoples of ancient and medieval Central Asia, or Eurasia in general, are also applicable. Here one also needs to take a position regarding the Eurocentric approach towards interpreting and presenting the history of other peoples—that is, whether the nature and concept of civilisation should be reduced to a single model.

At the same time, the author of these lines realises that it will take time to provide a more or less comprehensive solution to the above issues. The present essay gives an account highlighting the importance of surviving Yasa and Bilig fragments in order to understand the specific nature of the given sociopolitical historical phenomenon—that is, the reasons, conditions, and results of the Turkic-Mongol conquests in the time of Chinggis Khan and his near successors. Thus, the famous statement that the 'wasted remnants' of Yasa can hardly provide an idea of 'the whole' [Vladimirtsov, 2000, p. 64] is both rightful and subjective.

The statement is rightful because the fragments, indeed, can hardly be used to obtain a sufficiently complete idea about the contents of Yasa. However, it ignores the informative potential of studying the specific aspects of the military, political, and social history of Central Asia in the 13–14th centuries as a whole.

To ensure a holistic understanding of the history of Turkic-Mongol conquests in gen-

eral in the future and the significance of other specific issues in particular, a comprehensive textological study of the relevant sources has to be carried out. Most importantly, these include fragments of Yasa and Bilig, Arab-Persian works containing extracts from them, and information in Chinese sources, both direct and indirect. In my opinion, it would be rather interesting and even useful to involve the 'ethnographic' relics of Yasa and Bilig that existed or still exist in the everyday life of a number of Eurasian peoples as elements of their common law and behavioural standards. As we have already seen, the 'rules' borrowed from common law and the experience of previous epochs and other peoples in the 13th century, having existed as an official Chinggisid law code for some time—that is, as universally binding orders, continued and partly continue to function as components and elements of the common law and behavioural standards of a number of Eurasian peoples.

CHAPTER 4

Mongol Conquests in Middle Asia and Eastern Europe

§ 1. The Military Organisation and Armaments of Chinggis Khan's Troops

Mikhail Gorelik

War was of primary importance for the history of the Chinggisid state, as it was for all states in the Middle Ages. What is different is that the Chinggisids had a higher level of military progress as compared to their neighbours for a long period of time, which brought about large-scale and relatively rapid conquest. It also determined the fact that it was not their neighbours who were all more or less subordinated to the Chinggisids but their own family members fighting for the territory of the Golden Clan who posed the gravest danger.

Military progress was determined by the state's organisation, military arts, armament, and mobilisation capability. The role of economics was indirect because even an underdeveloped and thin productive base could be used to subordinate the economies of conquered states to supply one's own military needs, which Mongol conquerors did brilliantly in the first stages of their rule in the conquered countries.

One of the most complicated issues is the composition of the army of Batu Khan, who conquered the territory that later became the territory of the Golden Horde. Some scholars refer to 'Jami at-Tawarikh' by Rashid al-Din to state that the army only contained 4,000 Mongols from the Sijut, Kingit, and Hushin tribes, while 'at present (late 13–early 14th centuries M. G.) the army largely consists of descendants of the four thousand people; who have come recently from Russian, Circassian, Kipchak, Majar, and other tribes that have joined us' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, pp. 274–275]. At the same time, Rashid al-Din reported that the large-scale campaigns of Batu Khan were in fact undertakings of the entire 'Golden Clan,' represented by numerous grandchildren

of the founder of the empire, each leading the troops of specific Mongol tribes. It should be noted here that, in contrast to the common opinion that Chinggis Khan ruined the tribal structure of the Mongol society, it was rather individual rebellious and hostile tribes that he destroyed. The military and political structure of the Mongols in the Chinggisid states was quite a harmonious combination of tribal and military administrative principles. Although the princes, whose domains lay beyond the Jochid Ulus, were expected to take away their warriors after the campaigns, the tribal composition had a Turkic-Mongol composition, judging from their names.

Thus, non-physical sources indicate that the Mongol invasion brought a powerful Central Asian Turkic-Mongol cultural component to Eastern Europe.

Whether ethnic Tatars were present among the invaders in Eastern Europe is of utter importance, especially in the context of the present book. There is an opinion that says that the term 'Tatars' to denote Batu's troops is an exonym actually meaning Mongols, existing from China to Western Europe. However, if we turn to Rashid al-Din, we will see the Tatars proper—from the Alchi tribe—at the top of the power pyramid of Batu's house. Batu's senior wife, the famous Barakchin, as well as the wife of Khan Tuda Mengu belonged to the tribe. In addition to the high status that the queens had in the Mongol establishment, it is safe to say that each of them brought her family members to power. It is hard to tell whether or not the senior emir of Batu's time, Ture Qutlugh, and Timur Beg, the ulug karachibek during the rule of Mengu Temir, both Alchi Tatars, whom Rashid al-Din mentioned in his

work, belonged to the queens' families. It is easy to guess though that each brought along thousands of Tatars to occupy lower and common posts. These manifold representatives of the Central Asian steppes brought the Chinggisid cultural tradition to Europe. The Tatar tradition proper, which was quite authentic and distinguishable from the Mongol one in the 11–12th centuries, had already fused with that of the Mongols by the mid-13th century, contributing certain headgear types, the tradition of using feathers to decorate them, and authentic cuts of overclothes and their details. For non-Mongols and non-Tatars this represented a united imperial culture.

Judging by the more recent tribal list in the Jochid Ulus, the troops that the Chinggisids brought to Europe included Khitan-Kidan people, the Mongolian-speaking predecessors of the Mongols in terms of creating empires. It should be mentioned that the Chinggisids made use of their extensive military and administrative experience. There were different types of Khitan people in the Mongol Empire—the Central-Eastern Asian Khitans, who had been conquered by the Jurchens and had yielded themselves to Chinggis Khan, and the Middle Asian Kara Khitan people, who had left the Jurchen-occupied land and owned most of Turkestan for over a hundred years before the Mongols conquered their new home.

According to Rashid al-Din, the next group in the military contingents of the Golden Horde was the Kipchaks. The role of this important ethnic group has undoubtedly been overestimated (for the society of the Golden Horde) by both foreign and especially domestic scholars. The Kipchaks have been (and still are, by most of scholars) identified as the pre-Mongol inhabitants of the southern Russian steppes—the Polovtsians in ancient Russian chronicles and the Kuns and Cumans in European ones. However, S. Klyashtorny has recently proven that, in spite of their close affinity, the Kipchaks were not identical to the Sary, Kun, and Kai tribal unions, who were actually Polovtsians and Kuns (see Volume 1 of *'The History of the Tatars'*). It can thus be inferred that the first large Kipchak group was brought to Western Europe by Khan Batu

during his European campaigns and conquests. The numbers of Kipchaks could have further increased due to an inflow following the khans of the left wing of the Jochid Ulus, who often took the Sarai throne. As for the Polovtsians, they were largely slain by the Chinggisid troops. Part of them was able to escape westward to Hungary, Bulgaria, and other countries in Central Europe. Another part was deported to the east. Only a small number of them continued to roam the south Russian steppes.

The next ethnic group that appeared in the south of East Europe along with the Mongol invaders, according to Rashid al-Din, was the Majars. Muslim authors tended to attribute two meanings to the term. In most cases, it was used to denote the Bashkirs, who, by the way, are reported to have eagerly joined the Mongol invaders. In other cases, it mostly denotes the indigenous people of 'Great Hungary'—nomadic Hungarian-Magyars, who stayed in the Volga-Yaitsk Steppes after most of the Hungarians moved westward in the early 9th century. Anyway, whether they were Bashkirs, Magyars, or both, they undoubtedly were numerous as they appeared far west of the Yaik, accompanying the Chinggisid troops. Evidence of this can be seen in the name of the North Caucasian centre of the Jochid Ulus, which is called Majar. The name has long enabled some scholars to assume that large Hungarian contingents were present in the Kuban River Steppes back in the time of the Khazar Khaganate, beginning as early as the 7–8th centuries. In fact, the Hungarians of that period lived much farther to the north, while the name Majar is attributable to the trans-Yaik warriors whom Mongol rulers brought to the Kuban River Region.

Recent discussions have centred on a number of discoveries in the Volga Region and areas to the west of it, which are mostly iron, often with silver-inlaid strap accessories used for belts, harness, etc., pertaining to the Askiz archaeological culture—that is, to the Yenisey Kyrgyz people. The discoveries led a number of scholars to infer that bearers of the culture were physically present in the Volga and Kama Region in the pre-Mongol peri-

od. The materials found in the ancient town of Zolotarev, which was ruined as a result of military action in the early 13th century, have even given rise to the hypothesis that a Kyrgyz garrison (in the Bulgar army?!) was slain by Mongol invaders while heroically defending the fortification.

In fact, the only way in which the Askiz set of discoveries could have entered East Europe is with Mongol troops. Any mass presence of Central Asian strap accessories in the Volga Region and West of it in the pre-Mongol time is impossible. The thing is that it was Volga Bulgaria that not only produced but virtually monopolised the manufacture and trade of such prestigious, highly specialised, mass, and expensive (extremely profitable) articles as strap accessories in the area from the Middle Dnieper to the Trans-Ural Region beginning with the 11th century. The Bulgars would not stand any competition from the Kyrgyz people, who lived thousands of kilometers east of them. They could only, at best, buy certain Kyrgyz export products for their own needs or to resell them. They were by no means interested in distributing Kyrgyz toreutic articles, especially as they had carriers of the handicraft tradition living among them, as that would undermine Bulgar handicrafts. Besides, many authors view the 'Mongol epoch' as beginning in 1237, the time of Batu's invasion of East Europe. Yet, the time aberration can cause a number of mistakes in research on the territories east of the Volga. Turning to the Kyrgyz issue, we should emphasise that the Kyrgyz 'Mongol epoch' began in 1207, when they were annexed by the Mongol State. This was accomplished by Jochi, the father of Batu, as well as Orda, Berke, and other princes who later led the conquest of East Europe. It would be natural to assume that the services of skillful Kyrgyz toreutic workers were put to use by the house of Jochi; their articles became traditional for the subjects of the Jochid princes. The first items that they received were old, dating back to the 12th century. Later the craftsmen, their traditions, and their production moved westwards along with the Jochid troops. The Kazakh steppes, adjacent to Bulgaria, became their home already



13th century Mongol horseman
Reconstructed by M. Gorelik

in the 1220s. They maintained communication networks for 10 years, a very long period for the development and establishment of any handicraft. Thus, the abundant materials in the ancient town of Zolotarev, a Bulgar borderline outpost in the Asian part of the Sura River Region, which are often used to illustrate the myth of a Bulgar-Kyrgyz anti-Mongol alliance, only indicate that the detachment from Batu's army that was defeated while defending the settlement was either composed of Kyrgyz soldiers or was traditionally supplied by Kyrgyz toreutic workers.

We should now analyse the state of the Chinggisid invaders' troops in the second third of the 13th century, when they were conquering European territories. By that time, they had already invaded and annexed southern and western Siberia, the north of China, Tangut, Eastern Turkestan, Mawarannahr, Khwarezm, the north of Iran, and the Caucasus. The territories, including that of Mongolia, were ancient and well-developed centres of military production of arms and munitions; China and the Muslim regions were also centres of military engineering. However, Mongol rulers built their military apparatus pri-

marily on the Central Asian steppe tradition, to which they gave an authentic form.

The classic steppe way of organising military contingents is the decimal system, dividing soldiers into tens (*arban*), hundreds (*jagun*), thousands (*mingan*), and corps of ten thousand soldiers (*tumen*). The clan and tribal structures of Mongol ethnoses were disrupted only in those cases in which the tribal union was very large, had been a stable state-type political union before being annexed by the empire of Chinggis Khan and his descendants, and was openly hostile to Chinggis Khan's clan. This applied to the Naimans, to a lesser extent to the Keraites, but especially to the Tatars. Such hostile unions were dissolved and divided among princes and higher military and court noblemen. The only reason for dividing friendly Mongol tribes was because of a large size, to ensure efficient commanding and convenient military units. Small tribes that were merited by Chinggis Khan's clan were taken intact as military unions. These included the Manhud (*Mangyt*) and Urud tribes. Hostile clans and tribal Mongol nobles were annihilated in the process of military and state formation, to be replaced by members of Chinggis Khan's clan or merited people personally appointed by the khagan. The nobility of the tribes friendly to Chinggis Khan's clan was not replaced; it was only re-subordinated to someone appointed by the Chinggisid khagan. It was common practice to establish a connection between it and the ruling clan through marriage. The situation with Turkic-speaking nomads was similar to the Mongol tribes, though the Turks were quite naturally a step lower.

It was even easier for Mongol rulers to introduce the decimal system to contingents supplied by regions with a well-developed sedentary agricultural culture, almost regardless of their ethnic and linguistic affiliation.

Besides, these peoples provided special contingents that the nomads could not provide—infantry and engineer units. It is certain that craftsmen from these regions formed the production units and field workshops that were established to meet the surging demand for arms and munitions in the army of the Chinggisid empire.

The situation with the Kidan was more complicated. They were seemingly closer, ethnically and culturally, to Mongol rulers as compared to other non-Mongol peoples. Yet, they were treated like hostile Mongol tribal state formations. This also applies to the Western Khitan—the Eastern Turkestani and Middle Asian Kara Khitans. However, we can state that the imperial armies of Chinggis Khan and his descendants relied almost entirely on the principles of the Khitan Liao Empire of the 10–12th centuries. It is no coincidence that Yelu Chucai, a representative of the Khitan emperor's clan, was the chief organisational advisor for both Chinggis Khan and his successor and son Ögedei.

All of the military forces of the Mongol Empire can be classified into three key categories. Mongol units—exclusively cavalry—formed the basis. The elite was comprised of the khagan's guard, the *kheshig*, which could be as large as a *tumen*—that is, ten thousand warriors. Apart from the khagan's guard, the elite included princes from the Chinggisid clan. The guard mostly consisted of the sons of Mongol noblemen, their close friends. All guardsmen were expected to be excellent combatants. Therefore, winners of sports competitions, called *nadams*—that is, the best shooters, horse riders, and fighters, were accepted into the guard. The third category was the *tanmatroops*, consisting of foreign units. These included warriors conscripted as 'blood tribute' at the rate of 1 out of 10 combat-capable men. The measure applied to countries with sedentary populations. It is beyond doubt that the rate was higher for nomads. Foreign units were always commanded by Mongol *tanmachis*. They were well-known in Europe under the Turkic term *basqaq*. *Tamna* units always acted together with Mongol units during military actions and were used according to their specialisation (infantry, engineer units) or to protect Mongol detachments by being in front of them (cavalry) in the most dangerous locations.

Discipline was Chinggis Khan's most important innovation, or rather the cruelty with which it was maintained. This is attributable to the military experience of Temujin, who

had suffered a lot because of the neglectful attitude to war in the steppe. He lost numerous important battles and campaigns because of his ill-disciplined allies. This is why Chinggis Khan's regulations stipulated capital punishment for any misconducts potentially leading to the loss of property. Death was the punishment for fleeing from the battlefield, leaving one's comrade-in-arms in danger, plundering the enemy's wagon train before the battle was over, etc. The principle of collective punishment applied. Along with the guilty man, all ten soldiers were executed; along with a guilty ten, one hundred were executed.

Tactically, the army of the Mongol Empire remained typically and traditionally nomadic in field battles. It used old techniques such as attacks with diversionary retreats to draw the enemy into an ambush; a gradual, wave-by-wave introduction of forces to the battle; a strong reserve that was released at the decisive moment; the so-called circle dance, when horseback archers formed a continuously spinning circle before the enemy's lines to ensure incessant dense shooting at short distance. The techniques, which were already efficient, were enhanced significantly by strict discipline, becoming the main advantage of the Mongol army.

Unlike the armies of other nomads, however in full accordance with the military tradition of the Khitan Empire, the army of the Mongol Empire made active and efficient use of engineering. China provided stone and missile weapons, including catapults or systems of catapults; heavy counterweight trebuchets and lightweight trebuchets, in which a pole with a stone 'spoon' on one of its ends, attached to ayoke, launched stones when people simultaneously pulled the ropes on the other end of the pole; mobile siege towers; the art of mining; and finally, gunpowder projectiles—vessels and rockets. Muslims'—from Middle Asia and Iran—siege devices included powerful counterbalance trebuchets. The active and mass use of siege machines led to the appearance of Mongol engineers and even engineering dynasties. Mongol commanders used hydrotechnical devices, too—they built dams to accumulate necessary volumes of water. They

then opened the dam when necessary, directing the water to flood the enemy's camp and break the fortifications of the besieged. They destroyed existing hydrotechnical structures for the same purpose.

According to the Khitan tradition, the Mongols used numerous prisoners of war and civilians to ensure that labour-intensive work was done quickly and in a well-organised manner. The prisoner and civilian contingents, termed the crowd (*hashar*), were treated cruelly and died quickly as they received little nutrition and munitions. The Mongol treatment of the enemy's population mostly looked like terror—they killed all citizens of resisting cities except for certain categories of skilled craftsmen. Part of the male population were formed into a crowd, that was used during sieges and thus exterminated by their compatriots or died of hunger and natural conditions. The use of terror was also borrowed from the Khitan and Jurchen people, who actually 'surpassed' their successor in this aspect. The Mongols only had mercy for rulers, cities, states, and communities that surrendered before any military actions had commenced.

The Mongols were good at establishing headquarters—that is, planning strategic support for future military actions. The headquarters of the ruler's camp was the horde, while the brain centre consisted of representatives of the ruling clan, merited commanders, and allied rulers. The horde was where commanding staff was trained from among *khesigten* guardsmen. Intelligence—political, military, and economic—played a major role in the planning of military activities. Merchants—both Mongol and especially Muslim from Central Asia—often became intelligence officers. Apart from intelligence collection as such, the Mongols used their agents to spread panic rumours, thus instilling fear and diffidence and undermining the morale of the target population and troops. It is noteworthy that the rumours often turned out to be true. The most terrible fears were justified. At the same time, when Chinggis Khan's empire had become a full-fledged one, the nobility and the most talented representatives of conquered countries had about the same career opportunities as Mongols. It par-

ticular, they could occupy military positions at the khan's court.

Let us study the Mongol-Tatar military equipment that the Chinggisids brought to Eastern Europe.

The famous Russian weapons expert A. Kirpichnikov believed that the Mongols brought no new arms to Rus'. He is both right and wrong. He is wrong because the Chinggisid army brought a variety of new forms and variants of weapons to East Europe. The Mongol set of arms was very typical for Central and Eastern Asia; however, some of its forms were even archaic (which by no means reduced their efficiency). Besides, it should be taken into account that by the turn of the second third of the 13th century—when Jochid detachments reached the borders of Bulgaria—armourers from North China, including Jurchens, Khitans, Chinese, craftsmen from oases in Eastern Turkestan and Tangut cities, and the Western Liao (from the Kara Khitan state), had been working for the Mongol troops for over ten years. Moreover, armourers from the conquered empire of the Khwarezm shahs, which included Middle Asia and the north of Iran (including today's Afghanistan) had been working for them for almost ten years. According to Rashid al-Din, they only made Mongol-style weapons, regardless of their origin, under the strict supervision of Mongol armourers. Some local shapes and motifs can be seen in their decorative details. Additionally, the Mongols themselves never ceased to produce weapons.

The bow and arrow was the most basic and wide-spread Mongol weapon, owned by very nearly every soldier. Armenian chronicles refer to the Mongols as 'the archer people.' Prince Hethum (Hayton) of Cilicia emphasised that there were 'very many dead and wounded at once' when Mongols began to shoot their bows, which distinguished them among other peoples. The Mongols' European enemies also reported them to be extremely efficient archers. This virtually overshadowed the other components of Mongol warfare, such as spear attacks with armoured cavalry, and close combat with edged and short-pole weapons.

The classic Mongol bow developed as a result of the long evolution of the weapon in Central Asia to become an advanced, complex, and expensive instrument by the 13th century. It belonged to the composite bow category. That is, it consisted of five separate parts—a handle, two shoulders, and two long slightly curved horns, each consisting of several layers of different materials, such as wood (birch and pine), horn, bone, boiled sinews, and birch bark. It took a long time to align the layers. Animal, preferably fish, glue was used to connect them. Being extremely strong, the glue still left the parts somewhat mobile relative to one another. The Mongol bow was characterised by a bone onlay on the internal side of the handle, shaped as a double-sided oar. It had a highly stretched M-shaft. The string was made of thick sinews or woven from leather strips. The bow was large—about 1.5 m long with the string on. It also had a high tension force of 40 to 80 kg. It is no wonder that an arrow shot with a weapon like this covered a long distance and had a high penetrative power. An inscription on a stone found at the archaeological site of Khirkhira, Buryatia, has survived to the present day. It describes in the Mongolian-Uighur script an outstanding shot by the famous prince Yesunkhe (1190–1270), a grandson of Chinggis Khan and a son of Qasar, after the 'campaign of Sartaul' (that is, the conquest of the Khwarezmian Empire)—its reach was 335 sazhen, or 536 m. The beauty of the bow was not exclusively functional; it had a perfect shape, smooth smoky horn inlays on the belly, and a mild golden back of birch bark. It was common to apply thin leather over the birch bark of the bow shoulders and decorate them with bright and golden paint. The composite bow had only one serious disadvantage—it grew damp very quickly under wet conditions, in particular in the rain, and its power reduced dramatically, making it almost useless. Varnish coating could partly compensate for the flaw. However, its availability was limited since natural varnish was only produced in China. Being made of organic materials, the bow 'died' sooner or later. The primary cause was the mineralisation of boiled sinews in it, which took place after about 100 years.

It was probably within fifteen years after the 'Sartaul campaign' that the troops of Mongol rulers adopted another type of composite bow, which was popular in the Middle and Near East. The bow was nearly arch-shaped. It had short curved horns (each of the horns had only one horn onlay on the external side with a cut to hold the string on in its top part) and was only 1–1.2 m long. In spite of its modest dimensions, it was hardly inferior to the classical Central Asian bow.

The Mongol arrow had a long 70–80 cm shaft, carefully carved of wood (mostly birch) in the shape of an elongated cigar, usually painted red with additional mark stripes. Arrowheads, hammered into the shaft with their long stalk with a lock, bore varying feather shapes depending on their purpose. The Mongols had different terms for arrows depending on their function and arrowhead—*khoorcakh*, *uchumakh*, *godoli*, *tomar*. All arrowheads can be cardinally classified into armour-piercing and those used for bodies not covered with metal armour. The former are characterised by quite a narrow outline resembling a willow leaf and a rhombic cross-section. The rest have a flat cross-section (except for three-blade ones, probably of Kyrgyz origin, that have holes in the blades) and a rhombic, irregular triangle (with an even or rounded blade), sesame-leaf (specifically Mongol), or two-horned shape. It should be noted that the traditional classification into armour-piercing and general is rather inaccurate because armour-piercing arrows are good for piercing mails of armour. At the same time, there is written and ethnographic evidence that flat arrowheads with an even or slightly convex/concave rounded blade, or narrow chisel-shaped arrowheads, are extremely efficient (of course if the bow is powerful). Characteristically, many Mongol arrowheads were large. Marco Polo noted that arrows with large arrowheads were used for sight shooting at a close range, while those with smaller arrowheads were used for massive flat shooting. Two-horned arrowheads were used to cut the enemy's bow string. The fragment from the great Italian's memoirs largely explains the Mongols' combat efficiency at a long range. If you use a very

powerful bow for sight shooting arrows with large arrowheads at a close range of 20–30 m—which was exactly the distance between the spinning Mongol 'circle dance' troops and the enemy's front line—'many dead and wounded' would come naturally since arrows would almost always hit unprotected parts, which no armour could help.

To ensure better targeting, the Mongols fletched their arrows with three or less frequently four-sided feathers. Some arrows had bone, horn, or wooden whistling balls. Those were hollow and were attached to the shaft under the arrowhead. The arrow produced an unpleasant whistling sound while flying. A single whistling arrow could be shot as a signal. On a mass scale they could be used to suppress the enemy's will and scare its horses.

The right thumb was used to hold the string while drawing it; the end of the index finger was held over the thumb nail, holding the bull's eye mark of the arrow shaft on the string. The force of the bow was very high, so a special ring of a peculiar shape was used to protect the bend of the thumb, which was the only part of the body applying force to draw the string. It could be made of bone or horn; rich Mongols could use Chinese articles of nephrite or Iranian ones made of gemstone. Scholars of the 19th century termed the above method of string drawing Mongol, though it was first recorded in China back in the 13th century BCE, as a nephrite drawing ring discovered there suggests.

The bow was kept in a leather case shaped as half a bow with its string on, which was attached to the left side of the baldric. Arrows were kept in a quiver, of which the Mongol-Tatars had two variants. The first one looked like a long wide-bottomed flattened case with a flat bottom; it had a box-type receiver with a flared top, the external side of which was used as a lid opening to the side or down. The quiver was made of birch bark on a frame of wooden or less commonly iron bars, with wooden details. Such quivers held the whole arrow, feathers down (the flared bottom of the quiver was meant to prevent feather deformation), head up. Such quivers were attached to the right side of the baldric in a diag-

13th century armour-clad Mongol horseman
Reconstructed
by M. Gorelik



onal position, the receiver (and, respectively, arrowheads) up and to the front. This type of quiver continued the old Central Asian tradition dating back to the Mid-1st millennium AD. The rounded, often protruding beyond the sides, top of the box-type receiver was a Mongol feature. Bone loops were usually used to attach such quivers to the baldric. The quiver itself was partly coated with engraved bone plates. The decorations of such plates is a wonderful branch of purely Mongol, nomadic craft, with plant, animal, and geometrical motifs. Some articles are true masterpieces. It was less common to use engraved bone to decorate the bow case.

The second quiver type was a flat rectangular box of thick leather or hide. It held half of the arrow's length. Arrows were kept there with their arrowheads down and feathers up. The quivers were attached to the baldric on the same side as the first type, also in a diagonal position, but with the aperture up. A long tail of a feline predator was used to separate arrows meant for different purposes; it was attached to the top corner of the quiver and run between stacks of arrows with differ-

ent arrowhead types. Such quivers appeared in the 9–10th centuries and are connected to the Kidan tradition. The Tatars used quivers of the same type, but they also used textile to wrap the top part of the arrows.

The quiver and the bow case were attached to a dedicated 'archer's' belt. Mongols often had belts of a very peculiar shape, cut from leather to resemble a narrow conical corset with blades protruding down, to which the bow case and the quiver were attached. The archer's belt could also be narrow, with plates with holes in them and loops on the bottom part for the bow case and the quiver. Archer's belts usually had a hook as the end of a plate on one of the ends of the belt, which was used to buckle them. A belt, especially a wide one, could also have a needle frame buckle.

The Mongol-Tatar second-strike weapon for battles was the spear. The idea that the Mongols borrowed the spear battle technique from the Russians—because it was not typical for nomads to use spears—is incorrect, both generally and in details. Numerous archaeological discoveries of spearheads in ancient nomadic burials as well as linguistic [for instance, the literal ancient Turkic for 'to combat' is 'to fight with spears,' while the Mongol term for the spear 'jida' was borrowed by a number of languages to denote the javelin, or dart (Turkish: cid, Arabic: jerid, Russian: dzhid—several darts in one case—and Belorussian: dzida)] and visual material prove it to be wrong. It should be emphasised that the statement that the Mongol-Tatars did not practice spear combat implies that they did not have the main feature of the medieval cavalry—heavily-armed spearmen, whose ram attack usually determined the outcome of the battle.

The most common Mongol-Tatar spearheads can be classified into two basic categories—those with a narrow lance-shaped feather with a rhombic cross-section or lens-shaped ones and those with an axial edge ridge and a feather shaped as a narrow sharp-ended tetrahedron of varying length. This was the type

designed to pierce the enemy's armour. Less common were spearheads with flat rhombic feathers as well as specialised simple knife-shaped spear heads with a single blade. It is possible that this type originated in the ancient Eastern Asian tradition of single-bladed spearheads. Though they are few, some discovered Mongol-Tatar spearheads have a hook under the feather. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine provided a very vivid description of such spearheads, explaining that the Mongol-Tatars used the hooks to drag the enemy off the saddle. The materials of Far Eastern excavations suggest that such details originated with the Jurchen tradition. Apart from a hook firmly attached to a bush, it could look like a flat blade with a concave internal edge, being horizontal and movable along the bush. To drag the enemy off the saddle was not the main function of the device. It could be used to cut off heads and arms. When the point of the spear pierced the enemy's body, the blade became perpendicular to the feather and caused the enemy to fall onto the ground, producing an enormous laceration. The device was most efficient only when used against an unarmoured enemy. The blunt spine of the blade would prevent it from piercing the enemy's body through metal armour, acting as a lock preventing the feather from penetrating the enemy's body too deeply. It was quite prudent of the Mongols to limit borrowings from the Jurchens to a simple hook.

The Mongols used certain types of short-pole and bladed weapons. Marco Polo, who had witnessed a number of Mongol internecine battles, constantly mentions 'swords and clubs' as melee combat weapons. Many archaeological remnants and images of such weapons have been preserved.

Short-pole weapons were the most widespread melee weapons. These included axes, maces, and flails.

The Mongol-Tatars used several types of combat axes. The first type includes light-weight axes with a long narrow trapezoidal blade, a short cutting edge on one side of the head, and a hammer-shaped back edge on the other. The shape, being in itself very archaic, was still quite effective in cavalry battle as it combined the light weight of the weapon

with the piercing effect of the blade and the opportunity to contuse the enemy, thus leaving him alive as a prisoner or a slave. Axes with a small, long-edged, asymmetrical, trapezoidal blade or a wide sector-shaped blade are quite original; a long iron stalk was used to connect the blade to the short pole. Taking into account their small dimensions, it can be assumed that the axes were also meant for throwing. This is another Jurchen adoption of the Mongols. Finally, shaft-hole axes with a wide-edged sector-shaped blade with concave 'radii' and a hammer-shaped back edge, which had a powerful cutting effect, are an 'intermediate' variant.

The mace was very common among the Mongol-Tatars. They used it not only as a combat weapon but also to symbolise their status or rank. This very ancient function of the mace was especially pronounced in the centuries immediately preceding the Mongol invasions of the Khitans, Jurchens, and Song China. Elite guards used them as weapons; they had quite a long shaft at that time.

The Mongol-Tatar mace had a head of iron, bronze or cast iron, stone, or horn. Its shape varied greatly—a ball, a pear, a gear, or a disk—all covered in small sharp projecting parts, a polyhedron, or a cube with sharp projecting parts on its vertical edges. Even lash heads were used as maces. From ancient times they had a beak-shaped spur, making them convenient to hold and stick on the belt. It became common to cast them of bronze as a cube with pyramidal projections on three edges and a beak on the fourth one in the 13th century. This might be a hybrid of the Turkic lash and the Middle Eastern mace.

The flanged mace with its combat blades splayed is especially characteristic of the Mongol-Tatar mace. It was the most popular, and it was probably the Mongol-Tatars who brought it to Europe.

The most prestigious and expensive melee weapon among the Mongol-Tatar troops, just like among other peoples of the time, were long-blade weapons—swords, broadswords, and sabres. The reason why they were prestigious was not only their high combat efficiency but also their narrow specialisation and

the fact that a good blade was difficult to produce and could be decorated in sophisticated ways; all this made them expensive weapons. Therefore, not every warrior could afford one. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine reported that only noble and rich people had sabres.

Mongol-Tatar blades were straight double-edged (swords), straight single-edged with a point sharpened on both sides (broadswords), and curved single-edged (sabres). The broadsword and the sabre also had a peculiar handle position—at a slight angle to the blade. Important features of the Mongol-Tatar broadswords and sabres include wide-spread fullers—longitudinal depressions on the blade meant to make it lighter and stronger—as well as peculiar cuffs under the cross-guard, with a lug about the size of the hand, covering the part of the blade adjacent to the handle. The lug, which was meant to protect the index finger and the top part of the sheathe from cuts, often had an ornately shaped edge. The specific cross-guard shapes that the Mongol-Tatars brought to Europe included flat oval, characteristic of the entire east of Asia, and protruding with a rhomboid central piece and—which actually made them peculiar—asymmetrical flare-shaped ends.

The issue of Mongol-Tatar defensive devices is of special interest. The opinion that the Mongol-Tatars won due to their discipline and quantitative superiority, while only few commanders, noble warriors, and their bodyguards—a small minority—had defensive devices, was predominant, especially in the domestic scholarly community, for a long time. This is why numerous defensive devices discovered in nomadic burials were dated as pertaining to the pre-Mongol time or declared to be Russian imported goods. However, there is written, artistic, and physical evidence that the nihilist attitude to the Mongol-Tatar armour is wrong. For instance, Marco Polo, other European witnesses to the Mongol invasion of Europe, and eastern authors unanimously reported that Mongol-Tatar troops had a lot of defensive equipment. The secretary of the Sultan Jalal al-Din Mankubirni, al-Nasawi, wrote that all Mongols put on armour before battle. 'Jami at-Tawarikh' by Rashid al-Din

provides some information on the production of Mongol weapons in conquered sedentary countries. The author, just like his predecessors—Muslims of the 13th century—reported that the Mongols selected craftsmen, and firstly armourers, as soon as they conquered sedentary agricultural territories with well-developed handicrafts. Part was sent to the khaqan's camp, part was assigned to hordes—the nomadic camps of khans and nayons, and part united in large state-run plants (Persian: *karhane*, 'work house'), where craftsmen, living as slaves and often in dug-outs, as evidenced by excavations of cities of the Golden Horde, made weapons for their new masters, for which they got a ration. Rashid al-Din emphasised that they did it under the supervision of Mongol armourers and according to Mongol samples because the Mongol-Tatars would not accept non-Mongol weapons. He also reported that, as soon as the Mongols conquered the north of Iran, Argun Aqa, who was appointed the vicegerent, used the well-developed local resources for weapon production. This is where Mongol weapons came from to Batu's warriors in the Jochid steppe, where there were no cities at the time.

It is beyond doubt that most Mongol-Tatar troops had protective soft armours, which people of any income could afford. The materials used for such armour included multi-layer soft felt, soft leather, and thick coarse fabrics. Horse-hair, wool, cotton, and other kinds of lining were used between the layers, after which the multilayer parts were padded and stitched. Soft armours were cut as Mid-calf long robes. Those with an axial vertical cut had leaf-shaped, often ornate blade neckpieces. There were also robes with an oblique—right to left—wrap and true wrist-long, rather narrow sleeves. The sleeves had a blade piece covering the back of the hand. Less frequently, soft armour looked like short, hip-long, wide caftans with a straight axial cut and leaf-shaped blade neckpieces or very short and wide sleeves. Such soft armour ensured efficient protection from arrows, especially at a long range, glancing blade blows and especially axe or mace blows. Their Mongol name was 'hatangu degel' ('robe of steel').



Armour of Mongolian warriors according to Iranian miniatures. 13–14th centuries.

The next type of armour in terms of strength and value (and price) was the *hatangu degel*, reinforced with large iron plates sewn to the inner side of the soft padding. They were additionally riveted to the padding in two or three spots in a top corner of the plate. Such armour was efficient against nearly any weapon, except for the spear. Their strength, flexibility, and weight varied greatly depending on the vertical and horizontal overlapping of the iron plates. The more they overlapped, the stronger yet less flexible and heavier the armour was. Little overlapping meant increased flexibility and reduced weight, but also reduced strength. The disadvantage of this type of armour was that a blade could easily cut the soft padding. However, it prevented the enemy from seeing where the impenetrable armour lay. An armour like that could be very ornate and expensive when coated with an expensive fabric; it could also have gilded rivet heads. In fact, it was invented in China in the 8th century and meant for the emperor's bodyguards—an ornate piece of clothing with hidden armour.

Even more reliable and expensive was armour made from hard materials, such as thick three-layer rawhide, which was as hard as plywood reinforced with iron or steel onlays. Laminated armour was easier to produce. The structure consisted of fabric strips, about 10 cm wide, the length depending on the location. The strips were arranged horizontally

and overlapped horizontally, the top of the underlying strip covered the bottom of the overlying one; leather strips, lacing, or ties ran through apertures in the strips for vertical attachment.

The lamellar armour structure was the most advanced—flexible, strong, and relatively lightweight. It consisted of rectangular vertical plates overlapping vertically to form horizontal rows held together with similar strips running through a system of apertures in the plates. The flexible strips were interconnected vertically like lamellar armour.

The Mongol term for any hard armour (including mail) was '*huyag*' (Tatar: '*kuyak*'); the term '*hudesutu huyag*' ('laced *huyag*') represented the type that was connected.

Lamellar and laminated armour came in two basic styles. The first looked like a cuirass corset made of a chest piece and a back piece connected with shoulder straps and latches on one or both sides. Blade-shaped neckpieces of varying length, from Mid-forearm to Mid-ulna, could be attached to the straps. Hip blades, Mid-thigh, knee, or Mid-calf long, could be attached to the skirt. The second style was identical to the robe-like soft armour with all its variants. Often armour combined alternating lamellar and laminated rows. Hard armour could be very ornate. This was achieved through mirror finish polishing of the metal plates, plate gilding, bronze plates, varnish coating and painting, and brightly dyed con-

nective lace contrasting with the colour of the armour itself. An armour could have neck-pieces with ornate edges and painted leather with metal plates attached to it, fringed and fur-trimmed. Convex disk mirrors could be attached to the chest and back as additional protection, a means of repelling hostile spirits, and finally as armour adornment.

The Mongol armour tradition, and the Central Asian, dates back to the 3rd–5th centuries, when it began to develop to become full-fledged in its Jurchen-Mongol variant by the 12th century.

It should be noted that Mongol armour-clad warriors did not limit themselves to one armour. 'The Secret History of the Mongols' often mentions that a noble warrior first put on a *hudesutu huyag* over a *hatangu degel*. This was the beginning of the tradition of wearing two armours at the same time, the soft one being worn beneath the hard one.

The 'dula' helmet was no less common with Mongol warriors than the 'huyag.' It also pertains to the Central Asian tradition and includes its features, being spherico-conical; it has a crown of several riveted sectors with cut-edged onlays, connecting them around, and a cap band ring holding them in the bottom part, with a cup-shaped or hemispherical topper with a point or a hackle tube. The helmets that the Mongols brought to the west had the following Mongol traits: peaks, forehead plates with a cut three-piece top edge, often with arched brow slits and nose-pieces on the bottom edge, disk-shaped (sometimes double) earpieces, tall spikes on top of the helmet, and rings on the helmet topper, to which a ribbon was attached to form two ends. This was the typical Mongol helmet decoration.

Mongol helmets always have a camail—soft, lamellar, laminar, or chainmail. Camails protected the nape of the head, the neck, and the throat; camails of mail could cover the whole face except for the eyes. A visor of steel strips arranged to form a cross could also be used to protect the face. However, a forged mask, which the Mongols most probably adopted in the 1230s in the Middle East, where it came to be used no later than the 10th century, was more common. The Mongols may have also

borrowed half-masks with massive nose-pieces, protruding 'eyebrows' and 'eyelids.'

It was in the Middle East or in Eastern Turkestan that the Mongols adopted two-leaved arm-shields/elbow-pieces, which they brought to Europe. Traditional Central Asian necklace collars of thick leather were popular with Mongols as a protective device; rare Mongol protective clothing included calf- and foot-pieces of connected horizontal metal strips (on a leather lining?), borrowed from China or Tangut.

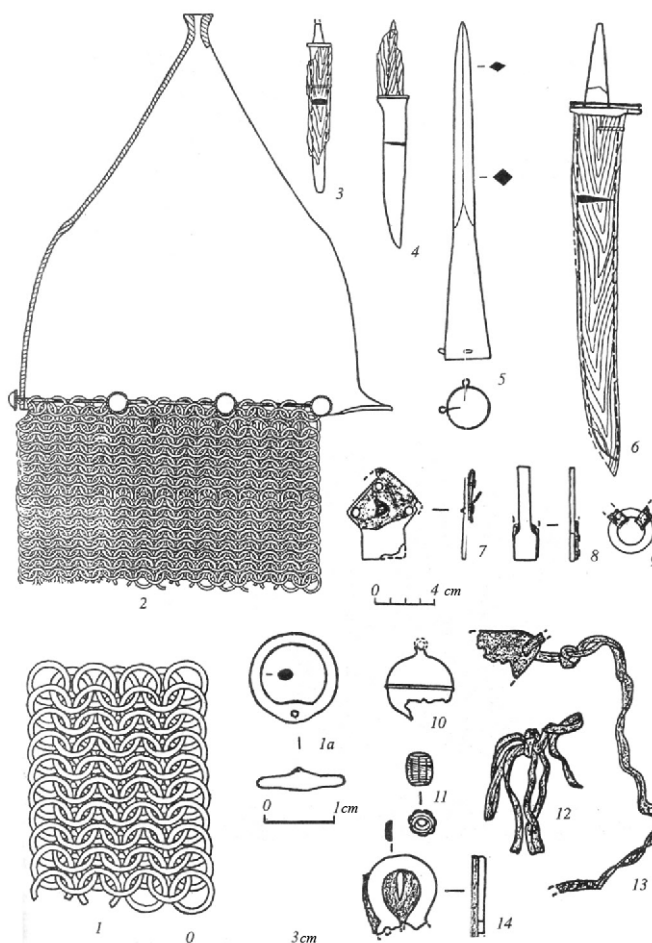
Finally, the Mongols used shields. The basic, purely Mongol by origin, type of shield used by the Mongols was the 'halha' shield, the equivalent of the Turkic 'qalqan.' The etymology of the word, which is a derivative of the verb 'halhasun' (to wicker), is representative of the structure of the shield. Indeed, both the description by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and its entire further history indicate that the 'halha' was made of flexible wicker, arranged in a concentric spiral, starting from the wooden base in the centre, interconnected with dyed threads. It was a hemispherical 60–90 cm shield, taught enough to repel blade blows and hold arrows, very light and very ornate due to the colourful patterns formed by the connective threads. An iron boss over the wooden base boss was used to fend off the most dangerous blows. The shield was held with the left fist by two crossing ropes attached to rings riveted to the surface of the shield. A leather pad glued to the inner side of the base boss protected the warrior's fist.

Apart from wicker shields, the Mongols used shields made of leather-coated boards and probably of hard, thick, multilayered leather. Such shields were much heavier than wicker ones and less taut, but they could be stronger. The Mongols also coated their shields, fully or partly, with iron sheets. Such shields were called 'temirhalha.' The combination of a taut wicker base and a strong iron coating must have been extremely efficient. It should be noted that the shield was less widespread than armour and helmets.

The defensive equipment of the battle horse was no less important than that of the warrior himself for the horseman's success

Discoveries from a man's burial
from the Olen'-Kolodez burial site.
Latter half of the 13th century
(according to K. Efimov)

- 1—mail fragment,
- 1a—mail ring (magnified),
- 2—a helmet with a camail,
- 3—a file,
- 4—a knife,
- 5—a pike,
- 6—a dagger,
- 7–8—riveted iron plates,
- 9—a ring,
- 1—a silver bell,
- 11—a bead,
- 12–13—leather lace,
- 14—an iron buckle with a fragment
of a leather belt



and even life depended on it. The Mongol saddle already had a number of distinctive features in the 13th century. Its bars were more massive, and their position on the back of the horse was more efficient as the horseman sat higher, so his weight exerted less pressure on the horse. The massive almost rectangular vertical front gullet protected the horseman's stomach efficiently, while the sloping back cantle did not prevent the rider from moving in the saddle, especially when shooting to the side or backwards. Expensive saddles had cantles and bar ends decorated with silver and gold. Large and thick leather flaps, rectangular or more often roundish, protected the rider's legs and the sides of the horse from friction. They were often decorated with beautiful paintings, impressions, and metal onlays. Apart from belly bands, a breast strap, and a crupper, other decorations were on the metal plates, trusses, nose and forehead plumes, and decorations under the horse's neck, buckles, lockets. It was not uncommon to decorate any metal parts with, or make them of, precious metals.

Noble armour-clad warriors also had armour for their horses. Detailed descriptions

and numerous images of barding indicate that it consisted of the following parts: a forehead mask of thick hard leather or forged iron, a two-wing neck-piece, a chest-piece, two side-pieces protecting the horse's sides, the rear-piece, and the crupper-piece. Horse armour was usually lamellar and laminar and had a structure similar to that of human armour, though its plates were larger, and strips, broader and longer. Soft horse cloth armour was also popular. The whole Mongol equine armour tradition originated with the rich traditions of Central and Eastern Asia. However, just as other Mongol equipment, it has a very distinct image.

As has already been proven, the weapons of Chinggisid troops were not only diverse, efficient, and ornate but Mongol, with special features that made it distinct from that of contemporaries.

§ 2. The Conquest of Eastern Turkestan and Western Siberia

Eugene Kychanov

Chinggis Khan's conquest of the southern areas of Siberia and its adjacent regions began even before the Great Kuriltai of 1206 took place, when Temujin became the khan of all the Mongols (khan of khans) for a second time, and the state named Yeke Mongol Ulus, the Great Mongol State, was founded.

The most powerful people in the Altai Region and southern Siberia were the Naimans, who had an ulus (state) of their own, used the Uighur script for their records, and professed—at least the elite of the Naiman khanate did—Nestorian Christianity. The ethnic affiliation of the Naimans is controversial. Some historians, quite rightfully, believe them to be Turkic-speaking people. Others, especially Mongol historians, think that they were Mongolian-speaking.

Internecine feuds within the ruling clan had weakened the Naiman Ulus by 1204. The brothers Tayan Khan and Buyuruk Khan, sons of the powerful Inanch Khan, fought for power. Tayan Khan was also at odds with his son Kuchlug. Tayan Khan (this is not a name but a title, Dai Wang, Great Wang, given to him by the emperor of the Jurchen state Jin) knew that the Tatar and Kereit uluses had fallen but, according to 'The Secret History of the Mongols,' had remained aloof from the race for power over Khalkha for too long and underestimated Temujin's power. Moreover, he wanted to conquer the entire Khalkha, too. Tayan Khan viewed himself as the sun, Temujin being the moon, and often said that it was impossible 'for the sun and the moon to shine in the sky next to each other,' meaning that two khans could not co-exist on the earth.

Temujin made serious preparations for the war against the Naiman Ulus as he was aware of its large population. It was in the early 1204 that he implemented the reforms in his ulus, reorganising the army, the guard, and the administration. In the summer of 1204 Temujin's army of 45,000 soldiers set off to the south-west, starting the Naiman campaign. Before doing it, they made an offering to the banner of war, in which the patron spirit of the army, Sulde, was believed to live.

The Naimans were not alone. The Merkits and the Tatars, the remnants of the exterminated uluses' troops, the Oirats, and the part of the Mongols, who still adhered to Temujin's sworn brother Jamukha, supported them. The Mongols made five times as many fires as they had warriors at night to show the enemy that they were numerous and drove scraggy horses to the Naiman camp to persuade the enemy that their horses were undernourished and not prepared for war.

Tayan Khan was reasonably cautious. He denied a battle to the Mongols and began to retreat to the Trans-Altai Region. However, his wife, son Kuchlug, Jamukha, and many advocates for an immediate battle eventually persuaded him. The battle took place in a mountainous region. Jamukha and his people left the Naimans during it. The Naimans persevered; Tayan Khan himself was wounded several times. However, Temujin's warriors defeated the Naimans. Tayan Khan fell; Kuchlug was able to escape with the surviving rest of the army [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 148; Kozin, 1941, p. 150].

In the autumn of 1204 Temujin's Mongols crushed the Merkits, who lived in the lower reaches of the Orkhon River and along the Selenga River. The Merkit ruler Tokhtoa Beki fled westward to Kuchlug. Kuchlug and Tokhtoa Beki roamed in the Irtysh Valley, Trans-Altai Region. Temujin spent the winter of 1204–1205 in the south of the Altai Mountains. He moved to the Bukhtarma River, a tributary of the Irtysh, in spring. Here the Mongol troops attacked Kuchlug and Tokhtoa Beki. Merkit Tokhtoa Beki fell in the battlefield; his surviving troops went to the Kipchaks in the territory of today's Kazakhstan. Kuchlug and his survivors went to the Kara Khitan people, to the Western Liao on the Chu River. Though the organisational structure is unclear, the Altai Mountains, which used to belong to the Naiman Ulus, became part of Temujin's ulus.

The Kyrgyz people lived in the upper reaches of the Yenisey and its tributaries. The Kyrgyz state in the Upper Yenisey Region dissolved

into several independent territories in the 13th century. The territories were ruled by inals. Being well aware of the situation in Khalkha and the ruination of the Naiman Ulus, the Kyrgyz people wanted to play it safe. They sent ambassadors to Chinggis Khan. As a response, a Mongol embassy went to Kem-Kemchiut. A second Kyrgyz one soon visited Mongolia. The Kyrgyz ambassadors were received by Chinggis Khan. They presented him with a white falcon and apparently yielded themselves to the Mongol khan [Yuanshi, 1935, p. 8a]. The version in 'Yuanshi' that the Kyrgyz people submitted to the Mongol khan of their own accord conflicts with the data in 'The Secret History.' According to the source, Chinggis Khan sent his eldest son Jochi with a detachment of troops to conquer the 'forest peoples' of the south of Siberia in 1207. It was a military campaign. Jochi conquered the ancestors of the Buryats and the Oirats. Soon after that Kyrgyz nayons Yedi Inal, Ardiyer, and Oliber Digin came to him. They brought white gyrfalcons, white horses, and white sables. Jochi formed an embassy of the 'forest peoples'—the Oirats, the Kyrgyzes, etc.—to follow his detachment to Chinggis Khan. The Oirat rulers and their sons received noble Mongol girls as wives because they were related to the Mongols. Jochi was able to subjugate the 'forest peoples' without losing any people and horses, and the 'forest peoples' were granted to him [Kozin, 1941, pp. 174–175].

Ten years later, in 1217, the Tumats, settled to the west of Lake Baikal, rebelled against the Mongols. They defeated the Mongol detachment sent to subjugate them. Then Chinggis Khan ordered the Kyrgyz people to suppress the Tumat rebellion. However, the Kyrgyz people would not obey Jochi's order; the ruler of the 'forest people' had to personally lead the punitive campaign. Having crossed the icy Selenga River, Jochi's troops moved westward along the fringe of the southern Siberia, through the Tumat and Oirat land to the Usa River, a tributary of the upper Yenisey. The Mongol troops then moved downstream the Yenisey to the central Kyrgyz territories. The Kyrgyz people were subjugated. Moving westward, the Mongol detachment conquered the Telengits in the

Altai Mountains. Then the Mongols reached the Ob River and returned.

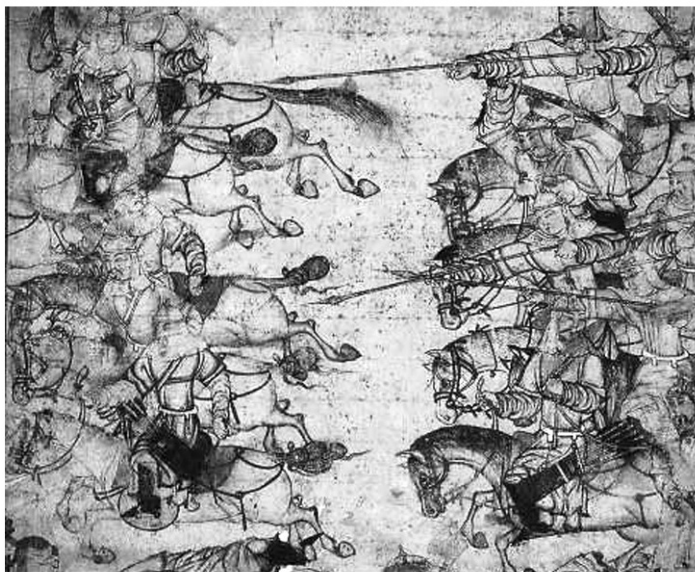
The campaign was unparalleled in terms of scale and overcoming of natural difficulties. Unfortunately, no detailed information is available about it. The vast area in the southern Siberia from Baikal to the Ob River was subordinated to the Mongol State. Explaining the motivation behind the campaign, academician B. Vladimirtsov stated that 'Chinggis Khan wanted to conquer those territories, protect himself against any sudden attacks, and have control over the trade routes to the Yenisey, where crop yields were high at that time. The crops were exported to Mongolia with the mediation of Muslim and Uighur merchants. Besides, the land of the 'forest peoples' enjoyed an abundance of sables and other fur skins. It also exported hunting falcons' [Vladimirtsov, 2002, pp. 173–174].

Extending the territory of Yeke Mongol Ulus in every direction required preparations to strike blows at the two most powerful enemies—the Jurchen state Jin (North China) and that of Anushteginid Khwarezm shahs. This would require the Mongols to subjugate smaller territories. They struck the first blow at the Tangut state south to the Gobi Desert, the Great Xia, even before the Great Kuriltai. Yet, it took over twenty years and even the life of Chinggis Khan to subjugate the Tanguts.

The Tangut campaign of 1207–1208, which Chinggis Khan led personally like the anti-Naiman campaign three years before, scared the Uighurs. The Uighur state covered a large territory from Hami in the east to Kucha in the west, from the Jungar Plain in the north to Lake Lob Nor in the south. Two significant processes were taking place there—ethnic and denominational. Ethnically, the Turkisation of the region (East Turkestan) as well the Uighurisation of the local, previously Indo-European, population was approaching its end with great intensity. Denominationally, Islam was advancing from the west; the number of Buddhists was decreasing constantly, while the Muslim population was growing. After the Western Liao was founded, the Uighurs declared themselves its vassal. A Kara Khitan vicegerent resided in their capital Kucha.

In 1208 Chinggis Khan sent a detachment commanded by Subedei Bagatur and Jebe to finish the Naimans, headed by Kuchlug, and the Merkits, led by Qudu. The joint Naiman and Merkit troops were defeated on the Bukhtarma River. Kuchlug fled to the Kara Khitans; Merkits sought refuge with the Uighurs. The Uighur ruler Idikut Barchuk, clearly expecting to get some help from the Mongols, killed the Kara Khitan vicegerent by burying him alive under the ruins of his destroyed residence [Han Ru Lin, 1982, p. 48]. Uighur ambassadors went to Chinggis Khan's camp to report that the Uighur State yielded to the Mongols. Chinggis Khan said that he wanted the Uighur idikut to personally meet him with luxurious gifts: 'let the Idikut come bringing along gold, silver, pearls, mothers-of-pearls, gold brocade, patterned fabrics, and silk'—that is, declared that the Uighur ruler had to bring the tribute to the Mongol khan in person [Kozin, 1941, p. 174].

At that time Merkit ambassadors arrived to ask the Uighur idikut to give refuge to their people and ruler. The Uighurs killed the ambassadors, refused to accept the Merkits, and sent away those Merkits who had already entered the territory of the Uighur state. Barchuk either was reluctant to meet Chinggis Khan or waited for him to return from the Tangut campaign because he did not arrive at Chinggis Khan's camp on the banks of the Kerulen River until 1211. A rich tribute had been collected from the idikut's subjects, which he brought to Mongolia. Chinggis Khan gave Barchuk a warm reception and declared him to be his fifth son. Chinggis Khan married off his daughter Al Atunu (Yeli Khatun) to him. Idikut Barchuk and his descendants were treated as great khans and members of Chinggis Khan's urug (clan) because Chinggis Khan had adopted him. They participated in Mongol campaigns, remaining independent within the Uighur state. Later they were considered vassals to the Yuan Dynasty. When Chinggis Khan was alive, the Uighurs helped



Pursuit Scene. Miniature. Iran. Early 14th century.

the Mongols to conquer the Tangut state; their army was among the troops that fought against the Khwarezm Shah. Chinggis Khan benefited from subordinating the Uighurs as it put an end to the Tangut-Uighur anti-Mongol alliance (the Tangut Great Xia and the Uighur state had friendly relations in the late 12–early 13th centuries). Chinggis Khan ensured that those whom he had not defeated and had sent out of Khalkha would not find refuge with the Uighurs.

According to 'Yuanshi,' 'Karluk Khan Arslan Khan arrived from the Western Land and submitted' in 1211 [Yuanshi, 1935, p. 86]. The Karluks lived south-west of Lake Balkhash in the basins of the rivers Ili and Chu [Han Ru Lin, 1982, p. 49]. Just like the Uighurs, the Karluks were dependent on the Kara Khitan people in the 12th century. They had a Kara Khitan vicegerent during the rule of Arslan Khan. Chinggis Khan intended to subjugate the Karluks, and for this purpose he sent expedition corps, commanded by Kublai. However, Arslan Khan killed the Kara Khitan vicegerent and proclaimed himself subordinated to the Mongols even before the approach of the Mongols. In 1211 Arslan Khan also went to Mongolia and was received by Chinggis Khan.

There was another Turkic Karluk ruler, independent of Arslan Khan, Khan Wazdar of Olmaliq. Wazdar also depended on the Kara

Khitans. However, he secretly maintained communication with Chinggis Khan to inform him of Kuchlug's affairs. Wazdar also went to Mongolia and was received by Chinggis Khan. When Kuchlug found it out, he attacked Olmaliq and took Wazdar prisoner. Chinggis Khan sent his troops to help Wazdar. Kuchlug left Olmaliq and killed Wazdar. The Mongols gave the power over Olmaliq to Wazdar's son, who was titled khan; Chinggis Khan married off to him a girl from his urug to express his gratitude for the loyalty of his father. The Karluks participated in the campaign against the Khwarezm Shah's state.

When Chinggis Khan had subjugated the Uighurs and the Karluks, his domain became directly adjacent to the Kara Khitan state Western Liao. In the 12th century, after the Jurchens had defeated the Khitan state Liao (1125), a representative of the Liao House, Yelu Dashi, went westward with part of the troops. He eventually got power over the weakened Karakhanid state and established his own state Western Liao with its capital in Hus Ordo (the city lay close to today's Tokmok, Kyrgyzstan). The Kara Khitan gurkhans had come to control the Uighurs in the Karluks and made the Khwarezm shahs their tributaries by the end of the 12th century. In 1209 the Khwarezm Shah killed the gurkhan's ambassador, who had come to collect tribute, and inflicted a military defeat on the Kara Khitans.

Having fled to the Kara Khitans, Kuchlug was received at the court, married the gurkhan's daughter, and even converted from Christianity to Buddhism to win the gurkhan's trust. The gurkhan's defeat by the Khwarezm Shah and his capital's rebellion against him enabled Kuchlug to get the power. He did not kill the gurkhan and paid respect to him but 'conquered... the areas of Turkestan that the gurkhan had owned and his throne' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 182]. The gurkhan died after two years, and Kuchlug became the sole ruler of the Western Liao. Kuchlug was a cruel and unwise ruler. To quote Rashid al-Din, '...he opened a hand of violence and exaction above his subjects.' His chief mistake was to persecute Muslims, whom he demanded to convert to Christianity or Buddhism. Kuchlug personally participated

in disputes with Muslim theologians. Following one of such disputes in the city of Khotan, he crucified Imam Alah al-Din Muhammad-i Khotani on the door of his mosque because the imam had insulted him. It was the time when Buddhism was getting less popular in Eastern Turkestan, while Islam was becoming well-established, so most of the gurkhan's subjects were hostile to Kuchlug. The Mongols had been studying the state of affairs in Kuchlug's state for seven years and were well aware of the religious conflicts in the former Kara Khitan land.

In 1218 Chinggis Khan ordered Jebe to start a campaign against the Kara Khitan state under the banner of religious tolerance, 'so that every person would profess their faith and keep their ancestors' way in religion' [Ibid., p. 183]. It is probably the first evidence that the Mongols not only were religiously tolerant but also deliberately declared freedom of worship in pursuit of their political purposes. Expecting the Mongols to help them soon and anticipating religious freedom, Muslims in Kuchlug's realm rebelled. Jebe used the rebels to quickly crush Kuchlug's army.

Chased by the Mongols, Kuchlug fled to Badakhshan, where 'Yuanshi' reports a Muslim of the Kara Khitan gurkhan's people to have killed him. According to Rashid al-Din, Kuchlug was captured by the ruler of Almalyk and then killed. The Kara Khitan state ceased to exist [Kozin, 1941, p. 86; Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, pp. 183–184].

Thus, in about ten years the region that the Chinese called Xi Yu (Western Region), a large part of which was to later become known as Eastern Turkestan, a region that was already predominantly Turkic with remnants of an Indo-Iranian and Khitan population, where Islam was replacing Buddhism and partly Nestorian Christianity, came under the rule of Chinggis Khan. He also got control over part of today's Kyrgyzstan, the so-called Zhetysu. The Mongols reached the borderline territories of the Irtysh River to the Kipchak steppes (today's Kazakhstan) and to the frontiers of the Khwarezm Shah's domain. Starting the western campaign, Chinggis Khan left behind the ruined areas of the Jin state north of the Huang He (Yellow River) and what remained of the Tangut state.

§ 3. The Conquest of the State of Khwarezm Shahs

Eugene Kychanov

Within his region, Khwarezm shah Ala al-Din Muhammad might have been a conqueror no less successful than Temujin, or Chinggis Khan. At the beginning of the 13th century his realm covered Mawarannahr, Khorasan, Mazandaran, Kerman, the Persian Iran, Azerbaijan, Sistan, and Ghazna. He occupied Bukhara in 1207, Herat and Khwarezm in 1208. The two victorious conquerors were naturally aware of each other. Their realms and the territories that they controlled were already adjacent, and a first trial of strength was of the agenda. Though most of the Merkits, who hated Chinggis Khan, had been exterminated, part of them was able to flee to the Kipchak steppe, the territory controlled by the Khwarezm Shah. Subutai and the ruler of the 'forest peoples' Jochi were ordered to finish them.

The Mongols ran into a detachment of the Khwarezm Shah, which he had sent against the Kipchaks, in pursuit of the Merkits.

When the Khwarezm Shah's troops appeared before the Mongols, the latter had already done away with the Merkits. They were reluctant to fight against the Khwarezm Shah's warriors, so Jochi said that he had been sent against the Merkits only. The Khwarezm Shah, whose seal read, 'the shadow of Allah on earth,' treated all disbelievers, all non-Muslims as his enemies. He imposed a battle on the Mongols. It was cruel and lasted for three days, without either of the parties winning. The Mongols retreated on the fourth night. They left numerous fires on the old place to deceive the enemy, who was ready to fight even on the fourth day.

The victorious Khwarezm Shah Muhammad not only came to believe that he was superior to Chinggis Khan but grew even more resolute to start a campaign against China. Having found out Chinggis Khan to have already conquered China, he decided to check the information. He sent an embassy, headed by Beha al-Din al-Razi, to Chinggis Khan. He did receive the ambassador. During the negotiations he said that he would like to develop mutual trade and divide the spheres of influence. He sug-

gested that he should recognise the Khwarezm Shah as the ruler of the West, while he was to recognise Chinggis Khan to be the ruler of the East. A Mongol embassy was sent to the Khwarezm Shah. During his audience with the Khwarezm Shah the Khwarezmian head of the embassy Mahmud told the ruler that Chinggis Khan treated him as 'equal to his most-loved son.' 'You are like my most-loved son to me. It is not a secret to you that I have conquered China and the neighbouring Turkic countries' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, pp. 187–188].

The Khwarezm Shah inferred from the aforementioned events that Chinggis Khan believed establishing equal relations with him to be out of question. He interrogated Chinggis Khan's ambassador secretly at night to find out 'who the damn one is to call me his son? What kind of an army has he got?' According to Muslim authors, Mahmud, who was under apprehension of his life, provided false information on the state of the Mongol army to the Khwarezm Shah, assuring him that it was like a single horseman as compared to a cavalry detachment when contrasted to his troops. It is unknown whether the Khwarezm Shah believed his compatriot, though a Mongol ambassador, or took the bareface flatter for granted. He did not either reward or punish the Mongol ambassador but proposed him to spy for him at the Mongol court and in the Mongol Ulus. The exchange of embassies and trade caravans, which often coincided at that time, ensured efficient data collection [Petrushevsky, 1970, p. 105].

Mahmud's embassy was followed by a new caravan embassy sent by Chinggis Khan, this time headed by Mongol Uzun. Uzun was carrying a letter by Chinggis Khan, in which he praised trade and advocated for fostering its development. The letter contained the following phrase: 'We have ordered,' Chinggis Khan wrote to the Khwarezm Shah, 'that peace should be established from now on among all countries in the world so that merchants can go in any direction without fear' [Rashid al-Din,



Mongol troops besieging a city.
Miniature. Iran. 1301–1314



Chinggis Khan's sermon in Bukhara.
Miniature. Iran. 1397/98

1952, I, 2, p. 188]. The 'we have ordered' could not but hurt the Khwarezm Shah's feelings. Was it Chinggis Khan's usual confidence that he was entitled to order everyone or rather a sophisticated diplomatic device used to unsettle the rival? The rival did waver and take abrupt measures. The only thing that we know for sure is that the vicegerent of the frontier city of Otrar, where Uhun's caravan embassy arrived, killed the ambassador and the merchants, whether of his own accord or on the Khwarezm Shah's order, and appropriated the goods. The Mongols thus had a legitimate pretext to attack the Khwarezm Shah's state.

Chinggis Khan demanded the Khwarezm Shah to turn over the vicegerent of Otrar. The Khwarezm Shah did not agree because the vicegerent of Otrar, Inal, was the Shah's maternal cousin. The Khwarezm Shah also killed Chinggis Khan's ambassador who brought the demand to turn over Inal.

A number of Muslim authors believe the Arab Caliph of Baghdad al-Nasir, who was hostile to the Khwarezm Shah, to have encouraged Chinggis Khan to wage war at the Khwarezm Shah.

Anyway, vengeance was the pretext and not the root cause of the war. 'The Secret History' of the Mongols reports vengeance to have been the main cause of the war with a meaningful remark, namely it was not the murder of his ambassador and merchants but rather the fact that 'the Sarataul people' took the liberty to 'remove the decorations of my (Chinggis Khan's.—Ye. K.) gold royal reigns with impunity' what Chinggis Khan avenged for [Kozin, 1941, p. 182]—that is, it was unambiguous that the Khwarezm Shah got out of the khan's hand. The sense of vengeance brought about 'rightful wrath.' Not every member of the urug—that is, Chinggis Khan's immediate family, shared his mystical belief that he was entitled to rule peoples. Many remembered Mongolia as it was only 20 years before. Tatar khan's wife Yesui declared openly that Chinggis Khan's 'enormous kingdom' would fall apart like a handful of hemp as soon as he died. His sons Jochi, Chagatai, and Ögedei could contest his power. At a family council Chinggis Khan appointed Ögedei his potential successor. When his elder brother wanted to assure him that the two of

them would serve their elder brother, Chinggis Khan uttered a remarkable saying, 'Why the two of you? Mother Earth is bid. It has many rivers and waters. You had better say you would rule foreign peoples separately!' [Ibid., pp. 183, 185–186]. He thus determined the future of the Chinggisids. One was to rule his native land, and others were to control other nations, those that should be conquered and to the extent that they would be conquered. The world was facing a charismatic figure, who derived his strength not only, speaking in modern terms, from the Cosmos, the Eternal Blue Sky, but from the traditions of the Central Asian empires, whose vast realms stretched from the Yellow to the Black Sea.

Why did Chinggis Khan hesitate to wage war at the Khwarezm Shah's state? He knew it to be weak. The Kipchaks, also nomads, who had long been rivals to the Mongols and Khwarezm shahs, lived in the north of the Khwarezm Shah's realm. They were easy to understand and had to be conquered or at best neutralised. Chinggis Khan realised that it would not be easy to conquer North China. He had failed to conquer even the small Tangut state, not to mention North China, the Jurchen state of Jin. The struggle would be long. It would require a new impressive external success and new resources. Chinggis Khan offered the Tanguts to join him against the Khwarezm Shah; but the Tanguts refused, so Chinggis Khan swore to exterminate them as soon as he returned from his western campaign.

When discussing the plan of the future war, the Khwarezm Shah and his people decided, quite unsoundly, not to give a general battle to the Mongols but to defend large cities, spare their forces, and scatter those of the enemy, who was good at open field battles but could not besiege cities. They failed to take into account the fact that the experience of being at war with Jin and Xia had taught the Mongols to besiege and occupy large cities, and they even had experts in this branch in their army.

In the spring of 1219 Chinggis Khan's army of 200 thousand people started a campaign against the Khwarezm Shah's state. Chinggis Khan took his time, apparently to instill diffidence in the enemy and avoid summer heat in

Middle Asia. This is why the Mongols spent the summer of 1219 in the Irtysh Valley. They waited for their horses to store some fat and become sturdy enough. Probably they also waited for their allies. Uighur Idikut Barchuk, the Turk-Karluks, headed by Arslan Khan and Suqnaq Teshi from Almalyk, who was controlling the former Western Liao, Kuchlug's domain, joined the Mongol army. Besides, Chinggis Khan's troops included Khitans from Jin, Kara Khitans from the Western Liao, Chinese from the state of Jin, all of whom, except for a few Jurchens, had taken the Mongol sides, Tangurs, people from Mongolia and Manchuria, Muslims of various nations in Chinggis Khan's service. The multi-ethnic army became known simply as the Tatars in Middle Asia, the Caucasus, later also in Eastern Europe, the Kipchak-Polovtsian land, in the Bulgar state, in Russian principalities, in Poland, Hungary, and Western Europe.

Chinggis Khan, who knew that no united army of the Khwarezm Shah was going to check their invasion, divided his troops into four columns. He personally led one of them, the main one. His best commanders, Jebe and Subutai, commanded the troops directly. The column marched against Bukhara and Samarkand. Conquering the cities was viewed as its main mission. The second group of troops, headed by Chinggis Khan's sons Chagatai and Ögedei, was to besiege Otrar. The third group, led by Ulag Nayan and Suketu Cherbi, was to attack Khujand and Benakent. The fourth group of the army, commanded by Jochi, attacked the cities of Jand and Yangikent. Thus, Jochi's army was the northernmost one; the first central army was led by Chagatai and Ögedei; the second central one, by Ulag Nayan and Suketu Cherbi; the southernmost, by Chinggis Khan, Jebe, and Subutai. They attacked the area of the lower and upper reaches of the Syr Darya and the valley of the Zeravshan River, a tributary of the Amu Darya. The Khwarezm Shah's camp lay south of the upper reaches of Amu Darya in the city of Balkh.

The Mongols had their major victories in the early spring of 1220. Bukhara fell on 10 February; Otrar was occupied in February; Samarkand, on 17 March; Sygnak, also in March;



Mongol troops chasing the enemy.
Miniature. Iran. 1301–1314.

Jand, on 21 April; Khujand surrendered at the same time. The enemy occupied a large part of the Khwarezm Shah's state within three months. The rulers of the cities of Kunduz and Balkh took Chinggis Khan's side of their own accord.

The Mongols were killing everyone who resisted. They used captives, women, and children to besiege cities as the *khashar*. All valuables became plunder; craftsmen were sent to Mongolia. Descriptions by Chinese, Muslim, and Christian authors of the epoch provide detailed information on Chinggis Khan's cruel methods of war.

The twenty-thousand corps of Subutai and Jebe were to catch the Khwarezm Shah. The Shah fled to Khorasan, first to the city of Nasa, then to Nishapur. Nishapur was conquered and reduced to ashes [al-Nasawi, 1973, p. 92]. The Khwarezm Shah hid on Ashur Ada Isle in the southern part of the Caspian Sea, near the mouth of the Gurgan River. He died there in December 1220. His son and successor Jalal al-Din buried him in the Ardahi Fortress. The Mongols occupied the fortress, exhumed the remnants of the Khwarezm Shah, and brought them to Mongolia, where they were burned when Ögedei became the ruler.

Chinggis Khan spent the summer of 1220 near the city of Nasaf. His corps moved to-

wards the city of Termez in the autumn. Having conquered the localities, he wiped them off the map, robbing and beating the entire population, ruining and burning down everything. He spent the winter of 1220–1221 on the banks of the Amu Darya. The Mongols were besieging Urgench, the capital of the state of Khwarezm shahs, in the lower reaches of the Amu Darya. Chinggis Khan wrote a letter to Terken Khatun, the Khwarezm Shah's mother, suggesting that she surrender. She refused. Terken Khatun was later captured along with the Khwarezm Shah's children and wives. As he was leaving the Khwarezm Shah's realm, Chinggis Khan arranged a victory parade. Terken Khatun had to lament loudly for her son's state while the troops were parading by. Then she was brought to Mongolia, where she lived in the khan's camp, feeding on leftovers from the khan's table until she died in 1233.

In the summer and autumn of 1221 major battles took place near Ghazna. Jalal al-Din was able to defeat the Mongols for the first time near Kandahar and Pervan. However, the Mongols occupied Ghazna in 1221. They inflicted a crushing defeat on Jalal al-Din in the battle on the banks of the Indus River on 23 November 1221. Jalal al-Din retreated to India, and the Mongols chased him along the Indus banks up to the city of Multan.

In 1222 Chinggis Khan's horde was camping north of the Hindu Kush. It was here that he got the unsettling news that 'the Tangut and Khitan (here the population of North China, Jurchens, and Chinese) people had taken advantage of his absence to cause disorder and riots among his subjects.' He decided to return to Mongolia. Chinggis Khan spent the winter of 1222–1223 near Samarkand; the summer of 1223 and the winter of 1224, on the Chu River; and the summer of 1224, in the Irtysh Valley, which he liked. He spent the winter of 1224–1225 near the Emil River before returning to Mongolia in 1225. Chinggis Khan's biography has a lot of mysterious sides. One of the mysteries is his three years' travel from Middle Asia to his homeland. In 1225 the office of *darughachi* vicegerents was introduced to Chinggis Khan's administration to control the conquered peoples. Mashut Hurumshi became

the darughachi of Middle Asia, and Mahmud Yalavach, of Yan (Beijing), North China. Jochi remained the ruler of Khwarezm.

The corps that chased the Khwarezm Shah was not satisfied when he died. The Mongols marched around the Caspian Sea to ravage the cities of Azerbaijan in 1221, enter Georgia in 1222 and crush the Georgian army in the Kotman Valley. They entered the North Caucasus—via Shamakhi—Derbent—to defeat the Kipchaks and the Alans and crush the joint Kipchak and Russian forces in the Battle of the Kalka River on 31 May 1223.

The conquest of Middle Asia was the pinnacle of Chinggis Khan's life-long 'western' expansionist policy if we view his campaigns against the Great Xia and Jin as his 'southern' policy. The voluntary submission of the Uighurs and the Turk-Karluks, the fall of the Kara-Khitan state, occupied by Naiman Kuchlug, and the involvement of the Uighurs and the Karluks in the western campaign all contributed to it. Hardly any detailed information is available on the Uighur and Karluk annexation. Why did the state of Khwarezm Shah become the second target of revenge? The Jurchen people were the first. The Tanguts were to become the third. Even though his state was rather weak, the Khwarezm Shah was another claimant to 'world dominance,' just like Chinggis Khan. 'The Ruler of the West' came to contest the power of 'the Ruler of the East.' Chinggis Khan had no rivals in Jin, Xia, or the Southern Song. South China was in fact his ally in those years.

Thus, having neutralised Jin and Xia, whom he even put at war with each other in 1214, Chinggis Khan used nearly all of his power—and that of his allies—to attack his rival, the Khwarezm Shah. The 'Islamic factor' was of importance, too. Though the relevant literature might seem to be extensive, the role of Muslims in the development of the Yeke Mongol Ulus, the Great Mongol State, and in the domestic and foreign policy of Chinggis Khan and his successors has not been studied in depth. However, their role was significant, more significant than that of the Khitan (Yelu Chucai), who were ethnically close to the Mongols and even the Chinese. Chinggis Khan's Muslim advisors had a better understanding of the Muslim world than they had of the Chinese one and a better idea of what the Mongol cavalry could conquer there, though they probably did not expect the campaign to be so devastating. The Turkic-Kipchak factor, the deep Turkic-Mongol conflict in Khalkha, of which scholars only have a general idea associated with the outcome—the Turks being forced out of their homeland Mongolia—also made a significant contribution to the western campaign.

The conquest of Middle Asia, the defeat of the Caucasian rulers and that of the Kipchak-Russian group on the Kalka River, and the ambition to finish the Kipchaks, all initiated new campaigns in Eastern Europe. After a little more than ten years this had become an urge to own any land where the hoof of the Mongol horse could trample.

§ 4. The Eastern European Campaigns of 1223–1240

Iskander Izmaylov

The campaigns in Eastern Europe by Jebe and Subedei in 1223 and Jochi's campaign from Khwarezm to the Trans-Volga Region. The history of the conquest of western countries and territories is an important chapter in the history of the Great Mongol Empire, which determined the establishment of the Jochid Ulus on its historically largest area. It is directly connected to the issue of the Jochids' hereditary domain and their right to conquer

countries that lay in their way to the 'last sea.' Jochi's hereditary ulus, which Chinggis Khan apparently allocated to him in 1207–1208, initially lay in the west of the Mongol State. Data given by Rashid al-Din suggests that Jochi's wing contained four Mongol thousands from the Sijiut, Kingit, and Hushin tribes [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 274]. It is quite obvious that the thousands were guard detachments, the basis of the future Jochid army. They were on

the front line of the war against nomadic peoples: first the Merkits and the Naimans, who had retreated to the Irtysh basin and Eastern Turkestan; then with the 'forest peoples'—the Oirat, Buryat, and Kyrgyz people [Buell, 1992, pp. 1–32]. Successful campaigns and diplomatic actions caused the Jochid Ulus to become well-established as the western flank and a foothold against the Kipchaks and other western countries. Already during the reign of Jochi, detachments of Oirat, Kyrgyz, Uriankhai, and later also other Turkic-Kipchak and Tatar tribes, who were annexed or expressed their loyalty to Chinggis Khan in 1207–1211, were included in his troops. The northern territories of the Altai Mountains, the Transbaikalia, and Minusinsk Hollow were finally conquered in 1217, when Jochi's commanders defeated the Khor-Tumats.

Extremely significant events took place in the following year—that is, 1218. Willing to get hold of Kuchlug's state from the north and finally defeat the Kyrgyz and other 'forest peoples' as well as the Merkits, who had been getting stronger, and the remnants of other tribes crushed by Chinggis Khan who had joined them, Chinggis Khan sent troops, led by Jochi and directly commanded by Subedei and Tokhuchar, to the Turgai Steppe. According to Subedei's biography in 'Yuanshi,' he 'marched a large army to the Chan River, faced the Merkits, captured two commanders, and subjugated their people completely after two battles. Their head Qutu fled to the Kipchaks; Subedei chased him until they had a battle in the Kipchak land near the Yuyu mountain valley, and he defeated him' [Khrapachevsky, 2004, pp. 498–499]. This apparently describes the Battle of the Irgiz River, one of the outcomes of which was the first battle against the Khwarezm Shah's troops. Importantly, it was the first time that Jochi's troops had fought against the Kipchaks. T. Allsen believes that it refers to the nomadic Yemek state, headed by the Olburi (Ilbure) clan, which lay in the Aral and Trans-Volga Regions [Allsen, 1983, pp. 9–10; Allsen, 2003, 3/4, p. 130] (for more details on this clan see: [Golden, 1986, pp. 5–30]).

The following large-scale war against the Khwarezm Shah, which ended with the fall of

his empire and the annexation of Mawarranahr, Khwarezm, and Khorasan by the Mongol Empire, had a crucial outcome for Jochi and his descendants. Their ulus extended nearly to the Yaik (Ural) River, while in the south they, to some extent, controlled Khwarezm and the cities on the banks of the lower reaches of the Syr Darya (for details see: [Togan, 2002, pp. 146–187]). A war against the Kipchaks and the Yemeks was clearly on the agenda. However, the sequence of events led to this to being not a war against separate Kipchak tribes but against a coalition of Volga-Ural peoples and states.

The military conflict that lasted for almost 5 years began in 1223. In fact, it was triggered in 1220, when three tumens, commanded by Subedei, Jebe, and Tokhuchar, were sent to Khorasan in pursuit of Khwarezm Shah Muhammad. After he had been reported dead, they were sent to conquer the western part of the state of the Khwarezm shahs—Arran, Azerbaijan, Iraq, and Shirvan' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 225]. Tokhuchar fell in one of the battles; his tumen apparently was partly killed and partly reallocated among other Mongol corps. Episodes of bad luck did not affect the campaign in general. Subedei and Jebe's victories over the Georgian troops had already brought about the conquest of Transcaucasia in 1221. It seemed that their mission had been completed. However, they suddenly turned around to travel to the North Caucasus via Derbent.

Having fought their way through the eastern foothills of the Caucasus, they reached the plains of the North Caucasus. An alliance of Kipchak and Alan troops tried to halt their advance there. Both armies fought with courage and bravery. The Alans and the Kipchaks could not retreat, which would mean leaving their country to the merciless conquerors. However, to lose would mean death for the Mongols, too. The brutal battle had no winner. The Mongols then resorted to cunning. They bribed the Kipchak leaders, also promising to leave their camps intact. This proved to be decisive. The Kipchaks left their ally, thus dooming them to defeat. The Mongols then attacked the Kipchaks, who had believed their assurance of friendship. According to the same Arab chroni-



The battle between Russian troops and
Mongols. Miniature.
Illuminated Chronicle of the 16th century.

cler, 'the Mongols descended upon them all of a sudden, killing everybody they could find, and took twice as much as they had given them.' The effect of the attack was especially severe on the Don and North Caucasian Kipchak unions of Yuri Konchakovich and Danik Kobyakovich. To quote Ibn al-Athir, 'the Kipchaks fled without beginning the battle and disappeared; some hid in the swamps, others, in the mountains. The rest went to the land of the Russians [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 26].

The Kipchaks had to escape to the Russian borders, so the Khan of the Dnieper Kipchaks, Kotyan, asked Russian princes for help. Realising the threat to the Russian Lands, the principal southern Russian princes faced the Mongol troops. They turned to other princes for aid. Their primary argument was Khan Kotyan's words, which the First Novgorod Chronicle has preserved, 'They have taken our land today, and they will have taken yours tomorrow'

[Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 3, p. 62], and also generous gifts presented by the Kipchaks. A Mongol embassy arrived in Kiev at that moment to discourage the Russian princes from helping the Kipchaks, assuring them that they were not intending anything against the Russians, and that their campaign was aimed exclusively at the Kipchaks, 'them heathen Polovtsians, men, and horses' [Ibid.]. However, the Russian princes rightfully refused to believe them, and the gathering of princes in Kiev decided to provide aid to the 'heathen' Kipchaks.

At that time the Mongol troops, having completed a raid on the Azov Sea Region, entered the Crimea and ravaged Sudak, interrupting the Black Sea trade [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 26]. From there they moved to the Dnieper River Region for the city of Zarub, where they found out that the Russian princes had departed. The joint Russian and Kipchak army was a considerable force. The Mongol troops had to face Mstislav of Kiev, Mstislav of Galicia, Mstislav of Smolensk, Daniel of Volynia, and more princes with their druzhinas. The Kipchak detachments, headed by several khans, were also quite large. For instance, the horde of the Kotyan khan, who had already fled to Hungary after the battle, alone was powerful enough to constitute a self-sufficient army. Therefore, the allied troops must have included as many as 40,000 warriors in total.

According to the Russian chronicle, Subedei and Jebe turned to the Russian princes with an offer of peace, 'we have heard you march against us on the request of the Polovtsians; we won't enter your land and attack your cities or yourselves, nor will we attack, God so willing, those heathen Polovtsians, men and horses; make peace with us; fight against them when they come to you and take their goods, for we know they have done a lot of harm to you; this is why we wage war against them' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 3, p. 62], suggesting that they would not provide any aid to the Kipchaks. They even killed their ambassadors and moved on to the steppe.

Curiously, the famous historian L. Gumilyov tried to present the situation as if the Rus-

sians thereby triggered the further campaigns and the conquest of Russia. He called what happened 'a base crime, when one murdered one's guests and those who trusted one!' He further wrote, quite emotionally, that 'there is no evidence that the Mongols' proposal of peace was a diplomatic trick...; the Mongols sincerely wanted to make peace with the Russian, which became impossible after the treacherous killing and unprovoked attack' [Gumilyov, 1992, p. 501]. It is unclear how the author knew the Mongol chiefs to have been 'sincere,' which is certainly not suggested by events of Subedei and Jebe's Caucasian campaign. Suffice to say, they deceived the Kipchaks to make them leave their Alan allies alone. Even if the Russian princes only had a small amount of information on the then-recent battle, which is hardly possible because many of the Kipchaks 'went to the land of the Russians,' they clearly wanted to halt the Mongol attack on the distant approaches to their frontiers. Besides, as Ch. Halperin correctly noted, it was common for Mongol ambassadors to be assaulted and insulted in different territories and countries, and they were often too impudent, as though it was their ambition to trigger Mongol expansion by dying, to view the act as universal vengeance [Halperin, 1998, pp. 322–323].

The outcome of the steppe campaign was the notorious Battle of the Kalka River on 31 May 1223. The joint army of the southern Russian princes and the Kipchaks, about twice as large as that of Subedei and Jebe, was defeated and nearly annihilated. Numerous works have been written on the events preceding the battle and its course due to a number of sources, including Russian chronicles, providing a detailed account of that year—from N. Karamzin and S. Solovyov to B. Grekov, I. Danilevsky, and R. Khrapachevsky, who studied different aspects of the event in detail.

It is only safe to say that the victory can be attributed to the tried and tested tactics of the Mongol troops, who employed tactical withdrawal, enveloping, and launch and attack. The commanders used similar tactics when they crushed the troops of King Lasha of Georgia on the Beruji River (Jegam Chai) [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 228]. Ibn al-Athir described the

course of the battle as follows: 'The Russians and the Kipchaks, who had prepared for a battle against them (the Mongols—I. I.), took the way of the Tatars to meet them before they entered their land and repel them from it. The Tatars found out that they were approaching, and they hurried to retreat. Then the Russians and the Kipchaks wanted [to attack] them. Thinking that they had turned back because they were afraid of them and were not strong enough to fight against them, they began to chase them with perseverance. The Tatars did not stop retreating. They chased them for 12 days, [but] then the Tatars turned back to face the Russians and the Kipchaks, who did not notice them until they had run into them; [it happened very suddenly] for the latter because they had believed themselves to be safe against the Tatar, being confident that they were superior to them. Hardly had they gathered for a battle when the Tatars attacked there with significantly larger troops [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, pp. 26–27]. Russian chronicles give a similar account of the final stage of the battle. The united troops crushed the Mongol advance detachment and killed its commander Gemyabek. Then '...the Russian princes along with their troops went to the other side of the Dnieper, and they moved like this for 90 days' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 3, p. 62]. Having reached the bank of the Kalka River, the allied troops began to set up their camp along its banks. The princes were sure that the Mongols were weak and were fleeing to escape a crushing defeat. Their overconfidence cost them dearly. All of a sudden on 31 May 1223 a battle broke out that became a real disaster for the joint army. Without encountering the enemy, Princes Daniel of Volynia and Mstislav the Bold of Galich, followed by Kipchak detachments, began to move to the other bank of the river: 'they crossed the Kalka River, sent Yarun with Polovtsians to be the guard while they made a camp there [Ibid.]. The princes suddenly faced the enemy, who had been avoiding the battle for such a long time. Prince Mstislav 'saw a Tatar regiment; he went back and said, 'Get armed.' Mstislav and the other Mstislav in the camp did not know anything about it. Mstislav did not tell them



Commander of the Golden Horde.
Reconstruction by M. Gorelik

because he envied their large domain.' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 2, 1998, Column 743]. In the meanwhile, what had seemed to be a skirmish with the advance detachment of the Mongols developed into a battle, for which the allies were unprepared. Though the chronicler, who described the Battle of the Kalka River in the Galician-Volynian Chronicle, tried to shift the blame onto the Princes of Kiev and Chernigov, who did not support the attack of the Galician and Volynian troops and even neglected Mstislav the Bold's warning that they should arm for a battle, it is largely Mstislav who is to blame. First, he started the attack before the Kiev and Chernigov troops were there to help him. Second, according to an earlier narrative in the Novgorod Chronicle, which is independent of that in the southern Russian chronicles, it appears that it was the Galician and Volynian regiments that were not prepared for the battle. 'Then Yarun attacked them for a battle, and the Polovtsians, who were not prepared, fled, so did the regiments of the Russian

princes for they had not been able to get armed against them; a great commotion began, and a fierce and violent battle took place' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 3, pp. 62–63].

Taken together with the report by the Arab historian, the data is helpful for reconstructing the general course of the battle. The Arab historian's mention (there is no equivalent in the Russian sources) of the numerical advantage, provided that it is not a literary allegory of an educated author trying to justify the disgraceful defeat of the joint troops by attributing it to 'circumstances beyond control,' obviously means that the Mongols directed all their forces at the chasers, whose army was stretched all along the steppe, forcing a series of battles and forcing the advance regiments, especially the Kipchaks, to flee, and attacked the united army part by part. It appears that even the Galician and Volynian troops were not ready ('for they had not been able to get armed') and were wiped off the battlefield. The two princes fled in advance of their troops until they reached the banks of the Dnieper too fast for the Mongols to catch them.

It was the troops of Chernigov and Smolensk who tried to resist; but they were defeated. Only the Kiev part of the army remained in the battlefield. 'At seeing this evil, Prince Mstislav of Kiev did not move; he stood on a hill above the Kalka River as it was a rocky place; there was a city, and he fought with them for 3 days. The rest of the Tatars marched against the Russian princes, forcing them to fly to the Dnieper; near the city 2 commanders, Tygrykan and Teshukan, remained against Mstislav' [Ibid.]. Having failed to occupy the fortified camp by storm and siege, the Mongol nayons sent Brodnyk voivode Ploskinya to the Prince of Kiev. He persuaded the Russians to surrender, promising that the Mongols would spare their lives, which they did not—they killed the princes, voivodes, and common soldiers. Prince Mstislav of Kiev was killed among them; Mstislav of Chernigov, his son, and four more princes fell in the battlefield. The troops suffered dramatic losses; the number of casualties from Kiev alone was up to ten thousand [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 1, p. 447]. 'Yuanshi' reports in the biography of Hesimaili

(apparently a Muslim named Ismail), '...they reached the Russians and attacked them. They subjugated them in the Iron Mountains. They conquered their ruler Michirisil (Mstislav). Jebe ordered Hesimaili to present him to Zhuochi. They executed him [Mstislav]' (quoted by [Kychanov, 1995, p. 196]).

The victory on the Kalka River proved the Mongol troops to be tactically flexible and well-trained. However, it cost them a lot. For instance, the battle is described as 'most bloody' in Subedei's biography [Khrapachevsky, 2004, p. 513]. Chasing the fleeing warriors, Subedei and Jebe reached Novgorod of Svyatopolk, burning down villages and killing people on their way.

Then the Mongols went to their summer camping grounds, apparently in the Don River Region, ready to move towards the Great Bulgaria. However, a dramatic failure awaited them. The Bulgar troops apparently defeated the victorious troops of Subedei and Jebe in the autumn of 1223. Importantly, it is not the Bulgar's numerical advantage but their successful tactics that ensured the victory. As has been already mentioned above, it appears that G. Belorybkin discovered some traces of the battle near the ancient town of Zolotarev near Penza recently.

T. Allsen once raised the curious issue that other detachments from the Jochid Ulus began to attack the Turks of the Northern Aral Sea Region at the same time as Subedei and Jebe advanced to the North Caucasus from Western Asia. The historian referred to some reports by Juwayni to state that Jochi himself led the campaign, starting his attack at the Kangly simultaneously with Subedei and Jebe's campaign [Allsen, 1983, pp. 10–14]. As a result, the two armies merged apparently in the Trans-Volga Region. This must be what Juwayni meant when he wrote that after 1222 'Tushi's army was in Desht-i Kipchak and nearby; they joined each other and from there came to Chinggis Khan' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 21]. Sources do not report any major successes by Jochi against the Kangly, although it appears that they were largely subjugated or exterminated because Subedei's biography

in 'Yuanshi' claims that, when Subedei had returned from the long campaign, he 'reported to the throne that 'thousands' of Merkits, Naimans, Kireis (probably Keraites or Keray/Geray.—I. I.), Kanglys, and Kipchaks should form a united army. [Chinggis Khan] followed his advice' [Khrapachevsky, 2004, pp. 500–501]. That is to say, there is evidence that the Kangly had been subordinated by that time.

Thus, the campaign of 1222–1223 can only be viewed as an 'exploratory' one by Russian historians. It appears to have been a well-planned, though not so well-coordinated and much worse-implemented, military operation. It is natural when we take into account its large territorial scale and how difficult it was to supply and reinforce the army. It is entirely possible that the attacks were targeted at the Bulgar territory on the Lower Volga—Saqsın and a number of other cities. However, it looks like Subedei and Jebe, having defeated the Saqsın people and the Alans in the North Caucasus in pursuit of their mission, deviated heavily to the west. It is unlikely that they encountered the Russian princes deliberately. However, their success on the Kalka River demonstrated the power of the Mongol army, which then moved to the Volga Region to complete their direct combat task. But their luck did not hold. Having suffered a crushing defeat on the Bulgarian borders, Subedei and Jebe were unable to provide any effective help to Jochi's troops. However, the latter succeeded. Holding the Bulgar troops in position, they prevented them from providing any efficient aid to the Kipchak unions, which were falling one by one in a losing battle. In a manner of speaking, it was the simultaneous attack on the Kipchaks—from the Caucasus on the south and from Khwarezm on the east—that opened the new stage of the Mongol conquest of Eurasia, marking the beginning of the subjugation of Eastern Europe.

The Trans-Volga Campaigns of 1229–1234. The campaign of 1223 showed to Mongol rulers that to conquer the West would require major military effort, which was impossible because the Mongols had overstretched lines of communication and were exhausted. They needed to take a pause and reinforce their power in their newly conquered countries. It was

all the more important because those were far from subjugated, and some centres of rebellion remained unsuppressed. This was the situation when new administrative and territorial units, namely 'thousands' of conquered peoples—the Merkits, the Naimans, the Keraites, the Kipchaks, and the Kangly—were established in the Jochid Ulus [Khrapachevsky, 2004, p. 500]; a Yemek-Olburi corps was formed somewhat later [Golden, 1986, pp. 5–30; Allsen, 1983, p. 14; Allsen, 2003, 3/4, p. 133]. Centres of rebellion were gradually suppressed, rebels killed, and local Mongol administrations reinforced. The new campaign in the Trans-Volga Region of the Southern Urals was postponed because a new war broke out against the Tangut state, Xi Xia, where all forces were sent, in particular, Subedei and Jebe with new detachments composed of Turkic tribes.

Apparently there were other internal reasons. The relationship between Jochi and his father deteriorated dramatically. According to Rashid al-Din, Chinggis Khan, before he returned to Mongolia, 'ordered Jochi to start a conquering campaign and occupy northern areas, such as Kalar, Bashgird, Urus, Cherkes, Desht-i Kipchak, and other areas there, but... he [Jochi] evaded the task and went away' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 64]. Chinggis Khan felt the fact that his son had ignored direct orders from the Great Khan outrageous and summoned him to inquire about the reasons. However, Jochi postponed his visit to the Khan's camp on the pretext of being ill. Chinggis Khan got even angrier when a Mangyt from Jochi's realm told him that his son was by no means ill but was indulging in hunting. An open conflict was about to break out. Chinggis Khan interpreted Jochi's actions as a revolt. 'Jochi must be mad to do this,' he said and ordered his army to start a campaign to capture his land. He wanted Chagatai and Ögedei to lead the advance detachment, while he was intending to follow them [Ibid., p. 65]. However, Jochi's mysterious death prevented the campaign from taking place. Rumour had it that he was dissatisfied with his father's policy and was poisoned (see references to sources and historians' opinions: [Kychanov, 1995, p. 205]). We do not know for

sure whether Jochi was the victim of a court plot or had really been preparing a revolt.

Anyway, a short peace was established in Desht-i Kipchak following his death. The Mongols did not care about the western territories because a war against the Xi Xia had broken out. Besides, Chinggis Khan died only six months after his son, after which preparations began for the Kuriltai, which was to determine the successor to the throne.

It was not before 1229 that Ögedei, after much negotiating, scheming, and compromising, was declared to be the Great Khan. Batu was officially approved as the ruler of the Jochid Ulus at the same Kuriltai—he had been previously appointed that on Chinggis Khan's order [Pochekeyev, 2006, pp. 63–65]. It is entirely possible that the Jochids lost control over the land west of the Irtysh River Region when Jochi was ostracised, and the new khan was being agreed on. It is hard to say what caused the changes to the frontiers. However, by losing the Altai Mountains, Batu received much more—his rights in his father's ulus and to the not yet conquered land in the west of Eurasia were confirmed.

The Kuriltai of 1228/29 'assigned him (Batu.—I. I.), according to Chinggis Khan's previous order,' along with his brothers and other princes to conquer the northern areas. The thirty-thousand corps of Quqdai and Subedei was provided to Batu and his brothers for the campaign [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 34]. Another army, commanded by Churmagun, was sent to Western Asia and Transcaucasia to suppress the last centre of resistance, headed by the successor to the Khwarezm shahs, Jalal al-Din Mingburnu.

Now that Batu's power and his troops had been reinforced, he could start to conquer the Trans-Volga and Lower Volga Regions. However, he had to face a powerful coalition of peoples who had united to resist the threat from the east. Domestic historians tend either to omit to mention the resistance or to describe it as abortive, thus presenting the war in the Trans-Volga Region as an introduction to the conquest of Rus' (for instance, see: [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 207; Cherepnin, 1977,

pp. 190–192; Khrapachevsky, 2004, pp. 339–340; Khrustalyov, 2004, p. 96]. This does not apply to works by Tatar [Khalikov, Khaliullin, 1988, pp. 4–22; Khaliullin, 1988, pp. 23–27; 1955, pp. 118–135] and foreign [Allsen, 1983; 1987–1991; Allsen, 2003] historians). The principal centre of the resistance was not the alleged 'state cities in the Volga Region,' as assumed by some historians [Khrapachevsky, 2004, p. 339], but Volga Bulgaria, which controlled some territory in the Lower Volga Region, and the Yemeks (Kipchaks), Alans, and Magyars (Majgards/Bajgards), who had joined it. The city and province of Saqsin (for more details on the province see: [Fedorov-Davydov, 1965; Izmaylov, 2006b, pp. 370–371]), most of its population being Bulgar and Suvar, was a centre of resistance in the Lower Volga Region in 1229. Most probably, it is Saqsin whose ruins Astrakhan archaeologists discovered near the village of Samosdelka in the Volga delta not long ago. Some discoveries, primarily the set of ceramic articles, suggest that it was the centre of Saqsin Province [Grechkina, Vasilyev, 2001, pp. 156–157; Vasilyev, 2004, pp. 36–38; Zilivinskaya, 2004, pp. 75–78]. It is entirely possible that the As people from the Don River Region were still staying in Saqsin as the Bulgars' allies after the campaign of 1223. The Yemeks, headed by the Olbari (Ilbari/Ilbure) clan (for more details on the Kipchak clan see: [Golden, 1986, pp. 5–30]), constituted the basic military element of the anti-Mongol coalition.

Unfortunately, we do not know the details of the war. There is evidence, however, that it was fought in the Trans-Volga Region. Almost the only source providing any detailed report on the events of the year is the Laurentian Chronicle, records in which could have been made by the Bulgars, who came to make peace with the princes of Vladimir-Suzdal in the same year. It reads, 'In the same year 6737 the Saqsins and the Polovtsians met the Bulgars in front of the Tatars, and the Bulgar guardsmen returned from the Tatars beaten, near a river, the name of which is Yaik' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1962, p. 453]. Eastern sources seem to have preserved some information on the war. For instance, the Arab author of the late 13th century, Ibn Wasil, reports, 'in 627

(1229/30) the flame of a war between the Tatars and the Kipchaks broke out' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 73].

Scholars have long noted that the report is to some extent connected with information on the first stage of the Mongol conquest in the area, collected by Friar Julian, who visited Bulgaria in 1235, and Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and William of Rubruck, who were travelling through the Trans-Volga Region. Both, with a number of differences, retell reports and rumour about a country named 'Sascia' (according to Julian), a 'Saxon' city, or a city of 'Summerkent,' which had resisted the Mongol troops violently. Most probably, all the stories referred to the same city, though its name differs, which is attributable to the sources' informers, not to mention that the city of the 'Saxons' is clearly a mistake, made either by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine himself or miscorrected by the copyist, who interpreted the unfamiliar name as 'Saxony.' It is not impossible that there were other settlements in the Volga delta. However, Saqsin was the capital and the centre of the area. It was its defence and fall that all witnesses described. Indeed, it would be strange if William of Rubruck had described the defence of a town without mentioning such a well-known event as the many years' struggle over Saqsin. Another piece of evidence that the sources refer to the same city is that the archaeological remnants of the ancient town of Samosdelka lie on an isle formed by Volga creeks. Quoting Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, '...they (the Mongols.—I. I.) besieged one city of the above Saxon people and tried to conquer them, but they made machines against their machines and broke all Tatar machines; so machines and ballistae preventing them from approaching the city for a battle; at last they made themselves an underground road and jumped into the city; some were trying to set fire to the city, while others were fighting. The citizens assigned the job of extinguishing fire to part of the population, while the rest fought bravely against those who had entered the city; they killed many of them and wounded others, making them return to their people; the Tatars saw that they could not do

anything, and that many of them were dying, and left them' [Travels, 1957, pp. 57–58]. When describing the Volga delta and comparing it to that of the Nile near Damietta, William of Rubruck mentioned that '...there is a city named Summerkent, which has no walls; but when the river floods, water surrounds the city. The Tatars had to stand at its walls for 8 years before they conquered them. Alans and Saracens lived in it' [Ibid., 185]. Since Julian said that he found out that Bulgaria and 'Sascia' had fallen in 1237, we can agree with T. Allsen [Allsen, 1983, pp. 15–16; Allsen, 2003, 3/4, p. 133] that the Mongols began to attack Saqsin in 1229, but the defenders held out for a while.

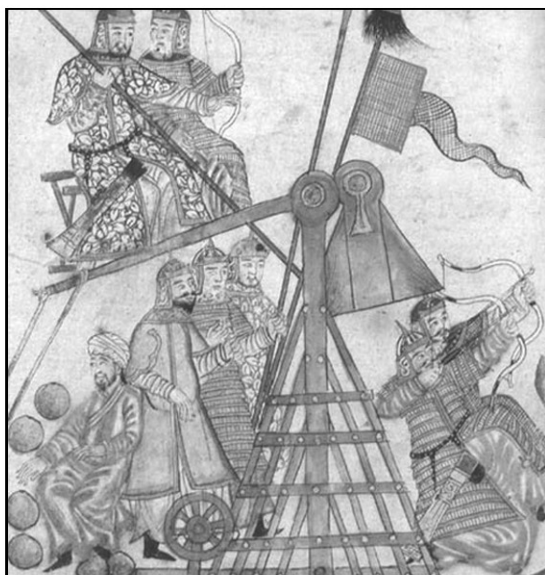
It is quite possible that the failure of the Mongol troops was caused, apart from the heroism of those who defended the Saqsin, by the Bulgar military power. The Russian chronicle indicates that Bulgar sentry detachments, supporting the local army of Saqsin and the Yemek units, were sent to the Trans-Volga Region. The Bulgars probably did it in response to the Mongol campaign against Saqsin. The general strategic situation enables us to assume that it was an attempt on the Mongol troops' flanks to prevent them from besieging Saqsin. The long-distance steppe campaign, which was unusual for the Bulgars, is attributable solely to this (assumed) reason. Anyway, the Bulgar troops moved to the banks of the Yaik (Zhayyq) River and had a battle with the Mongols. The Bulgars and their allies, the Saqsins and the Yemek, were eventually defeated. However, their sacrifice was not in vain. It was the second time that the Bulgars had disrupted a conquest of the Volga River by using various tactical defensive manoeuvres to break-in to the steppe.

The Bulgar support enabled the Yemek to strengthen their resistance. Assaults by the Mongol troops apparently forced the rebellious Kipchaks to retreat to the Volga River, but they did not cease to resist. According to T. Allson, this is when a power shift happened in the Yemek community. Part of them yielded to the Mongols and, commanded by Khan Banduchar (or Baltuchak; probably Bachman, see: [Kychanov, 2002a, pp. 79–80]), participated in the

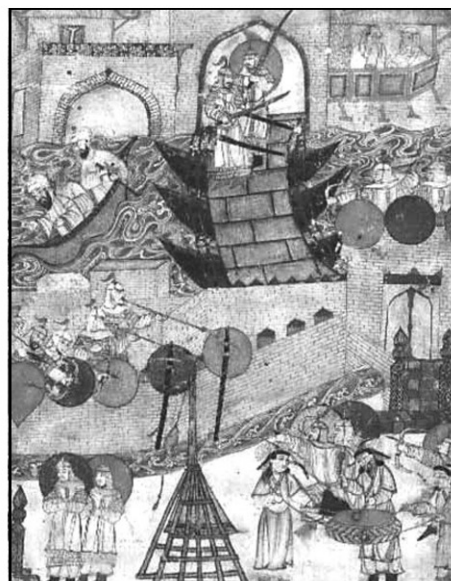
western campaign, while the rest continued to resist, led by Bachman [Allsen, 1983, pp. 16–17; Allsen, 2003, 3/4, p. 134]. It is hard to tell where his ancestral territory was; later Tatar sources located it on the Akhtuba (Ak Tuba) [Usmanov, 1972, p. 116], which is consistent with the report on his war against the Mongols in the Lower Volga Region. As reported by a witness to the events, Julian, the Magyars (Bajgarbds) of the Southern Urals, who undoubtedly relied on Bulgaria's military support, continued their struggle until as late as 1236.

Batu's campaign against Saqsin failed. The ruler of the Jochid Ulus had to retreat. However, he could not give up his plans of conquering the region. There were several reasons for this. Batu Khan dreamed of impressive conquests in the west to enlarge his realm. There was another reason. The resistance in the Volga Region could spread to the newly conquered areas. The Mongols had a reason to treat their new allies with suspicion; it was not uncommon for Kipchak detachments to take the enemy's side, as they did in China.

However, the general lack of success of his previous campaigns motivated Batu to change his tactics. Now the main blow was targeted at Volga Bulgaria. The campaign took place in the summer or autumn of 1232. We know even less about the campaign than about others (see overlook in: [Khaliullin, 1988, pp. 23–27]). The only source of information on it, the Laurentian Chronicle, provides the following brief report: 'In the year 6740 (1232)...The Tatars came and spent the winter there without reaching the Great City of Bulgaria...' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, 1962, p. 459]. Short as it is, it still enables us to infer that this time the struggle took place in the territory of Bulgaria, while the capital—the 'Great City' in Russian chronicles—or the historical Bilyar was the target. This also suggests that the invasion began in the Cis-Ural Region, the general route being via the basin of the Sheshma River towards Bilyar. However, the resistance of the Bulgars, field troops, and fortress defenders prevented the Mongol from breaking their defences and besieging the capital. Anyway, it is evident that the Mongols had to withdraw.



Mongols firing at the city from a mandzhanik (stone fougasse) and bows. Miniature. Iran, 1301–1314.



Mongols attacking the city. Miniature. Iran. 1301–1314.

The situation in Trans-Volga Region was paradoxical in 1234. In spite of a number of military victories and probably even a westward expansion of the Jochid Ulus, no decisive success had been achieved. This is why the author of 'The Secret History of the Mongols' had to note that 'Subeetai Bagatur met with powerful resistance by the peoples and cities, the conquest of which had been assigned to him,' which included the Kangling (Kangly), the Kibchaut (Kipchaks), Bachjigit (Magyars), Orusut (Rus'), Asut (As-Alans), Sesut (Saqsin), Bular (Bulgaria), and Kelet (probably a general term for the Polish and the Hungarians), 'as well as cities behind the deep rivers Adil and Jayah' [Kozin, 1941, § 270, pp. 191–192]. That is, the Jochid Ulus had not expanded significantly over 11 years of continuous frontier war (from 1223). It is no wonder that the author of the same 'Secret History of the Mongols' wrote frankly, speaking about the West: 'there are many hostile countries there, and the people are fierce. The people kill themselves in anger by throwing themselves on their own swords. Their swords are said to be sharp. ..' [Ibid., p. 192]. Having tried the sharpness of the enemy's swords, the rulers of the Jochid Ulus saw their military politics collapsing. The

dissatisfaction of the Jochids, who were definitely an important power supporting Ögedei on the throne against other Chinggisids, made the Great Khan receptive to Batu's requirements that they should begin a joint westward campaign. He turned back to the 'western' issue again and again, viewing it in the context of other wars—those against the Southern Song Empire, Korea, and Tibet.

The Kuriltai of 1234 resolved to assign to Subedei's corps to Batu. However, the experience of the previous years had shown this to be insufficient. The issue was becoming so burning that the khan had to take an unprecedented step. He gathered a new kuriltai after only a year. Apparently as a concession to the Jochids, the Great Khan had to proclaim an all-Mongol westward campaign, headed by Batu Khan. Ala al-Din Juwayni, who referred to the documentation at khan's chancellery (hence information similar to that presented by Rashid al-Din) and witness reports, was able to preserve interesting information about it. He wrote in 1252/53, fifteen years after the events. He reported: 'the kaan [Ögedei] gathered the Great Kuriltai for a second time, they [princes] met to discuss the extermination and subjugation of those who had not been conquered. They resolved to

conquer the land of the Bulgars, the Ases, and the Ruses, which lay near to Batu's camp. They had not been subordinated and took [vain] pride in the large number of their cities' (quoted by: [Arslanova, 1988a, p. 41]).

The Western Campaign and the Conquest of Volga Bulgaria. Additional taxes were collected within a short period of time, and conscription to the military began. Ögedei ordered as follows: 'Both great princes who rule appanages and those who have none must send their eldest sons to the war. Nayons of tumens, thousands, hundreds, and tens, as well as people of any income must also send their eldest son to the war. Princesses and sons-in-law must also send their oldest sons to the war' [Kozin, 1941, § 270, p. 191–192]. That is, each family was to supply one warrior. Such mobilisation of forces was unprecedented in the Mongol Empire. Many Chinggisids personally participated in the campaign in obedience to Ögedei's order. These included Chinggis Khan's youngest son Kulkan, Ögedei's sons Guyuk and Kadan, Tului's sons Mengü and Büchek, Chagatai's sons Buri and Baidar, and all adult Jochids—Batu, Orda, Shiban, and Tangut, as well as well-respected emirs such as Subedei Bagatur, Burundai Batyr, and several others [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 34].

How large the army was remains a controversial issue among historians. The 'last chronicler' N. Karamzin set the standard by writing, 'Batu's forces were superior to ours beyond comparison and were the only reason of his success; he then directly mentioned 'Batu's half-million troops' [Karamzin, 1992, IV, 1, pp. 13–14]. S. Solovyov believed the army to have been smaller, namely 300 thousand warriors [Solovyov, 1988, II, 3–4, p. 137]. Domestic historians largely believed the model and either mentioned the Mongol troops to have been larger 'beyond comparison' or accepted the number suggested by S. Solovyov (see works by I. Berezin, M. Ivanin, D. Ilovaysky, V. Pashuto, Ye. Razin, A. Strokov, and others).

Some time later attempts were made at using more realistic figures, based on some calculations. For instance, Soviet historian V. Kargalov rejected the number 300 thousand as

'dubious and exaggerated' and believed Batu's army to have consisted of 120–150 thousand warriors, assuming that each of the 12–14 Chinggisids participating in the campaign commanded 10–12 thousand warriors [Kargalov, 1966, p. 75]. There could be a point in it if we could be sure that each descendant of Chinggis Khan did command a *tumen* of 10,000 warriors, which is not beyond doubt. N. Munkuyev provided a more accurate estimate by assuming that, knowing that the eldest sons of all Mongol families were sent to the campaign, there could have been 139 thousand warriors [Munkuyev, 1977, p. 369]. Anyway, the figure 120–150 thousand warriors is the most popular with historians. It is usually composed of 50 thousand Mongol troops and 70–100 thousand Kipchak warriors and those of other ethnic groups. Some contemporary domestic and foreign historians share this opinion [Saunders, 1971, p. 81; Philips, 2003, p. 75; Weatherford, 2005, p. 279; Khrustalyov, 2004, p. 69; Khrapachevsky, 2004, pp. 182–183, 351].

G. Vernadsky [2000, p. 57], I. Grekov and F. Shakhmagonov [1986, p. 62], L. Gumilyov [1992, p. 518] estimated the Mongol troops to have been considerably smaller, namely 30–50 thousand people. This has been recently supported by a number of historians [Chernyshevsky, 1989, pp. 127–129; Choysamba, 200b, p. 68]. Others believe the enormous number to have been 'simply impossible' [Khrustalyov, 2004, p. 69]. In fact, it appears much more realistic if we take into account that this refers to the Mongol troops, the Chinggisids' guard, which obviously 'gathered' contingents of allied and subordinated peoples.

Quite naturally, the differences are attributable to our poor source base. On the one hand, there is a highly detailed description of the Mongol troops during the rule of Chinggis Khan, in fact a register, which has come down to us within the dynasty history 'Altan Debter,' states the number to have been 129 thousand in 1227. However, 'The Secret History of the Mongols' (about 1240) mentioned it as 95 thousand warriors [Kozin, 1941, p. 158]. In fact, we cannot be sure that all Chinggisids commanded *tumens*, and that the army sent to conquer the West was large because the Empire was

carrying out military actions on a number of fronts at that time. On the other hands, there are sources, primarily those by European travellers, which report much more fantastic numbers. For instance, Julian, referring to a Mongol ambassador as his source, claims the army to have consisted of 375 thousand warriors, including those from subordinated peoples, in a report to western rulers [Anninsky, 1940, p. 90]. Yet, the figure is hardly accurate because, as R. Pochekeyev rightfully noted, 'they merely represent the prophecy, which was very popular in the Christian world, 'about King David, grandson of Prester John,' who was to come from India to help Christians against Muslims' [Pochekeyev, 2006, p. 80]. That is, it would be reasonable to take a critical approach to such reports. Therefore, we agree with the historians who believe that no clear and objective evidence on the actual size of Batu's army is available to us.

At the same time, speaking of the Mongol army, we should take into account a number of facts that prevent us from accurately estimating the number of Batu's warriors participating in this or that military action. First, there is the myth of numerical superiority. The English historian J. Fennel, who had a generally unbiased and cautious approach, wrote: 'What enabled the Tatars to defeat Rus' so easily and so soon?...We should take into account the size and extraordinary power of the Tatar troops. The conquerors undoubtedly had a great numerical advantage over their enemy' [Fennel, 1989, p. 130]. Did they, however? The allies did not benefit from the fact that the Russian and Kipchak force was almost twice the size of Subedei and Jebe's troops. The Mongols won in spite of their being less numerous. What makes domestic historians be so sure that only a bigger army could defeat Rus'? Its mobilisation opportunities were far broader than those of Mongolia. For instance, the population of Vladimir-Suzdal Rus' in the early 13th century must have been as many as 1-1.2 million people, yielding almost a hundred thousand warriors. They would be dramatically inferior to Mongol horsemen in terms of skills and endurance, though. Quantity is not quality. Besides, the Mongols were good at military tac-

tics. They would skilfully coordinate their actions and raise tension in a number of locations, splitting the enemy's army and defeating it bit by bit. Taking this into account, the Mongols could be numerically superior within a certain location. Another factor, namely the army having been constantly refreshed from subjugated peoples, not only complicates the estimate but makes it highly relative.

However, even if the total size of the Mongol army commanded by Batu was 120 thousand warriors, we should take into account the fact that they acted in several directions, while still keeping a significant army behind the lines to maintain order in the conquered territories. Therefore, the army with which Batu conquered Rus' is unlikely to have been bigger than 30–50 thousand warriors. This does not seem likely given that the military actions in Rus' took place in the winter, while the Mongols had no supply bases. Most probably, they would have been unable to provide enough rations for the enormous number of men and horses (remember that each warrior had two to three horses). Anyway, R. Pochekeyev was right to state that 'what matters is not how many warriors Batu and his relatives had at their command during the western campaign but the fact that they won' [Pochekeyev, 2006, p. 82].

Batu was appointed Commander General of the Chinggisid army, while Subedei became his chief advisor. Being of non-Chinggisid origin, the commander and associate of Chinggis Khan played a most important part in organising and managing the military actions of the western campaign. To prove it, a Mongol captured by Russian warriors in the autumn of 1240 said: 'Even though he was 'not of his clan,' 'Sebedyai Bogatur' was Batu Khan's 'first commander' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, Column 781]. Other sources, such as his biography in 'Yuanshi,' confirm it [Khrapachevsky, 2004, pp. 501–504].

It was Subutai who began the attack on the Yemeks without waiting for the whole army to gather [Allsen, 1983, pp. 18–19; Allsen, 2003, 3/4, p. 135]. According to his biography in 'Yuanshi,' in the year Yi Wei (21 January 1235–8 February 1236) Kaan Ögedei 'ordered Zhuwang Batu to undertake the Western Campaign

against Bachman and said: '[We] have heard Bachman to have cunning and courage; Subutai also has cunning and courage, so he will be able to defeat him.' So he ordered Subutai to be in the advance guard and fight against Bachman and then also assigned [him] to command the main army. After that Bachman's wives and children were captured on (the bank of) the Kuang Tieng Chi Ssu (Caspian Sea). Bachman learned about Subutai's arrival; he got very scared and fled to the sea [Allsen, 1983, pp. 18–19; Khrapachevsky, 2004, p. 503]. This suggests that the defeat of the Yemeks, commanded by Bachman, was a prelude to the 'Western Campaign.' Being unable to check the Mongol advance, Bachman retreated to the lower reaches of the Volga and resorted to sudden raids on separate Mongol detachments. Thus, Subedei was able to prepare for a general attack on Bulgaria as his southern flank was in no danger of a Yemek counter-attack.

In the autumn of 1236 the united Mongol army set off for the Volga Region. According to Juwayni, princes went to their uluses after the kuriltai to gather their armies to reach the frontiers of Bulgaria in the spring. It is unlikely that D. Khrustalyov was correct in believing that Batu's army started the campaign as two wings, the northern one, commanded by Batu, invading Bulgaria, while the southern one, commanded by Möngke, was to subjugate 'the Cumans (Polovtsians), the Maris, and the Mordvin people' [Khrustalyov, 2004, p. 69]. Such dispositions are simply impossible both in military and in geographical terms. The author used isolated phrases from source texts to model a ridiculous campaign of the 'southern' (!) wing moving via the Kipchaks to the Upper Volga Region. First, a big Mongol army could not have gone unnoticed in the 'area of Rus' particular attention'; and the chronicles do not mention the event. Second, why should the wing fighting near Kazan be termed southern? It looks like the two wings are the author's fancy, resulting from his misunderstanding of clear reports in sources. Juwayni provided an unambiguous description: 'All princes went to their places of residence. In spring they set off and hurried to begin. The princes met within the territory of Bulgar. They were so many that

the earth shook, and even wild animals were astonished by how much more numerous and how noisy their troops were' (quoted by: [Arslanova, 1988a, p. 42]). Rashid al-Din's report is very similar. Only his information contains a mistake attributable to either him or the scribes, who misinterpreted the list of conquests as repeats, namely the conquest of the Bulgars (and their capital Bilyar) and the Magyrs (the 'Bulars' and the 'Bajgards') and the European conquest, where the target was 'the Kelars and the Bashgirds' (that is, the Polish and the Hungarians) are presented within the same narrative. The Persian author wrote that, following the Kuriltai, all princes 'set off together in the spring of Bieching Yil—that is, the year of the monkey, which is Jumadi II, the Hijra year 633 (11 February 1236–10 March 1236), spent the summer on the way, and joined Jochi's urug—Batu, Orda, Shibani, and Tangut, who had been assigned to the outskirts—that autumn' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 34]. We can infer that in the spring and summer of 1236 the troops of Batu and his brothers fought against the Magyars in the Southern Cis-Ural Region, while in the summer they attacked the Bulgars. At least Julian, who visited Bulgaria and the Magyars within a several days' trip from the Bulgar capital that summer and turned back on 20 June, encountered on his return a Mongol ambassador, who told him that 'the Tatar army, which was nearby, within a five days' passage from here, wanted to march against Alemanian; but they were waiting for another, whom they had sent to defeat the Persians' [Anninsky, 1940, p. 81]. That is, Batu's troops prepared for the Summer invasion while waiting for other Chinggisid forces to arrive to help them, which is fully consistent with the official Mongol tradition. In this respect, the words of the ambassador as well as his boastful statements concerning the size of the Mongol army ('the Tatars say that they have so many warriors that one could divide them into 40 parts, and no power of the earth could resist one of the parts' [Anninsky, 1940, p. 90]) could have been false information disseminated within the framework of a psychological war as it was common Mongol practice to spread rumours about how

many warriors they had and how invincible they were—note that they would become even more powerful after the victorious troops from Iran joined them—to demoralise the enemy. It is unlikely that Batu intended to split his forces since he had too much at stake, while the Bulgars were strong enough as an enemy to let them hope for success.

The Bulgars were not indifferent to the direct and obvious threat. There is archaeological evidence that old fortifications were rebuilt, and new structures, erected in a number of cities [Khalikov, Khaliullin, 1988, pp. 13–15]. The Great City was well-fortified for that time. It lay in the flood plain of the Maly Cheremshan, surrounded by concentric rows of fortifications. The inner city was protected with two lines of ramparts and trenches over 5 km long, and the outer city, with three lines of fortifications over 10 km long. It was, to quote Julian, the 'large city of the area' that could supply, 'as rumour had it, fifty thousand warriors' [Anninsky, 1940, p. 81].

The Chinggisids' invasion began in the late summer or in the autumn, following the campaign of Guyuk and Möngke's corps, apparently with several corps that advanced along routes converging to Bilyar (the 'Great City'). It is possible that autumn had been chosen deliberately as the time to attack. It was unusual to conduct military operations in Eastern Europe during the winter season. Perhaps nobody expected the Mongols to introduce such an innovation. Maybe the Bulgars, who had kept considerable military forces in combat readiness for the whole summer, had to release part of the troops for harvesting.

The Mongols apparently reached the walls of Bilyar rapidly, which would have been natural given their tactics, and besieged it. To quote Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's description of their siege technique, 'They conquer fortifications as follows. If they come across a fortress, they surround it. Moreover, they sometimes fence it so that nobody can enter or leave it. They fight with weapons and arrows bravely without stopping for a single day or night, so those at the fortifications cannot have a rest either. The Tatars do have rest because they split their troops so that one unit can replace another

in the battle, so they do not get too tired. If they fail to conquer the fortification in this way, they throw wildfire at it... they undermine the fortification and enter it with arms from under the ground. When they have entered, one part throws fire to burn it down, and the rest fight against the people at the same fortification...' [Travels, 1957, pp. 53–54]. Chinese sources provide a similar description of their siege tactics: 'Each time that they attack large cities, they first attack small cities, occupy them, bring along their citizens, and use them. Then they order each warrior to capture at least ten people. When they have enough people, each [captive] must [collect] a certain amount of grass or firewood, soil, or stones. When [people] are brought there, [they] fill and smooth out trenches; they use [some] for maintenance of [siege carts that look like] geese, storming domes, catapults, etc. They do not even spare tens of thousands of people. This is why everyone is captured when a city or fortress is stormed, without exception. As soon as the city walls have been broken, they kill everyone without distinguishing between the old and the little, the beautiful and the ugly, the rich and the poor, those who resist and those who submit, usually without any mercy' [Meng Da Bei Lu, 1975, p. 67].

It is beyond doubt that Bilyar was also a big, densely populated, and defiant city. However, desperate resistance was no use this time. The city was conquered and burnt down, its population apparently annihilated. The Laurentian Chronicle reports: 'In the year 6744 (1236)... the godless Tatars came to the Bulgar land from the eastern countries and conquered the Great City of the Bulgars, and killed everyone, the old and the small, with their weapons, and took a great amount of goods, and set their city to fire, and captured their entire land' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 460]. Juwayni provides a similar account of the events: 'At first they [the princes] conquered Bulgar, which is famous around the world as unapproachable and having a large population, by force and storm. They killed [part of] the citizens and captured [the rest] [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 22]. Archaeological discov-

eries to some extent confirm and complete the description. The Bilyar Archaeological Site (the historical Bilyar) was ruined completely, any life ceased to be there; traces of fire and destruction, mass graves, and separate human bones have been found in its top layer [Khalikov, 1984, pp. 82–98; Khuzin, 1988, pp. 43–58]. Having successfully stormed the most well-fortified and the strongest city of Bulgaria, Mongol detachments began to conquer other cities and localities. Approaching the borders of Rus' and Bulgaria in the following year, Julian found out that the country ('Fulgaria') had fallen, and that the Mongols had also conquered 60 well-fortified castles with populations large enough to provide fifty thousand armed warriors each [Anninsky, 1940, p. 85]. This report clearly has much in common with Julian's previous mention of the Bulgar capital. However, it contains some new information on the many conquered cities. It is entirely possible that the traces of destruction found in some archaeological sites are attributable to such a ravage (see: [Smirnov, 1951, p. 53 ff.; Kaveyev et al., 1988, pp. 58–71; Kazakov, 1988, pp. 71–82; Gazimzyanov, Izmaylov, 1992, pp. 79–89]).

There is no evidence that the campaign was rapid, and 'the Bulgars' resistance was suppressed in a moment,' as Rashid al-Din described the event seventy years later: the princes 'occupied it within a short time without any great effort, beat its population, and plundered it' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 34; Khurstalyov, 2004, p. 70]. We should remember that the description refers to the western campaign in general because it further described the conquest of the Christian country of the Bulars (Kelars—that is, Poland), and that Batu's army would have reached the frontiers of Rus' a year earlier if the Mongol victory had been that rapid. It was apparently a cruel war, and the victory cost more to the Mongols than it may seem. The devastation of Bulgaria and the extermination of the unsubmissive population were extreme.

Most probably, any organised resistance died away following the downfall of the Bulgarian defence centre. Only a few localities tried to repel the Mongols. However, extensive archaeological evidence indicates that all Bul-

gar citizens, whether resisting or surrendering, were destroyed. The fact that part of the Bulgar aristocracy took the Mongol side—namely 'the local chiefs Bayan and Jiku' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 35]—aggravated the military defeat. The memory is apparently preserved in the oral traditions. At least Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's companion and secretary Benedict the Pole wrote that Batu had waged war 'at the Bilers—that is to say, the Great Bulgaria, and the Mordvans and, having conquered their [nobility], made them part of his army' [Christian World, 2002, p. 112].

Victory over the Bulgars paved the way for the Mongols conquest of all of the Volga Region. Most probably, it was then that their army split and began conquering the lands of the Volga Region, one after another. It cannot be ruled out that in summer 1237 part of Batu's army retreated to the Trans-Volga steppes to take a rest and to remain, with some of its detachments staying in Bulgaria where they were suppressing some resistant towns and regions. Taking reinforcement from the conquered peoples was obviously a common practice. Thomas of Split witnessed: 'then, having their troops manned, mostly from the Cumans and other peoples they had conquered, they again turned against the Ruthenians' [Thomas of Split, 1997, p. 104].

The next blow was struck against southern Bulgaria and perhaps the Lower Volga Region. When exactly the region was completely conquered is difficult to say, but most probably it immediately followed the fall of Bulgaria—that is, 1237–1238. According to Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, some Saqsins were fighting so persistently it took serious efforts and some while to crush their resistance [Travels, 1957, pp. 57–58].

Sources offer rather scanty information on the events that followed. Rashid al-Din mixed information from different times when he wrote that '... in the year of chicken—that is, 634 year of Hegira (4 September 1236–23 August 1237–I. I.), sons of Jochi Batu, Orda and Berke, son of Ughetai-Khaan, Kadan, grandson of Chagatai Buri, and son of Chinggis Khan, Kulkan, made war with the Mokshas,

the Burtases, and the Ardjans and conquered them in a short time... in autumn of the year mentioned all sons of tsar who were there (on the Western campaign—I. I.) held a joint assembly, and all agreed to turn their arms against Russians [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 36; Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 38]. The passage cannot lead to an unambiguous conclusion on how the campaign was progressing. A mistake appears to creep into the sequence of events described by this Persian historian who had compiled his work from various sources. The events seem to follow a reverse logic: first, in autumn 1237 the Chinggisids held an assembly where they decided to unleash war against the North-Eastern Rus' and then raided the Sura River Region, where they conquered the Bulgar fortresses in the area of historical Bulgaria and subdued the Mordvinian tribes of Moksha and Erzya. Although it is quite possible that the assembly of the Chinggisids followed the conquest of Transsura Bulgaria, and it was that assembly that approved the campaign against Russia. This was proved by Julian, a monk from Hungary, who witnessed the event. In his other attempt to reach the pagan Hungarians, who lived in the eastern borders of Bulgaria and whom he had visited on summer 1236, he came to Suzdal in 1237 to learn that '[the Mongols] turned to the west and within one year or a little longer seized five greatest Pagan kingdoms: Sascia, Fulgaria, and 60 rather fortified castles.' 'In addition, they assaulted Vedin, Merovia, Poidovia, kingdom of the Mordans [Anninsky, 1940, p. 86]. Sascia and Fulgaria on this list are undoubtedly Saqsin and Bulgaria, Vedin is most probably the Sura River Region, and the rest are the names of areas in the Middle Volga Region.

However, it is certain that in late summer or early autumn 1237 Mongol forces crossed the Volga in the vicinity of a traditional crossing located near the Samara Bend. Obviously, that time saw the destruction of Bulgar towns on the Volga and the Samara Bend; the blow was so grave they never survived (see: [Matveyeva, Kochkina, 1998, pp. 41–42]). Historians have little doubt that from there Mongol army proceeded to the heads of the Sura and the Khoper

Rivers, to the south of Bulgar lands, where near the ancient town of Zolotarev the Bulgars had crushed Subedei and Jebe's armies in the year 1223 (see: [Yegorov, 1985, p. 181; Belorybkin, 1988, p. 85]). There archaeologists discovered numerous proofs of towns fallen: burned buildings, plenty of arrow tips, human skeletons, and separate bones. The destruction was complete and merciless. Unburned remains prove that probably all the people were killed, and towns were never rebuilt (see: [Belorybkin, 1988, pp. 82–87; 2001, pp. 181–182]). Such complete destruction and cruelty must have been revenge for the earlier defeat.

In the Sura River Region, the area around the Uza River became a centre for suppressing the resistance. A unique reference of the Novgorod chronicle I cast light on the circumstances of that campaign: 'In the year 6746 there came strangers called the Tartars to the land of Ryazan, and they were countless, like cockroaches; and the first ones who came approached Nuzla, and won it, and put a camp nearby. And from there they sent their messengers... to the princes of Ryazan... And the princes of Ryazan... together with those of Murom and Pronsk did not let them enter their towns but went to fight them in Voronezh' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 3, p. 74]. That Nuzla or Onuza [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 514] was a rendezvous area for Mongol troops; from there they began raiding the lands of the Mordvins and subdued them in very short space of time. Rashid al-Din seemed to be correct when he stated that 'tsareviches captured them in short time' as, with the fall of Bulgaria, its vassal Mordvinian princes just became the subjects of new rulers, and quite probable that year it was just a formal step for both sides. Batu protected his rear, and Mordvinian princes could hope that with the Mongols leaving they would gain independence from the Bulgars. In the absence of the unifying influence of Bulgars tribal leaders and local rulers either recognised the power of the Mongols or they resisted. For Mordovian lands this was clearly illustrated in Friar Julian's report: 'one prince with all his people and family resigned to the lord of Tataria, and another one with a handful of people head-

ed for protected places to defend themselves should they be strong enough' [Anninsky, 1940, pp. 85–86].

It was from the Nuzla camp that Mongol messengers were sent to demand obedience from Ryazan, and Batu's troops followed them as they obviously believed their demands were to be backed with the argument of strength.

1237 Campaign in the North-Eastern Rus'. The circumstances of the campaign in the North-Eastern Rus' have been well studied by historians since the times of V. Tatishchev and N. Karamzin. Recently the events of the Mongol conquest of Rus' were scrutinised in a number of serious works (see: [Danilevsky, 2001, pp. 133–180; Khrustalyov, 2004, pp. 72–189; Khrapachevsky, 2004, pp. 354–388; Pochekeyev, 2006, pp. 113–135], and that enables us to focus on the key events of the campaign. In spite of the fact that they were supported in several parallel texts of 13–14th century chronicles, there is no guarantee they contain genuine copied chronicle texts that failed to survive to today and had been compiled by witnesses or nearest contemporaries of those tragic events. Chronicle historians prove even the earliest revision of the Laurentian Chronicle was thoroughly rewritten in late 14th century. Therefore chronicles originating from it or from its later versions have much lower credibility. Of greater interest is information in the chronicles of Novgorod and the Galitsia-Volhynian Principality of southern Rus', whose authors used their own information and borrowed data from sources that had not yet been corrected by biased sources from Rostov. There is no sense at all in the attempted reconstruction of the Mongol invasion from 15–16th century written sources like 'The Tale of Batu's Capture of Ryazan or 'Tale of Mercury of Smolensk,' made by some historical researchers [Cherepnin, 1977, pp. 193–194; Khrustalyov, 2004, pp. 86–89; Choysamba, 2006, pp. 74–79, 96–98]. Some curious details can be found in the memoirs of European travellers, who lived at the time of Mongol campaigns. They could see the immediate results and relate stories told by survivors together with fragmentary mentions of Eastern authors (Juwayni, Rashid al-Din, 'The Secret History of the Mongols' and

Yuan-shi). Important, though mixed, archaeological data sometimes adds to the details in the overall picture of 'Batu's invasion' to Rus'.

Most of Mongol army was concentrated at the border of Ryazan principality, probably, in the vicinity of modern Voronezh, at the location of a small ancient town known as Semiluki, a centre of a neighbourhood subdued to the prince of Ryazan (for more details, see: [Tsybin, 1987; Pryakhin, 1988, p. 108–126]).

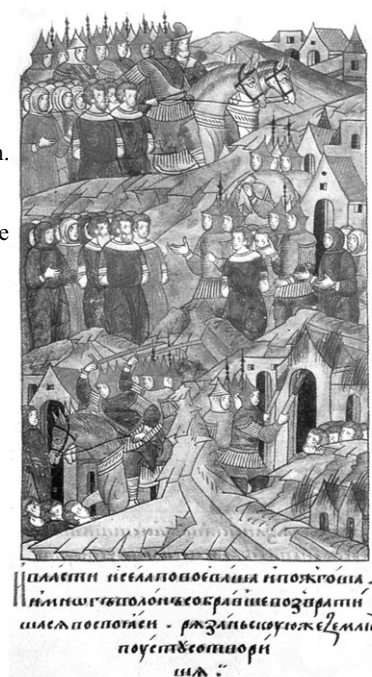
Invasion was not totally unexpected by the Russian princes, as rumours of the approaching Mongol army reached the rulers of Russian principalities. The roads were crammed with refugees and even Julian, a monk from Hungary, who barely spoke Russian, knew several Mongol armies were heading for Rus', and, apparently, Georgy Vsevolodovich, the Great Prince of Vladimir, personally retained some Tatar messengers, or scouts, who went to the king of Hungary. And yet, the Mongols attacked Rus' like a bolt from the blue. The prince of Vladimir and other princes could only be justified by the fact they had never expected 'pagan nomads' would dare to attack Rus' in winter; it had never happened before, as, usually, military operations were brought to a halt in the cold season. Perhaps, they planned to have strengthened their defences by spring, but Batu's campaign dispelled those plans. There was no effect of surprise, but Batu had a strategic initiative and the freedom of manoeuvre, the most effective weapon in the hands of Mongol warlords.

A Hungarian monk, Julian, collected valuable information on the approaching Mongols. When he came to Suzdal in Autumn, 1237, he had already learnt that 'pagan Hungarians, and the Bulgars, and many tsardoms were completely smashed by the Tartars' [Anninsky, 1940, p. 83], and his talks to refugees from those lands made him conclude that the Mongol army broke down into four parts: 'one, near the Etil river that borders Rus', came to Suzdal [Sudal] from the East. Next, from the South, already attacked the borders of Ryazan, another kingdom of Rus'. The third part stopped at the river Don [Den], near the castle of Voronezh [Ovcheruch], also a kingdom of Russians. As we were told by the Russians, the Hungarians

and the Bulgars who had escaped before, they waited for ground, rivers and marshes to freeze with the coming of winter, and after that the whole of the Tartars would easily rob all the Rus', all the land of Russians' [ibid., p. 86–87]. What can only be understood out of this confusing passage by Julian is that refugees saw Mongol troops everywhere and gave different information on the roads their detachments had taken to go to Rus'. On the other hand, it contains a positive record that it was only a part of the Mongol troops that set out against Rus'. Obviously there were some reserve units that were to cover the attacking armies from the south and from the west (see: [Khrustalyov, 2004, p. 98]). In any case, there are no grounds for thinking that the huge mass of cavalry numbered at many thousands (some historians estimate it to be between 70 and 120), with spare horses, could move compactly; however, there is no information that, before the invasion of Vladimir, Batu's army had been broken down by task groups. Most probably, what Julian described was an attack in depth, made by some large corps of the Mongols. With due consideration to the rear and covering units, the advanced corps of Batu could hardly outnumber 30 thousand, yet, as it moved forward, it embraced more tumens that covered their rear, supplied them with food and forage, and made regular rotation in tumens depleted in offensive battles.

Some chronicles contain a text on Batu's messengers, 'a woman sorceress and two men', who were sent to pass his demands to the prince of Ryazan, where 'he asked a tithe of everything: princes, peoples, and horses, a tithe of white ones, a tithe of black ones, a tithe of brown ones, a tithe of red ones, and a tithe of pied ones' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 514]. According to the same chronicles, no reply came from the prince of Ryazan; instead, he sent their requirements to his suzerain, the prince of Vladimir, Yuri Vsevolodovich, and, in addition, prayed for his help. That the whole story is a later addition, cannot be ruled out. It includes undoubtedly later features, such as tithe, although further chronicles never mentioned any messengers. Moreover, it is not quite clear, why Batu should send his messengers,

Batu Khan
burning Ryazan.
Miniature.
Illustrated
Chronicle of the
16th century.



when he was approaching Ryazan without waiting for the outcome of talks?

As soon as rivers froze, the Mongol army moved towards Rus'. Before approaching Ryazan, the Mongols had captured all the large cities of Ryazan Principality: Pronsk, Belgorod, Borisov-Glebov, Izheslavets. Plundering outlying areas solved many tactical tasks for the Mongols: when refugees (women and children) filled some town, they reduced its food supplies, whereas the Mongols got food and especially valuable forage, together with a workforce for labour-demanding siege works; the inhabitants of the town, on their side, were able to realise that they would be given no mercy.

The siege of Ryazan began on 16 December 1237, when all of the attacking army of Mongols gathered around the place. According to Rashid al-Din, 'Batu, Orda, Guyuk Khan, Mengu Kaan, Kulkan, Kadan and Buri, they all besieged the town of Arpan together and seized it in three days' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 36]. The event was also mentioned in the Bahn Shi: '[Mengu], together with Chzhuvan Batu, reached the town of Ryazan (Ye-re-zan), himself went to hand-to-hand fight and destroyed it [the town]' (cited from: Khrapachevsky, 2004,

p. 358]). The siege of Ryazan that lasted from three to seven days, according to different sources, was ended with an all-out storming that used various siege devices. As Yuan-shi wrote, 'Sili Tzyanbu, a man of the Tanguts, was with Chzhuvan Batu in his campaign against the Russians. They reached the town of Ryazan, were fighting there for 7 days and captured it' (cited from: [ibid., p. 258–359]). According to Russian chronicles, an all-out assault on Ryazan took place on 21 December 1237, the city fell, its defenders and almost all inhabitants were killed: 'burned all the place, and killed their prince Yury and his wife, and some—namely, men, and wives, and kids, and monks, and nuns, and hierarch, were cut with a sword, and some were shot with arrows, and some were thrown in fire, and some were tied, and nuns were raped, and priests' wives, and good women, and girls in front of their mothers and sisters' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 515]. Then, having captured Pereyaslavl-Ryazansky, the Mongols entered the kingdom of Vladimir and Suzdal.

The Mongols moved upstream along the Oka River and reached Kolomna, a rather strong fortress of the period and one of the centres of Ryazan Principality. As early as news spread on Batu's invasion in the lands of Ryazan, the great prince sent his voivode Yereimei Glebovich to Kolomna: 'sent Yereimei as a voivode to that fortress', and there he met the prince of Kolomna, Roman Ingvarevich, a brother of Yury, the prince of Ryazan. Probably they were joined by the remains of Pronsk detachments headed by the voivode Kir Mikhailovich, who brought to Vladimir the news about the attacking Mongols. When the Great Prince of Vladimir, Yury, learned of the fall of Ryazan, he decided to accept an open battle and sent an army, headed by his heir, to join the troops near Kolomna: 'Yury sent his son, Vsevolod, together with all the people' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, column 779]. Troops from Vladimir, with a squad of Romans and some detachments from Novgorod ('and people of Novgorod with their troops from Vladimir' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 515] made a formidable force. Its number is hard to estimate, yet it could be compared

with that of the Mongols, otherwise the latter would just smash the Russians, although sources agree the forces were equal. Russian chronicles are unanimous in seeing this battle as the most cruel and bloody in the whole period of 'Batu's invasion'. Generally speaking, the battle of Kolomna was the first attempt following the battle of Kalka, and the last one in that campaign, by Russian voivodes to fight a regular pitched battle with 'the Tartars'. Chronicles mentioned it was a large-scale battle with a huge death toll on both sides: 'and they were fighting severely, and there was a great battle, and the Russians turned them out to obstacles, where Prince Roman was killed, and Yereimei, the voivode of Vsevolod, was killed also, together with many men who died in the battle, and Vsevolod, with a small squad, ran away to Vladimir' [ibid., p. 515–516]. These sparse lines can hardly explain how the battle developed, yet obviously, the Russians, upon attacking the Mongols, succumbed to traditional Mongolian tactics of false retreat and were involved into the battle. The Mongols closed their wings and surrounded Russian regiments who fought their way to the city walls ('obstacles'), where the last cruel and bloody battle took place and only the squad of the prince's son Vsevolod happened to escape from it. Ryazan regiments headed by Roman Ingvarevich especially distinguished themselves in the battle: they had nowhere to retreat and only hoped to give their lives dearly. It is significant that they were the only ones Rashid al-Din mentioned in his brief record of the event: 'After that (the capture of Ryazan—I.I.) they (the Chinggisids) captured also the town of Ike. Kulkan was wounded there, and he died. One of Russian emirs, named Urman, went out with a squad, but it was smashed and he was killed...' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 36]. The report on Chinggis Khan's son death and the name 'Urman', that is Roman Ingvarevich, stand suspiciously close, suggesting the prince was Kulkan's killer (see: [Khrapachevsky, 2004, p. 361]). It was his feat of arms that, quite probably, became the foundation of tales about the deeds of Ryazan voivode Yevpaty Kolovrat, the legendary hero of war tales. The only death of a Chinggisid in the battle (by the way, the only one

throughout the Western campaign) is the best proof of how fierce and furious the battle was. In fact, the outcome of that battle shaped the whole development of the further campaign. Obviously, the elite of Vladimir's squad, the professional knight-hood, fell there, and for that reason there was no one to resist attacking Mongol troops. After the battle, Batu's army could easily, one by one, besiege and storm towns and fortresses without waiting for a strike from the rear.

After the defeat on the battlefield, the fall of Kolomna was just a question of time. After it was taken, the Batu troops moved to Moscow. According to the chronicles: 'The same winter Tatars took Moscow and killed voivode Philipp Nyan-ka, and the tsar Volodimir, and burned down the city and the churches and monasteries and all the settlements, and took a lot of property' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 460–461]. It is interesting to note that the information about it remained also in the official Mongolian stories: '... (then) together in five days they took the city Makar (Ucar, Iahn) and killed the prince of (the) city, named Ulaytimur' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 36, app. 6].

The fall of Kolomna and Moscow opened the direct route to the centre of Vladimir-Suzdal for Batu's troops. The absence of regiments capable of resisting the Mongols made their defence hopeless, therefore when he learned Moscow was taken, the Grand Prince Yuri Vsevolodovich left the Vladimir city heading for northern volosts, saying that he's heading for Yaroslavl to collect armies, probably meant to be led by his brothers Yaroslav and Svyato-



Итак ии доша попримету во градъ
Излааты хъвратиъ . талкоже ѡлыгъ
поуриинны прата . иомладныи га
коже ии доша попримету во градъ . и про
че ѡииндоуи сьгра рази
ша . Зиндоша
поныи ко
дмо
ни .

Conquest of Vladimir.
Miniature. Illustrated Chronicle
of the 16th century.



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Conquest of Suzdal.
Miniature. Illustrated Chronicle
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slav. 'Yuri left the Vladimir with a small družina,' writes the chronicler, 'he left the defence to his sons Vsevolod and Mstislav and went to the Volga River with his nephews Vasilk, Vsevolod and Volodimir, there he made a camp on the Sit River and waited for his brother Yaroslav with his regiment and Svyatoslav with his družina to join forces against Tatars' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 461]. It is possible that the Grand Prince was just fleeing from the war, counting on the power of the metropolitan centre's fortifications and hoping to sit out in the woods, waiting for enemy armies to leave. Vladimir was only left with a small družina and the sons of Yuri, Vsevolod and Mstislav were in charge of the defense.

Meanwhile, the Mongolian troops rushed to Vladimir and, showing the captured prince Vladimir to the besieged townsfolk, offered to surrender the city at the mercy of the victors, asking, 'Is the Grand Prince in the city?' But the townsfolk refused to open the gate, saying, 'Shoot arrows at the Tatars' [Ibid., p. 516] and on 2 February, 1238, the Mongols surrounded the city and besieged it.

At the same time, the Mongol detachments flowed into the surroundings, ravaging the nearby settlements. Within two or three days they captured the second capital of Suzdal and its surroundings, virtually unopposed by the demoralized people.

At the same time the surrounded Vladimir was heavily sieged. The Persian historian and panegyrist of the Chinggisids Juwayni describes this siege in the most general terms: '...they (the tsareviches) went to the lands of Rus' and conquered it up to the city M.k.s., its townspeople were as numerous [as] ants and locusts, and its surroundings were swamps and forests so dense, a snake couldn't crawl [inside of it]. The tsareviches surrounded the city together and firstly built such wide roads from each side that three or four wagons could go [there] side by side, and after that they put catapults in front of the city walls. After a few days only the name was left of this city, and they found a lot of loot [there]. They ordered to cut people's right ear. They counted 270,000 ears' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 23]. Aside from the exotic details, common for descriptions of the Northern countries, in fact we are talking about the siege and storming of the city, carried out according to the laws of military science. The city was flooded with refugees escaping from the enemies beneath its walls, when Mongols surrounded it and started to move siege engines to its walls and to the main Golden Gate. The chronicles recount it too: '...at the first Saturday of Souls (Mongols) supplied timber and at night they surrounded the whole city Vladimir with lath fences' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 462, 517]. As a result of many days of continual assault and bombing by stone-throwing machines, the city walls were brought down: 'Tatars approached the city, broke through the granite wall, filled up the moat with fresh woods and that way they entered the city' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 369], and the attackers rushed inside. According to another data, Mongols 'rushed into the city from the Golden Gate, from the Lybid River to the Gate of Irina and the Copper Gate, from the Klyazma River to the Volga Gate; and so they took the city

before the midday and set it on fire; Vladimir and Mstislav fled to Pechernij city' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 517–518]. After a short resistance the whole city was seized and burned on 7 February. According to the data of Rashid al-Din, Chinggisids: 'Besieging the city of Yuri the Great, seized (it) in 8 days. They fought fiercely. Möngke Khan himself performed heroic deeds until they defeated them (the Russians)' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 36]. Judging by the chronicles, both of the Vsevolodovich princes died along with the most of the people hiding in the city.

After destroying the capital of Vladimir-Suzdal, Batu divided his army into separate corps which were to suppress the last resistance and find the Grand Prince Yuri Vsevolodovich: 'And from there Tatars spread to all the lands' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 369]. Since no one in Vladimir, apparently, knew which way Yuri went, Batu sent troops in three directions. The chronicler wrote, that one detachment went to Rostov city and one to Yaroslavl city: 'from there they went to look for the Great Prince Yuri, some went to Rostov and the others to Yaroslavl' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 518], and it was the strong corps of Burundai sent there [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 779]. The other detachment was sent to the East, to the Gorodets on the Volga River: 'the others went to the Volga River, to the Gorodets city' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 518] and then 'took all the cities on the Volga River up to Galich city' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, col. 369]. Almost all Suzdal Opolye was ravaged in a month. The chronicles counted 14 only big cities: Yaroslavl, Gorodets on the Volga, Kostroma and Galich, Pereyaslavl-Zalessky, Tver, Yuryev, Volokolamsk, and Dmitrov. As a result of it, Mongol troops were provided with food and fodder, and if the opponent would start massive war actions, they would bleed him.

It is interesting that the chronicles directly contradict themselves, speaking of the complete defeat of Suzdal. Rostov and Uglich had been almost unharmed as they yielded to

the approaching Mongol armies. No wonder the Novgorod chronicler wrote: 'Rostov and Suzdal ended up differently' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 3, p. 288], apparently, emphasizing with these largest of metropolises the different fates of cities of Vladimir's land. In this regard it can be assumed that not all the cities mentioned by the chronicler were destroyed and burned. Many of them in the absence of power and organized resistance just paid off Batu's armies, giving him a ransom, food and fodder, and later the chronicler simply wrote down all the North-eastern cities to exacerbate the eschatological picture of the country's defeat in anticipation of 'the eighth day' (see more: [Danilevsky, 2001, p. 133–180]), but according to the historian J. Fennell the chronicle didn't have a complete 'idea of which cities were attacked by Tatars, which were ravaged and which were left aside' [Fennell, 1989, p. 120].

Batu himself went with the main army to the northwest, to Tver: 'to Yuryev, and to Pereyasavl, and to Dmitrov, and took all those cities; and the other took Tver and killed the son of Yaroslav there' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, col. 369] and after that he moved to Torzhok.

Meanwhile, corps of Burundai, having taken Yaroslavl, found the camp of Yuri and surrounded it. Apparently Yuri, hiding in the woods, did not imagine that the nomads would reach so far into the winter forest, or moreover, would bypass all his outposts and guard posts. Hardly, by following Russian historians, it should be assumed that the Grand Prince was waiting for reinforcements from his brothers—he got into the woods, where it was difficult to get there even in the summer, not to collect the regiments there as it was the worst place to start any military actions. The region, poor in people and food, could not become a base for a large army, and actions of a small detachment would be pointless at all. It seems that Yuri just fled the war and wasn't going to either initiate military actions or get caught, no wonder the later chronicles were full of descriptions of his melancholy and moral sufferings about Motherland's and his own fates, but there were no indications of attempts to take arms against



Storming of Kozelsk. Miniature.
Illustrated Chronicle of the 16th century.

'wicked Tatars'. But his attempt to hide from the war failed.

Burundai managed to teach one more lesson of military science to the hapless Russian commander. Apparently, he didn't just simply attack swiftly and suddenly, but also from the side where it was less expected. The unbiased southern-Russian chronicler directly stated that the main reason of Yuri's defeat was carelessness and inaction: 'gathering all the troops around him and having no guardposts, and the lawless Burundai rode down his whole town (that is fortified camp—I. I.) and killed Prince Yuri himself' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 779]. It is possible to assume that Burundai's corps didn't outnumber Yuri troops, and his *druzhina*—they were the remains of Vladimir professional army, were not much inferior to that of the Mongols.

On the morning of the 4 March 1238, the guarding detachment on their usual scouting reported: 'Prince Yuri sent Dorozha with 3,000 men to scout', have found some troops: '...and Dorozha came back and said: "Prince, the Tatars are close already!" Hearing that, the Prince mounted his horse, got together with his broth-

er Svyatoslav, his nephews Vasilk Konstantinovich, Vsevolod and Volodimer and all his men, and they rode against the wicked, and as the Prince started to place his regiments, the Tatars suddenly came down the Sit River, so the Prince went to them and the two armies met, and was that a fierce fight, and they ran from the foreigners, and the Great Prince Yuri Vsevolodovich was killed on the Sit River and a lot of his men died including Vasilk Konstantinovich' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 519; 15, p. 370]. Thus, the run-in quickly turned into a battle and the fight turned into the massacre of Russian soldiers who were caught by surprise. The battle on the ice of the Sit river ended in a complete defeat of Russian detachments, and some chronicles, describing the sudden attack of Mongols, emphasize that prince Yuri '...did not manage to do anything and fled; and on the Sit River he was captured and killed. God knows how he died: they say a lot about it' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 3, p. 288; 15, p. 370]. It seems that the rumors, hinted at by the Novgorod chronicler, were even more unpleasant for the Prince's reputation, so he was silent about them, just stating the flight and inglorious death. Rashid al-Din, concise as always, tells about it as a minor episode: 'the emir of this area, Vike-Urku, fled into the woods; he was caught and killed too' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 36–37]. Most likely, Burundai ordered to decapitate the Grand Prince to confirm his victory and prove that the legal authority belonged to the victors by the right of conquest [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 520–521].

Organized resistance in the north-east of Rus' was broken basically.

Even before the battle on the Sit river, Batu's advanced detachments besieged Torzhok on 22 February 1238. Unlike many others the city refused to surrender, and the Mongols started a systematic siege: '...they surrounded the city with lath fences, as they did with other cities, and sieged, wicked, for 2 weeks' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 370]. All Mongolian armies began to gather under the walls of Torzhok. When they

all gathered, Batu started to intensify the siege: 'the townsfolk pined, and there was no help from Novgorod, as they were all in disbelief and fear; and so the wicked captured the city...' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 3, p. 288]. The city was captured at March, 5 and was demonstratively destroyed. It kept the defense for 12 days, and even strongly fortified Vladimir held twice as less. Angered Mongols didn't just 'kill all men and women' but even run some townspeople who escaped from Torzhok and hunted them to the Ignach Cross: 'godless Tatars hunted them down the Seliger Road to the Ignach Cross, and mowed them all like grass, and only 100 verst was to Novgorod' [Ibid., p. 289]. At the same time, the main Batu forces were near the Tver and Torzhok, and the rest were scattered on the principality, going to rejoin.

The main goals of the campaign were achieved: Vladimir-Suzdal was defeated, its ruler was killed, there was almost no resistance. In addition, the troops were exhausted by continuous campaigns and battles, which lasted for five or six months already and they were burdened with trophies. It is unlikely that Batu planned to go North to Novgorod (see: [Kargalov, 1967, p. 106–108]). He understood as well as the princes of Vladimir that the one who owned Novgorod is the one who owned Vladimir, and an assault wasn't necessary to subject Novgorod. But if he would decide to continue the campaign and go to Novgorod, nor he or his troops could be stopped by the spring as his victorious tumens were not stopped by notorious 'General Frost' during a raid on the North-Eastern Rus'.

After Torzhok Batu began to go back to the steppes of the Upper Volga Region. According to Rashid al-Din: 'after that they (Chinggisids) left that place, as they decided on a conclave to go in tumens and capture and ruin every city, area and fortress they would see (on their way)' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 37]. It is possible that Batu was going to let his troops rest in the upper reaches of the Ob River and wait for rearwards to rejoin, so they could proceed into steppes together. It is also possible that this corps of Batu was already thoroughly battered

in the battles and the commander did not venture to proceed without the main forces. But in that point his troops met the strong resistance of the small but heavily fortified town of Kozelsk. Besides the usual for an ancient Russian town fortifications, it was protected by the very nature, as it was placed on a high hill on the coast of the Zhizdra River, which was flooded from the melting snow along with the local swamps [Rapov, 1983, p. 86]. Batu's army, weakened by the campaign, couldn't provide a straight assault, and siege engines were ineffective because of the environmental conditions. As a result, they had to wait for reinforcements, experiencing huge inconveniences. Moreover, the townspeople of Kozelsk performed successful raids and during one of them they destroyed the siege engines: 'townsfolk destroyed the catapults, attacked Tatar troops and killed Tatars' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 781].

According to the Russian chronicles, the siege lasted for 7 days, Rashid al-Din wrote almost the same, saying that 'during this campaign Batu reached the city Kisel-Iske and, besieging it for two months, couldn't capture it. Then Kadan and Buri arrived and captured it in 3 days. After that they stationed themselves in houses and rested' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 37]. During the last battle townspeople 'who came out of the city and destroyed catapults, attacked the troops and killed four thousand Tatars, were beaten. Batu took the city, killed them all, even the suckling babes. There was nothing of prince Vasiliy, and some said he had drowned in blood as he was very small. Tatars named the town of Kozelsk "the evil city" as they fought there for seven weeks and lost three temniks (emirs). Tatars looked for them amongst numerous bodies and could not find them' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 781].

After they rested and gathered all the corps, 'Batu left for the Polovtsian lands' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, col. 522]. The first campaign of 'Batu's invasion' of Rus' had finished. In winter 1237–1238 Batu struck in Ryazan, Vladimir-Suzdal, Novgorod and partly Smolensk and Chernigov principalities.

Armies were defeated with terrifying speed and the main fortresses of the strongest Russian principalities of the first half of 13th century, Vladimir-Suzdal, were stormed and burned down, and its prince and almost all his heirs were killed. The country was ravaged and for some time had no political unity or any war power. In practice, it was not yet a subject to Batu Khan, but in fact it had already been conquered. The discord between the princes and the cities was the most obvious evidence of this.

The war with Kipchaks. The campaign against the Bulgars and the Mordvins of the 1238. Russian chroniclers emphasized the new year (starting on 1 March) after all the terror of 'Batu's invasion', they accented in cinnabar: 'the summer of the same year was peaceful' [Ibid., col. 461]. However, that peace was relative and didn't last for long. Mongol Khans, having occupied the Don River Region, began to systematically suppress sporadic resistance in the Lower Volga Region, the North Caucasus and the forest zone of the Sur-Oka rivers.

One of the most important tasks for the Chinggisids after their successful winter campaign against the North-Western Rus', was the final conquest of the Kipchaks who apparently tried to consolidate their forces to repel the invaders. One of the main packet of resistance were the Yemeks under Bachman's command, who, having been defeated by the Mongols in the Trans-Volga Region in 1229, remained unconquered and continued to wage a fierce war with Mongol detachments in the Lower Volga Region. It is possible, that the area of resistance was even wider, including the area between the Ural and the Volga Rivers and the Lower Don Region. This is exactly why the Mongols struck them. Möngke was in charge of that detachment. Obviously, due to this circumstance, these military actions have been described in the Mongol dynastic chronicles, and later became a part of all the descriptions of Mongol campaigns on the West. This campaign is described with various level of completeness but very detailed in general and quite similar to each other in works of Juvayni, Rashid al-Din [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 24, 35–36] and in 'Yuanshi' [Kychanov, 2002, p. 39]. The differences are mostly

in unimportant details and, more importantly, in the chronology of that campaign. Juvayni describes the Möngke campaign against Bachman as it happened after the campaign against Rus' and western Europe, Rashid al-Din and 'Yuanshi'—before the campaign against the North-Eastern Rus', although chronology in those sources is very confusing in general. It is possible, that different authors compiled the information from the Mongolian dynasty story 'Altan Debter' differently, which had this data scattered in different biographies. Moreover, it should be noted, that there were several battles with Bachman, and authors, seeking to create a clear narration, combined different stories into one. That was what Rashid al-Din did, using as it is known the works of Juvayni and the 'Altan Debter'. As a result, the real timeline of those events remains very unclear and can't be precisely scaled. About the Möngke campaign and the death of Bachman we can say that they, it seems, happened in 1238, but it can be possible that the suppression of the Kipchaks and their allies was delayed until the beginning of the 1240.

It is possible, that Juvayni was closer to the truth, and he was almost a concurrent to these events, and just highlighted the story in a separate paragraph. This is how he described that war: 'When Khan (Ugetay) sent Möngke Khan, Batu and the other tsareviches to conquer the lands of Bulgar, As, Rus', Kipchak, Alans and others, (when) all these lands were cleared of troublemakers and all who survived swords, bowed their heads before the higher command, then between the Kipchak rascals the one was found, named Bachman, who managed to escape with a few Kipchak fellows; a group of refugees joined him. As he didn't have a (constant) place and shelter where he could have stayed, he was in a new place every day, he was, as it's written in verse, "one place during the day, different at night", because of his houndish nature he rushed up, like a wolf, in any direction and collected something. Slowly, the evil caused by him intensified, and turmoil and unrest increased. And where Mongol troops searched for him, they couldn't find him, as he went to the different place and remained unhurt' [Collection of Works Related to the

History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 24]. In other words, after his defeat to Subutai, Bachman managed to recover and during the leaving of the main Mongol forces for Rus', he started to look for allies and prepare forces for a war. Probably, because of his noble origin and military achievements, namely Bachman could be the center of anti-Mongolian forces and only he could organize a serious resistance to the Chinggisids. Recalcitrant Kipchaks were obviously supported by the Turkic Ases of the Don River Region and the Lower Volga Region under the command of Kachir-Ukule (on Ases / Yases, in the Don Region and the Volga Region in the 10–13th centuries, see: [Allsen, 1983, p. 20; Bubenok, 1997, p. 125–173]).

Batu and his counselors were well aware of this danger and sent the best, and, apparently the most recent tumens. Rashid al-Din wrote, that 'Möngke Khan went with his left hand ('wing') on the (Caspian) sea coast. They captured Bachman, one of the most shameless emirs from the Kipchaks of the Olburlik tribe, and Kachir-ukule from the As people' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 35]. Most likely, the Mongolian troops gradually managed to divide the Kipchak forces and their allies and defeat them, and squeeze the ring around Bachman. According to Juvayni: 'As his (Bachman's—I.I.) shelters were mostly the coasts of the Itil River, and he hid and sheltered in the forests as a jackal, left, picked something up and disappeared again, the Leader Möngke Khan commanded to build 200 ships and each ship was boarded with a hundred armed Mongols. He and his brother Buchek both raided river coasts. Having arrived in one of the Itil forests, they found a trace of a camp which had been left in the morning: broken carts and fresh horse manure, and in the middle of all that they found an ill crone. They asked her what it meant, whose camp it was, where they went and where to find (them). When they knew for sure that Bachman has just left and hid on the island in the middle of the river, and that the cattle and goods collected and looted during the unrest were on the same island, they couldn't cross the river as they had no boat and the river was trembling like a sea. Then suddenly the

wind got stronger and moved the water from the crossing, so the solid ground was revealed. Möngke Khan commanded his troops to ride (to the island) immediately. Before he (Bachman) even knew, he was captured and his army was destroyed. Some men were tossed to the water, some killed, women and children were landed prisoners, and a lot of goods and property were taken. After that they decided to return, the water moved again and after the army crossed, it was already in order again. No warriors were harmed by the river. When Bachman was brought to Möngke Khan, he started to ask for the honor of being killed by his own hand. Möngke Khan ordered his brother Buchek to cut him (Bachman) in two' [Ibid. p. 24]. Later the emir of As, Kachir-ukule was defeated and killed [Ibid., p. 36]

After they defeated the main packet of resistance, Mongolian detachments started to wipe out Kipchak tribes in the Don Region and North Caucasus. In the autumn of 1238 Möngke and Kadan 'started a campaign against the Circassians and they killed their lord named Tukar in the winter. Shiban, Buchek and Buri went to the country of Merim of the Chinchakan people and took Tatara. Berke went with a campaign against the Kipchaks and captured Ardzhumak, Kuran-bas and Kaparan, the Berkuti commanders' [Ibid., p. 37].

All those countries and tribes did not have a proved location, but, however, during the war manoeuvres of 1238–1239 the largest tribal associations of the Kipchaks were defeated by the Mongols. Only the hordes that rapidly retreated to the West kept their independence and unity. One of the largest Kipchak associations, under the command of Kotyan Khan asked the king of Hungary for a shelter. They got his resolution for relocation and in the autumn 1239 king Béla IV himself met the forty thousand men of Kotyan Khan on his borders. The Kipchaks adopted Catholicism and formed an army under the direct command of the king [Murgulia, Shusharin, 1998, p. 173–184]. In the future, the increasing power of Béla caused discontent among the Hungarian nobility and a revolt, which resulted in deaths of Kotyan and other noble Kipchaks, and the remained fled to Balkans [Pashuto, 1977, p. 211]. The Kipchaks



Devastation of the Russian Land. Miniature. Illustrated Chronicle of the 16th century.

who had moved under the command of Batu were included in the Mongolian military system and joined the armies of the Chinggisids.

During the war with the Kipchaks in the South, Batu's troops started active operations in the North in the area between the Sura and Oka rivers. Rashid al-Din wrote about it, reminding us that when the Chinggisids 'reached the Great city (of Bulgar) and its surrounding areas, they defeated the army there and made them submit. Their leaders Bayan and Dzhiku arrived and submitted to the tsareviches, they were (graciously) gifted and went back, (but later) they rebelled again. The secondary Subutai-bahadur was sent to calm (them)' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 35]. Usually that is interpreted as 'a desperate attempt by the Bulgars to turn back the conquerors' and they even see these events reflected in the foundation of a town—the Balynguz Archaeological Site near the Bilyar [Khalikov, 1994, p. 37–39; Khaliullin, 1995, p. 130–131]. Such an interpretation of events does not seem to be convincing, since that ancient town is a record of the Golden Horde period and has quite a level on it; moreover, the

rebellion itself hardly could have happened in the center of Bulgaria, ravaged by the invasion of the 1236. Most likely, the events related to the Bayan and Dzhiku struggle took place in the Cis-Volga Region and the Sura River Region, where, apparently, Bulgarian domains remained untouched by Mongolian campaigns. The atmosphere of that time was described by Hungarian monk Julian, who informed about two Mordvin princes, one submitted to the Mongols and the other fought them [Anninsky, 1940, p. 85–86]. Having a conflict with Bulgars, Mongolian detachments invaded the area between the Sura and Oka rivers and crushed the resistance in the autumn-winter of 1238–1239. Therefore, the Mordvin lands which were subject to Bulgaria before were conquered.

Evidently while chasing the Bulgars, Subutai's troops invaded the Principality of Murom, captured Murom and ravaged the lands from the lower Klyazma River to Nizhny Novgorod: 'in the winter the Tatars took the lands of Murom, burned down Murom, fought on the Klyazma River and burned Gorokhovets city, then returned to their camps' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 470]. However, some Mongol detachments followed the Oka River up to the Volga River and took 'the city of Radilov on the Volga River' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 374].

Therefore, in the spring 1239, almost all Eastern Europe was conquered by Batu. The Southern and Western Russian principalities, Crimea and Dagestan, remained unconquered. They became the object of the new massive attack.

Campaigns against Pereyasavl and Chernigov. The invasion of the North Caucasus and the North-east Black Sea area in 1239. The new campaign developed in two directions. In the south, Möngke's and Güyük's tumens were ordered to conquer the North Caucasus and Dagestan: 'Güyük Khan, Möngke Khan, Kadan and Büri headed for the city of Minkas and took it in the winter after a siege that lasted one month and fifteen days' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 39]. The History of Yuan describes this event as follows: 'In the winter, in the eleventh moon, troops headed by Möngke

surrounded the Alans' city of Me-Tse-Sy and captured it in three months' (quoted from: [Hrapachevsky, 2004, p. 376]). It is difficult to say what city this was, but probably one of the Alans' centres in the Ciscaucasia—Mangash/Manach [Gadlo, 1994, p. 179–180].

In the west, Batu Khan and his brothers tried to conquer the Northern Black Sea region. However, to protect themselves from the Rus', they began their campaign by invading the Pereyasavl principality. This target was chosen very carefully. The small Pereyasavl principality played an important military and political role, as it was the southeastern Russian outpost that defended Kiev and the Chernigov lands from Kipchak invasions. Towns such as Voin, Rimov, Lukoml, Bron, etc. had been built there back in the 10th century to defend Kiev from the south [Kuchera, 1975, p. 118–143; Korinny, 1992, p. 142–153]. Batu sent troops of his brothers led by Berke to break the line of fortresses in the Sula region: 'Batu began to send his troops against Russian cities' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 17, p. 22]. A number of border fortresses were seized most likely in the winter of 1239, and cavalry tumens swept into Pereyasavl, the capital of the principality. According to the chronicles, the siege of Pereyasavl was not long, and already on 3 March 1239, Berke's tumens 'seized the city of Pereyasavl with their spears' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 781]. This attack broke through the defense of the entire southern Russian border. Pereyasavl's fall cleared the way for Mongol troops to reach Kiev and Chernigov—the centres of Southern Rus'. But Batu's troops retreated to the steppes over the summer to give the soldiers a rest and replenish the troops.

In the autumn of 1239, Jochids' tumens headed by Berke began a siege of Chernigov. They came near Chernigov, approaching it from the southeast and 'surrounded the city with great forces' [Ibid., p. 782]. Having heard about an invasion of 'foreigners', Prince Mstislav Glebovich came to the city with his regiment. Unlike Pereyasavl, which was seized with a fast attack, Chernigov was besieged using all of the siege techniques. It was surrounded and blockaded, and then was subject-

ed to massive strikes from battering rams and stone catapults: 'the battle near Chernigov was severe; the Tatars attacked the city and threw a stone for one and a half shots, and the stone was so large that four strong men could only lift it' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 7, p. 144]. The city was stormed and taken on 18 October 1239. 'The Tatars seized Chernigov and their princes went to Ugry, [they] burned the city, killed people and robbed monasteries' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 1, p. 469; 2, p. 782]. After the siege of Chernigov, Mongol troops did not immediately go to conquer Kiev Land, but conquered small towns in the Chernigov principality. Some of them, such as Novgorod-Seversky, Putyvl, Vshchizh, Serensk and Rylsk, were devastated and destroyed. But others such as Ljubech, Debriansk, etc. apparently surrendered to the victors and avoided destruction [Kuza, 1989, p. 77–85]. After that, Mongolian tumens returned to the south, to the Polovtsian Steppe.

Having secured their northern flank, the Chinggisids began to systematically conquer the steppes of the Northern Black Sea Region and Crimea. It is possible that the message of Rashid al-Din about a campaign of Batu's brother, Shiban, and Buchek against the 'land of Merim' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 39] describes this particular campaign. Whether it is or not, we know that Mongol troops reached Sudak on 26 December 1239, due to a record made by an eyewitness in the fields in one of the ancient manuscripts dated this day, 'the Tatars came on the same day' [Zapiski Odesskogo obshhestva istorii i drevnostej, 1863, 4, p. 497, No. 10].

Resistance from the Kipchaks, Bulgars and Russians slowed the Mongol invasion, while the Chinggisids were trying to break through to rich countries, which caused a conflict in the Mongol army. In addition, the Chinggisids were separated from their uluses for a few years, as well as from political intrigues around the throne of the great Kaan. Due to the Kaan's illness, the various factions of the Mongolian aristocracy began to struggle more intensely for the throne. All of this couldn't help but affect the unity of the Chinggisids

participating in the 'Western campaign'. The first sign of a future internecine feud took place in early 1239 when there was a dispute between Batu and Güyük, who was supported by the Chagataids, to see who would take the lead in commanding the troops [Kozin, 194, p. 194–195]. To settle the conflict they need to correspond with the great Kaan and, apparently, go to Mongolia. It appears that in 1239–1240, Batu, Güyük and some other Chinggisids left the army and personally went to the all-Mongolian Kurultay [Pochekayev, 2006, p. 129]. Perhaps they delayed active operations against Kiev and European countries because Batu wanted to obtain a sanction to make new conquests and confirm his rights to the newly conquered territories and countries from the kurultay of the Kaan himself. Once again, the Great Kaan confirmed the Jochids' rights and Batu's priority to control the 'Kipchak campaign' [Ibid., p. 195]. However, Batu ramped up his preparations for a decisive campaign against the West because he feared that the troops of other Chinggisids would be transferred somewhere else after the death of Ögedei, who was already ill at that time.

Campaigns against the Kiev principality and the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia in 1240. Batu Khan moved his troops to conquer Dagestan and Derbent, most probably to execute the decisions of the all-Mongolian Kurultay: 'Having assigned an army for the attack, they entrusted it to Bukday and sent it to Timur kakhalka (that is Derbent—I.I.), so that it would conquer the Avir Area as well (perhaps Serir—I.I.)' [Sbornik materialov, ot-nosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1941, p. 39]. Most likely, Bukday's troops were supposed to support Chormaqan in his attack on Transcaucasia against Jalal ad-Din (for Mongol campaigns in the Caucasus see [Galstyan, 1977, p. 166–185]).

At the same time, Möngke's troops were withdrawn from the North Caucasus and transferred to conquer Southern Rus'. In early 1240, Möngke sent a reconnaissance expedition to Kiev: 'Batu sent Möngke Khan to spy in Kiev' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, column 374] that probably tried to persuade Mikhail of Chernigov and the townspeople to

submit. According to the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 'Möngke Khan came to Kiev, which stood on one side of the Dnieper river near the town of Pesochny, and seeing the city, he was surprised by its beauty and grandeur: he sent his ambassadors to Mikhail and the townspeople, and although they were tempted, they did not listen to him' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 782; Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 107]. A number of other chronicles enhance this story by pointing out that the Grand Duke Mikhail ordered the ambassadors be killed, 'and killed those who had been sent to him' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 374]. Obviously believing that his forces were insufficient to storm such a large city as Kiev, Möngke retreated into the steppe. It is likely that he was waiting for Batu to arrive from Mongolia with the authorization for a new campaign.

Meanwhile, the conquered territories were being assimilated. The conquered Kipchaks and other peoples of the Volga Region were included in the administrative, military, and clan structure of the Chinggisid empire. This applied not only to setting up taxation, but also to forming new military subdivisions on this basis. An interesting report about this has been preserved in Subutai's biography from the History of Yuan: 'Subutai selected an army from among the habichi (that is "subordinates", "those under a feudal protectorate" [Khrapachevsky, 2004, p. 539]) and fifty or more people of [their] kings, who worked hard for him' [Ibid., p. 503]. We can definitely say that those 50 'kings' were the Kipchaks included in the Mongolian *tumen*, as well as militias of some subordinate tribes. The principle by which dependent soldiers were included in the troops was described by Julian: 'In all the conquered countries, they immediately kill princes and nobles who fill them with fear that they may someday resist. They arm and send warriors suitable for battle and other people ahead to fight, against their will' [Anninsky, 1940, p. 85–87]. In addition, Rubruck mentions how the Mordvins participated in a European campaign: 'There are vast forests to the north where two peoples live, namely the Moksel, who have no laws and are pure pagans. They have no cities and live in small huts in the

forest. Their ruler and a majority of the people were killed in Germany. It was the Tatars who took them along on the German invasion, so the Moksel look very favourably upon the Germans, hoping that with their help they will manage to get free from the Tatar servitude... Other people called Merdas live among them, who are called Merdins by the Latins, and they are Saracens' [Travels, 1957, p. 110]. 'Moksel' is obviously a generic name for representatives of the Finno-Ugric tribes of the Middle Volga Region, and 'Merdins' are the Muslim population of Bulgarian regions of the Sura River Region—the lands of the historical Burtasia. We can conclude that Mongolian military leaders sought to create battle-ready troops that were to have been the basis of the Jochids' army after the departure of the main Mongolian troops. The same was reported by Benedict of Poland, a secretary of the papal embassy: 'And Batu then went against Bilers, that is, Great Bulgaria, and the Mordvins, and having captured their [noblemen], he included them in his troops' [Christian world, 2002, p. 112]. But most of the troops that participated in the western campaign were Kipchaks, as evidenced by Thomas the Archdeacon: 'They have a great number of soldiers from various peoples conquered by them, primarily Cumans, whom they force to fight. If they see that any of them is afraid and does not rush to death, they immediately cut off his head' [Thomas the Archdeacon, 1997, 37]. In other words, already by 1241 a significant part of the Chinggisid army consisted of Kipchaks, other Turkic tribes and a number of conquered peoples: Bulgars (most of whom were apparently from Transsura Bulgaria), Mordvins, etc. It should be kept in mind that, according to a number of witnesses (Julian, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine), these troops and probably, the clans to which they belonged, were called Tatars because the kings 'required those people to be named Tatars' [Anninsky 1940, p. 67].

A decisive attack on Kiev began in the autumn of 1240. According to Rashid ad-Din, 'In autumn, Prince Batu and his brothers Kadan, Buri and Buchek went on a campaign against the country of the Russians and the people of the black hats' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941,

p. 37]. This very interesting statement demonstrates that before besieging Kiev, the Mongol troops attacked Chorni Klobuky in Porosye and its center—the city of Torchesk (see the opinion that this city is mentioned in Subutai's biography [Khrapachevsky, 2004, p. 503]). Thus, the entire Chinggisid army ravaged Kiev Land and broke the resistance of the border fortresses. The road to Kiev was opened up.

Prince Mikhail of Chernigov had already left the city for which he had so viciously fought with other Russian princes, and fled to Hungary to allegedly seek military aid, 'Mikhail had fled to Hungary with his son before the Tatars came' [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 108]. The Grand Prince of Kievian throne was immediately captured by Smolensk Prince Rostislav Mstislavich, who was expelled from Kiev by the Galician Prince Daniel Romanovich. However, the Prince of Galicia did not plan to stay in Kiev and 'left Dmitry there, and authorized Dmitry to control Kiev against their will' [Ibid.]. The city remained virtually without the protection of the prince's *druzhina*. It was defended only by a small garrison and militia headed by the *posadnik* Dmitry.

The entire Mongol army was against them. The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle tells us that, according to the words of a captured 'Tatar man', besides Batu, the city was approached by '...strong voivods of his brother: Urdyuy, Baydar, Biryuy, Kadan, Bechak, Mengu and Kuyuk... Subutai and Burunday, who did not belong to his family, but were his first voivods, took Bulgarian and Suzdal lands and a number of their voivods' [Ibid., p. 109]. The army was so large that, according to the chronicler, 'Nothing could be heard except for the creaking of his carts and the great number of his roaring camels and his neighing horses. And the land of the Rus' was full of his soldiers' [Ibid., p. 108]. Mongol troops surrounded the city from all sides, and then began to destroy the walls and gates, 'Batu battered the Lyadsky gates for days and nights until his men broke the walls' [Ibid., p. 109]. Then the Mongols stormed the city and after a fierce battle threw its inhabitants down from the walls, [the inhabitants] retreated to the upper town to Sofia Church and the Church of the Tithes. The next day the storming con-

tinued: 'And the battle between them was severe; people fled to the church with their belongings, and the church walls fell under their weight' [Ibid.]. After the city was captured, it was destroyed and burned. According to the Laurentian Chronicle, 'The Tatars seized Kiev and plundered Saint Sofia Church, as well as all of the monasteries, took holy icons and crosses, church decorations, and killed many people from young to old with their swords' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 1, p. 470]. At the same time, however, Batu gave orders to leave one wounded voivode alive: 'Dmitry was wounded but not killed because of his courage' [Galicko-Voly'nskaya letopis', 2005, p. 109].

It is interesting that earlier chronicles do not indicate the dates the siege began or the city was captured. Later chronicles state fantastic figures for the siege of the city—10 weeks and 4 days, and indicate that the city fell on 19 November 1240 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 16, p. 51; PL, 1, p. 12]. Other, closer sources provide the vague date of 'before the birth of our Lord on Saint Nikola's Day', that is, on 6 December [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 470; 15, p. 375]. Rashid al-Din seems to be a much more reliable source in this sense, when he indicates that 'Tsarevich Batu and his brothers took a large Russian city in nine days, a city called Mankerman (Meng-Kerman—"Big/Great City"—the traditional name for Kiev among the Bulgars and Kipchaks—I.I.)' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 37]. We can consider the conditional date of the capture of the city to be 19 November, and perhaps even earlier.

Undoubtedly, the city and the entire principality were completely devastated, and almost all its inhabitants were killed. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, who passed through Kiev two decades later, wrote about what he saw, 'They (the Mongols) went against Ruthenia and committed a great massacre in the lands of Ruthenia, destroyed the city and fortresses and killed people, besieged Kiev, the capital of Ruthenia, and after a long siege they took it and killed the city's residents;...this city was very large and crowded, but now it has been reduced to almost nothing: there are barely two hundred houses

there, and they keep people in the most severe slavery' [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 47].

Apparently, after Kiev was captured, Batu received an order from the Great Kaan to return Güyük's and Möngke's tumens to Mongolia. Ögedei had made the decision to withdraw them in Karakorum in winter of the 'twelfth moon year' (15 December 124–13 January 1241 [Khrapachevsky, 2004, p. 492]), but news of it arrived in Europe some time later. Anyway, Rashid al-Din did not mention these Chinggisids among the commanders who continued their march west. The withdrawal of two major Chinggisids and their combat-ready troops apparently weakened Batu, but he remained confident about continuing the invasion of the 'midnight countries'.

After the fall of Kiev, the Mongols were divided into corps and invaded Lands of Galicia-Volhynia. Rashid al-Din wrote that after the capture of Kiev, Mongol detachments 'were raiding through all the cities of Uladmir [Vladimir] and conquered fortresses and regions on [their] way' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 45]. It is characteristic that Daniel, the Grand Prince of Galicia, did not gather an army or arrange for the defense of his principality, but went to Hungary, leaving his country in the hands of fate. Cities and rural settlements were left to themselves. In some places the citizens and military guards tried to arrange a resistance and refused to open the gates to the Mongols. Then the cities were besieged and assaulted; the cities of Kamenets, Izyaslavl and Kolodyazhin were captured and burned this way. Moreover, the residents of the latter one started to defend themselves at first, but then realized that the city walls would not stand against 12 stone catapults. They surrendered and were slaughtered. Others surrendered and even became allies of the Mongols (Bolokhov cities such as Derevich,

Gubin and others—'as the Tatars left them, they gave them wheat and millet' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 792]). Others ended up not in the way of the main forces, but only of small detachments who devastated the area but did not decide to undertake a direct assault against well-fortified fortresses (Kremenets, Danilov and Kholm).

Despite the heroic resistance of defenders of fortified cities on the Sluch, Upper Teteriv and Goryn rivers, the Mongols passed deep into the center of Volhynia—the town of Vladimir. There is little information about its siege or storming in the sources. According to Rashid al-Din, 'Then they [Kadan, Buri and Buchek] besieged the city of Uchogul Uladmir [Vladimir Volynskiy], and captured it in three days' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 37–38]. Russian chronicles report without any details that the city was taken by storm and ravaged, 'Batu came to Vladimir and captured it with a spear and killed people without mercy' [Galicko-Voly'nskaya letopis', 2005, p. 109].

Perhaps other corps under Batu's command attacked Galich, which was also taken by storm and ravaged ('and they captured it with a spear and killed many people without mercy, as well as the city of Galich and a great number of other cities' [Ibid.]).

In the winter of 1240–1241, the Mongols appeared on the borders of Western Europe for the first time. Having gotten within a three or four days' journey from the borders of the Hungarian and Polish Kingdoms, the Mongols wintered in wealthy Galicia and waited for the snow to melt and the Carpathian passes to open in order to start invading the West. At the beginning of March of 1241, three corps of Batu and other Chinggisids almost simultaneously invaded Poland and Hungary. A campaign began that struck terror across all of Europe and was remembered for many centuries to come.

Thus, over several years (1235–1241) the Mongol armies not only defeated the largest feudal states of Eastern Europe—Bulgaria, Vladimir-Suzdal, Chernigov and Galicia-Volhynia principalities—but actually swept numerous Kipchak, Yemek and As tribes across the steppe. As a result of these campaigns, the main military forces of their opponents were destroyed, and all major cities, except for the western and Northern Russian Principalities, were taken by storm and devastated. Their full subordination to the power of the Great Kaan represented by Batu Khan, the leader of the Ulus of Jochi, was only a matter of time.

§ 5. The Western Campaign and Invasion of Eastern Europe

Hansgerd Göckenjan

In the autumn of 1239, Mongol troops renewed their offensive against the west. At the end of 1239 or the beginning of 1240, Möngke organized a reconnaissance mission to Kiev [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 782]. When a messenger sent by him was killed, the Mongols, who perceived the murder of any messengers as the termination of peaceful relations, took vengeance on Kiev [Boyle, 1958, I, S. 77 ff.] (compare: [Schutz, 1973 S. 267, Anm.67]). Prince Mikhail of Chernigov, who understood the hopelessness of his position, managed to escape to Hungary [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 782], but in November of 1240 Batu again stood at the wall of 'the mother of Russian cities' commanding a huge army [Boyle, 1971, S. 69]. Although the people desperately tried to defend themselves, Kiev was captured after a nine-day assault. Almost all the inhabitants of the city were killed in battle; whole districts of the city were leveled to the ground [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 781–785] (compare: [Karger, 1949 p. 55–102; 195, p. 298–320 ; Tolochko, 1980, p. 208–217; Kilievich, 1982, p. 125–135; Goehrke, 2004, S. 121, etc.]). The news of the fall of Kiev made quite an impact in the West. In one of his letters to the king of England, Emperor Frederick II wrote, 'They conquered Kiev (Kleva), which is the greatest city of the state, as well as the entire glorious state, killed its inhabitants and turned the whole country into a wasteland' [Matth. Paris., 1872–1883, 4, p. 113]. In fact, 49 out of 74 settlements of Kievan Rus' were destroyed by the Mongols, of which 14 remained in ruins forever [Rabinovich, 1970, p. 249, etc.]. When Giovanni da Pian del Carpine visited Kiev six years later, he found only 200 households there instead of the previous 8,000 [Carpine, 1989]. The Mongols believed that the assault of Kiev meant a victorious end of the war against the Cumans and Kievan Rus' and at the same time was the beginning of a great campaign against the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland. The goal that Batu and Subutai had set was exceptional-

ly complex. The Mongolian army had suffered substantial losses during battles on the Volga River in Rus' [Boyle, 1971, S.59]. In addition, they needed to leave significant detachments to secure the rear and keep control over the conquered peoples. And finally, disputes erupted between Chinggisid princes who participated in the campaign, especially between Batu on the one hand, and Güyük and Buri on the other [Ibid., S. 69]. Yet eight princes took part in the campaign against Poland and Hungary. According to information given by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, the campaign involved two of the five Mongol corps, about 60,000 soldiers in total [Risch, 1930, S. 246].

Preparing and conducting a campaign against Hungary and Poland demanded a carefully thought-out strategic plan which, according to contemporaries, was prepared by Subutai [Bretschneider, 1910, 1, S. 332]. There was no room for error. Mongolian princes and commanders knew that they could face an equal or dangerous opponent, especially in Hungary, who could be defeated only through great effort. Already in 1237 Ögedei characterized the Hungarian king as a 'rich and strong ruler', a commander of 'many soldiers' and a manager of a great state [Dome, 1956, S. 179; Gockenjan, Sweeney, 1985, S. 107]. According to Juvayni, a Persian historian, the Mongols thought that the Hungarians had become too arrogant 'because of their large number, their significance and the power and strength of their weapons' [Boyle, 1958, S. 270].

Spies were sent again, and they tried to learn from deserters all about the internal relationships in the opposing states. In 1240, two of these spies were captured and questioned by Hungarians [Gockenjan, Sweeney, 1985, S. 277]. A year later, one English adventurer was captured by the Austrians and it turned out that he was a Mongol spy and had been in the court of the Hungarian king twice as a messenger of the Great Khan [Matth. Paris., 1872–1883, 4, p. 270–277]. Thus, even before the campaign, Mongolian commanders knew the location and



The Battle of Legnica. Miniature. Western Europe. 13th century.

the state of border fortifications and military routes, military power and morale of the enemy troops [Olbricht, Pinks, 1980, p. 183]. The Mongols were even aware of internal quarrels between the king and noblemen in Hungary [Guillelmus de Nangiac, 1840, p. 342].

The Mongol army left Kiev already in December 1240 and began a campaign against the West. They captured the principality of Galicia-Volhynia in several weeks. In Vladimir Volynskiy, their forces were divided. While the main army consisting of 50,000 people under the command of Batu and Subutai went in the southern direction through Galich to Hungary, the other part of the Mongolian forces consisting of 10,000 warriors, or a 'tumen' in Mongolian [Hystoria Tartarorum, 1967, p. 9] (for the term 'tumen' see Doerfer, 1963–1975, 2, S. 632–642), headed by Orda, Batu's brother, went to Poland. In fact, this detachment was to cover the right flank of the main forces and prevent the Hungarian king from assisting the Polish troops.

In January of 1241, the first rearguard in Poland inflicted a rapid blow and reached Ratibor ([Johannes Dlugosii Annales, 1975, p. 12; see also: [Strakosch-Grassmann, 1893, S. 37–67; Labuda, 1959, S. 189–224; Korta, 1985, S. 3–73]). A month later, it was followed by the main army, which stormed and took Sandomierz on 13 February 1241, and defeated Polish troops on 18 March near Khmelnik who

were trying to block the Mongols from going to Krakow. The unfortified Krakow was burned on 24 March (see the dating in [Strakosch-Grassmann, 1893]). Near Ratibor, Orda's detachment crossed the Oder river and went north through Opole. Like later in Moravia and Hungary, the conquerors left signs of death and devastation after them [Johannes Dlugosii Annales, 1975, p. 18]. By 5 April they had reached Breslau, which had been abandoned and burned by its inhabitants

[Ibid.]. It wasn't until Legnica that the Silesian Duke Henry II the Pious met the Mongols with 7500 soldiers [Labuda, 1959, S. 281], including Polish and French knights, as well as highlanders from Goldberg (Złotoryja) [Johannes Dlugosii Annales, 1975, p. 19.]. It seemed that the duke had already won, but Orda used the reliable tactic of 'false flight' and, having changed the situation, managed to surround the Polish-Silesian army and defeat it. Henry the Pious and many of his close people were killed in the battle (for the course of the battle see [Mularczyk, 1989, p. 3–26]).

With the victory at Legnica, the Mongols achieved the goal of keeping the Polish allies of the Hungarian king out of the battles. But Orda's army did not need to seriously threaten the western neighbors of Silesia. In fact, nothing indicated such plans [Strakosch-Grassmann, 1893, S. 52]. Rather, Orda turned to the south, in order to execute Batu's order to unite with his main army in Hungary after the devastating raid on Moravia [SRH, 1938, II, p. 574; Göckenjan, Sweeney, 1985, S. 167; Dorrie, 1956, S. 107, 158].

The state of the Arpads was the most dangerous enemy for the Mongols in the West. It impressed them not only with its military force, but also by the fact that Béla IV of Hungary was perceived by the conquered Cumans to be as friendly as Prince Mikhail of Chernigov, or

Boleslaw, the Krakow-Sandomierz prince. This country could well have become a rallying camp for all anti-Mongolian forces and therefore had to be conquered. If they managed to conquer it, it could become a very favourable basis for further expansion to the West because of its plains and wealth [Dorrie, 1956, S. 107, 158; Gockenjan, Sweeney, 1985, S. 277].

Strategic plans developed specifically for the conquest of this state were implemented with impressive precision [Gockenjan, Sweeney, 1985, S. 277]. The operations in Poland and Hungary were implemented very cohesively and almost synchronously (note that the two decisive battles in this war—near Legnica and Mohi—were held on 9 and 11 April, that is, just two days apart!). The concentrated attack begun by Mongol troops in Hungary in March of 1241 was like a gigantic battue hunt (*jerga*). It was organized like the Khan's hunting, which, according to Arab historian al-Umari [Lech, 1968, S. 98, etc.], was used to teach the troops and strengthen their discipline. Batu used this strategy, which had already proven to be effective during campaigns in Central Asia and Rus' [Ibid., S. 8]. It was designed to isolate the enemy, surround it from all sides, and finally destroy it using all their efforts, and was successfully used again in the war against Hungary. The invaders moved in five columns from different directions. While Batu and Subutai moved with the strongest army through the Verecke pass and ended up right inside the country, the three other columns crossed the Carpathians from the south and southeast. The fifth corps fighting under the command of Orda in Poland advanced from the northwest and entered Hungary through Yablunka Pass [SRH, 1938, 2, p. 564].

On 12 March the main army of Batu and Subutai stormed the border fortresses. Shibani's advanced detachment surprised the Hungari-



The Battle on the Sajó River. Miniature. Western Europe. 13th century.

ans, when his combat readiness was evident, and he reached Pest's gates in a quick advance in three days. The arrival forced the king to act quickly. Under constant crossfire, he followed Shibani's retreating detachment and met up with Batu's main army near Mohi on the Sajó river [Ibid., p. 569]. The Hungarian army was numerically larger than the Mongolian one [Gockenjan, 1991, S. 43]. Many sources report that Batu sometimes even considered having his detachments retreat [Boyle, 1958, 1, S. 80, 270; 1971, S. 57; Bar Hebraeus, 1932, 1, p. 357; Carpine, 1989, p. 276; Hystoria Tartarorum, 1967, p. 21;

Bretschneider, 1910, S. 332]. And yet, the Mongol commander noticed that his opponent's army was not united. King Béla IV was in conflict with some barons due to issues like land confiscation or recruitment of fugitive Kipchaks (Cumans), and they didn't run to his aid [SRH, 1938, 2, p. 569, etc.; Gockenjan, Sweeney, 1985, S. 16, etc.]. Although Béla IV tried to show prudence in the defense of his country, he proved to be not very skillful as a commander. Therefore, the Mongols managed to surround the Hungarian army on the Sajó river and defeat it. King Béla survived by a miracle. He fled from the pursuing Mongols for a long time and managed to hide in the Dalmatian island city of Trogir.

Large areas of Hungary to the north and to the east of the Danube were left without protec-



Mongols pursuing King Béla IV. Miniature. Hungary.

tion and were easily captured by the conquerors. Batu and Subutai stuck to the plan while conquering Hungarian territories just as carefully as they had prepared the campaign. Scattered groups of kings who had managed to escape slaughter, or who had not initially come at the king's call were pushed into impassable areas and destroyed by other Mongol detachments [SRH, 1938, 2, p. 565; Göckenjan, Sweeney, 1985, S. 155] (for the tactics of feigned flight, see: [Rachewiltz, 1980, S. 35; Ratchnevsky, 1983, S. 77, etc.; Olbricht, Pinks, 1980, S. 191, etc.; Göckenjan, 1989, S. 11]). Where cities and settlements resisted longer, deliberate terror was applied. The towns were completely ruined; their inhabitants were killed to intimidate the survivors. In Eastern Hungary, up to 60% of all settlements were destroyed [Gyorffy, 1960, S. 23]. When the people surrendered without any resistance, they were forced to pay a tribute. Obviously, the Mongols planned to stay there a long time. The land in Hungary was already distributed between noyans; they minted their own coins there and created tax districts [SRH, 1938, 2, p. 581; Göckenjan, Sweeney, 1985, S. 177; Spuler, 1965, S. 313, 333; Vernadsky, 1953, p. 125, 214–227]. When the Mongols strengthened their power in Hungary and ensured legal order to some extent, their dominance began to be perceived as more or less tolerable [Boyle, 1971, S. 56; Sagaster, 1973, S. 238].

And yet the calm didn't last very long. When the Danube froze in January of 1242, Mongol detachments crossed the river to conquer Western Hungary, which had not yet been touched by war. They took such royal cities as Buda and Gran by assault and reached the Adriatic coast, but failed to completely subjugate the country. Twelve towns and castles, including the city of royal coronations Stuhlweißenburg (Székesfehérvár) and the monastery of Martinsburg (Pannonhal-

ma) successfully repelled the attack. Unlike in the east, only about 10% of the towns were ruined there [Gyorffy, 1960, S. 23]. In addition, the Mongols didn't have much time to conquer the rest of the country. While they had a whole year to take territories to the east and north of the Danube, in Pannonia they had only two months.

All the Mongolian detachments suddenly left conquered Hungary in late March of 1242 and began retreating east. Obviously, Batu had abandoned his plan to conquer Italy and Germany back during the operations in Hungary. There are various reasons why he could have made such a decision. Studies often note logical problems such as the difficulty with receiving supplies over such long distances [Morgan, 1986, S. 141], or a lack of feed for horses, which was especially evident in the Karst Dalmatian region and in mountainous areas [Sinor, 197, p. 181]. In addition, the heavy losses incurred by the Mongols during the campaign against Hungary and Poland could have forced them to turn back. But still, the sudden death of the Great Khan Ögedei and the election of his successor, which forced Batu to stop military operations to participate in the upcoming election, played a decisive role [Ruotsala, 2001, p. 34]. Later he actually managed to prevent his most dangerous rival Güyük from being elected until 1246.

The Mongols left a ravaged and devastated Hungary in their wake. In 1241, Emperor

Frederick II wrote to the King of England, 'The noble kingdom was devastated, ruined and left without people' [Matth. Paris., 1872–1883, 4, p. 113]. A Bavarian chronicler Hermann from Niederaltaich noted at the same time, 'In the same year the Kingdom of Hungary was destroyed by the Tatars after 350 years of existence' [MGH, 1861, p. 394]. Although these reports seem to be exaggerated at first, the Mongol campaign brought such devastation to Hungary that it didn't recover for a long time. According to the latest estimates, about 1 million out of 2 million inhabitants of Hungary in 1240 became victims of the 'Tatar' invasion and its consequences [Györffy, 1980, S. 627]. See also I. Szabo's publication in: [Nagy, 2003 p. 493–498]. Those who managed to escape death could die from starvation, diseases or loss of strength. Many people were captured. Even Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and William of Rubruck met such deported people in the middle of Central Asia [Wyngaert, 1929,

p. 192, 210, 217, 224 et seq., 245, 252, 262, 304, 315].

In Hungary, King Béla IV began to energetically restore his country and strengthened its defense by founding fortified towns, constructing new castles and organizing an armored knight army [Marczali, 1902, p. 161]. This became especially evident after it became known that the Mongolian Kurultay made a decision in 1246 to re-launch the war against Hungary [Wenzel, 1860–1874, 7, p. 164]. All defensive measures were to justify themselves in the next few years. When the Mongols launched the last campaign against the state of Arpads in 1285, it didn't take much effort for King Ladislaus IV, Béla's grandson, to repel the invaders [Györffy, Szűcs, 1981, S. 31]. And yet here, like in Poland and in Rus', the trauma inflicted by the 'Mongol storm' remained in the minds of people and was remembered for many years to come [Nagy, 2003, p. 228–452; Krivosheev, 2003, p. 84–119].

§ 6. The Invasion of the North Caucasus and Dagestan in the 1220–1240s.

Lyudmila Gmyrya

The Mongols invaded Dagestan in 1220 for the first time, when the 20,000-man corps led by Jebe (Jebe Noyon) and Subutai, while pursuing a Khwarazm Shah, entered Northern Iran, and in 1220, following the Khwarazm Shah, advanced to Transcaucasia having captured Mughan, Arran and Aghwan [Ashurbeyli, 1983, p. 148–149]. Countries located on the western coast of the Caspian Sea were of special interest for Chinggis Khan. The commanders pursuing the Khwarazm Shah, as noted by Rashid al-Din, a Persian historian, were instructed to gather intelligence on them [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 2, p. 209].

Researchers have a number of explanations for Chinggis Khan's successes, mainly the weak resistance, 'Resistance to the conquerors on site was often heroic, but it was passive, scattered, not united by a single command or a common military plan' [Petrushevsky, 1970, p. 113]. But one of the main factors contributing to the Mongol's victories was the sudden-

ness of their invasions, making it impossible to organize a resistance. A contemporary of the Mongol invasion in Transcaucasia, the Armenian historian Kirakos (born approximately in 1200–1202), describing the main events of this campaign in Aghwan in the 1240s, noted, '... suddenly, a great number of fully-armed soldiers appeared' [Gandzaketsi, 1976, p. 137]. Another factor ensuring the success of the Mongols was their merciless violence against the local people. Kirakos left a figurative description of the atrocities of the Mongols, 'And all that they met on their way—people, animals, and even dogs—they killed with a sword' [Ibid.].

Most of Transcaucasia's population did not understand the seriousness of their situation, and according to Kirakos, were 'careless'. There was a rumor among the residents of Aghwan that the Mongols were Christians and they 'came to revenge the Muslims for oppressing Christians' [Ibid., p. 138]. 'Therefore,' Kirakos

writes, 'the country's population did not fortify their cities' [Ibid].

The battle tactics employed by Mongol commanders played an important role. These tactics were decisive in the defeat of the Georgian King George IV Lasha (1213–1222): 'They fought with each other and at first made the enemy flee; but as the (other parts of) the enemy waited in ambush, it (the enemy) hit in the rear and began to slash the Georgian army. Those (Tatars) that were made to flee also turned back and attacked the (Georgians) and having surrounded them from both sides, defeated the Christian army. The tsar and all princes fled. And the enemy, having taken away the spoils of war, brought it to their camp' [Ibid.].

Shortly after this battle, Mongol troops went to the city of Derbent. Sources report that the Mongols intended to enter the steppes of the North-West Caspian Sea region through the Caspian Dagestan, and to return to their possessions from there. However, it did not explain the sudden withdrawal of Mongol troops from Transcaucasia. Kirakos noted that the Mongols wanted to avoid a new battle with the large Georgian army [Ibid.]. However, as further events showed, the Mongols pursued a different goal.

The Mongols not only hastily left the Caucasus, but, as described by Kirakos, rapidly crossed Dagestan: 'And the (Tatars), taking their wives, children and all their possessions, intended to go through the gates of Derbent to their country. But the Muslim army located in Derbent did not let them go through. Then they crossed the Caucasian Mountains through inaccessible places, filling chasms with trees and stones, their property, horses and military equipment, crossed the mountains and returned to their country. And their leader was called Sabata Bagatur' [Ibid.].

According to Rashid al-Din, the road was shown to the Mongols by subjects of Shirvan-shah [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 228–229]. Derbent's barrage fortifications (Naryn-Kala fortress, city walls blocking the passage between the sea and the predominant mountain ridge, and the system of the long Dagbary mountain wall, which stretched from the city fortress to the mountain territory for 40 km)

could not be overcome by the troops of Chinggis Khan [Ibn al-Athir, 1940, p. 135–136; Gandzaketsi, 1976, p. 138; Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 228–229; Armyanskie istochniki o mongolax, 1962, p. 23].

The direction the Mongol troops went shows that the Mongols' strategic plans included the seizure of Alania and political entities of the north-western Caucasus region. Their hasty withdrawal from the Caucasus can be probably explained by their desire to launch a surprise attack, which would be effective if they could move unhindered along a short road—through Derbent, Caspian Dagestan and the Ciscaucasian Steppes. But time was lost because the Mongols had to go through the mountainous regions of Dagestan with their carts, and they probably tried to avoid meeting the local population and traveled over unpopulated, undeveloped lands.

It is difficult to reconstruct the exact path the Mongol troops took to the Alans from the written sources. The Arabic-speaking historian Ibn al-Athir (1166–1238) describes it as follows: 'Having crossed Derbent in Shirvan, the Tatars entered an area in which many peoples live: Alans, Lakz and several Turkic tribes (Taif), robbed and killed many Lakz Muslims and infidels, and slaughtered the population, who met them with hostility, and reached the Alans, which consist of many peoples' [Ibn al-Athir, 1940, p. 142]. Interpreting this information, researchers believe that the Mongols passed through the interior of mountainous Dagestan [Istoriya Dagestana, 1967, p. 203; Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza, 1988, p. 191; Gadlo, 1994, p. 147; Gadzhiev and others, 1996, p. 294; Istoriya Dagestana, 2005, p. 225], except for its coastal part. But all the difficulties of traveling through the mountains described by Kirakos were probably due to the need to bypass the long mountain wall of Derbent (Dagbary). And then the Mongolian troops apparently reached the lowland regions of Dagestan and turned west, where they faced resistance from the local population identified by Ibn al-Athir as 'Lakz' and Turkic tribes (probably the Kipchaks).

The news about the advancement of the Mongol army reached the Alans [Sbornik

materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 26]. The Alans and Kipchaks were united in the fight against the Mongol invasion, but Jebe and Subutai split this alliance with false promises, and defeated their opponents individually in 1222 [Ibid.; Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 31–33; Ibn al-Athir, 1940, p. 142]. As pointed out by Ibn al-Athir, most of the Kipchaks 'went to Derbent in Shirvan' [Ibn al-Athir, 1940, p. 145].

The displacement of the Kipchaks to Derbent destabilized the situation in the Eastern Caucasus. Having reached Derbent, they appealed to its leader Rashid with a request for asylum. The Kipchaks were refused, and so penetrated into the city by deception and took it [Ibid., p. 145–148]. Then they went to Shirvan and having approached Georgia, appealed to its tsar to grant them a place to settle on the terms of service, but were also refused [Gandzaketsi, 1976, p. 139]. The residents of Ganja, who, according to Kirakos, had suffered harassment from Georgian troops and hoped for protection from the Kipchaks, gave the Kipchaks refuge. The Georgian troops attempted to defeat the Kipchaks and destroy Ganja, but were defeated, '...many were captured, others fled' [Ibid.]. But several days later, the Georgian troops suddenly attacked the Kipchaks and defeated them, taking spoils and capturing their children [Ibid., p. 140].

Ibn al-Athir states that after their defeat, the Kipchaks 'moved to the Lakz country', that is, passed through the interior, mountainous regions of Dagestan (see: [History of Peoples of the North Caucasus, 1988, p. 192]) and settled in the lowlands of Dagestan to the north of Derbent. While retreating, the Kipchaks were attacked by the local population. Ibn al-Athir said, 'However, Muslims, Gurgi, Lakz and others felt courageous in relation to them, destroyed them, killed, robbed and captured prisoners, so the Kipchak slaves (Mamluk) were sold in Derbent, Shirvan for the (most) low price' [Ibn al-Athir, 1940, p. 148].

In 1225, the Khwarazm Shah Jalal ad-Din was being pursued by Mongol troops and entered Transcaucasia hoping to settle and fortify the settlement in this region [Ashurbey-

li, 1983, p. 152–154]. However, after being pulled into wars with Georgia, Armenia, the Seljuks and the Baghdad Caliphate [Gandzaketsi, 1976, p. 149–150], his military potential was crippled and in 1226 he was defeated by the united forces of Armenian and Georgian troops [Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza, 1988, p. 193]. The Khwarazm Shah went to Derbent, but did not manage to take the city, even though he stormed it with a 50,000–man army of allied Kipchaks. After the lands south of Derbent were devastated by the troops of the Khwarazm Shah, and the northern outskirts of the city devastated by the Kipchaks, the peoples of Dagestan started to resist, including 'Sarirs and Lezghins', according to Rashid al-Din [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 27–28], that is the peoples of southern Dagestan ('Lezgins') and highlanders of inner Dagestan ('Sarirs') [Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza, 1988, p. 193].

In 1231, Mongolian troops who had penetrated the Caucasus from the south defeated the Khwarazm Shah [Gandzaketsi, 1976, p. 152; Ashurbeyli, 1983, p. 154–157].

In their 1219–1223 military campaigns, the Mongols failed to establish their dominance in the countries they invaded. However, military operations carried out over such a vast territory (Transcaucasia—North-western Caucasus) can be hardly called reconnaissance. It was one of the large-scale Mongol campaigns in a long series of campaigns undertaken by Chinggis Khan to establish control over this strategically important region.

In 1237, the Mongols began a new phase of the North Caucasus invasion. Batu Khan, who had led a campaign against Rus', sent some of his troops to the Northwestern Caucasus to seize the lands of the Circassians (see: [Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza, 1988, p. 193]), and then Mongol troops entered Crimea. In autumn of 1238 the Mongols began military operations against the Alans, who occupied large territories in Central Ciscaucasia. The operation went on for almost a year. After a winter siege that lasted a month and a half, the capital of the Alans was captured (Meget, according to Mongolian sources), and large areas were devastated.

In spring of 1239, Batu Khan sent troops to conquer Dagestan. Rashid al-Din notes, '...having assigned troops for the campaign, they entrusted them to Bukday and sent them to Timur Kahalka so that he could capture the Avir Area as well' [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 39]. Timur Kahalka ('iron gate' in Persian) refers to the city of Derbent, and Avir is the mountainous region of Dagestan—Avaria [Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaz, 1988, p. 194–195; History of Dagestan, 2005, p. 225]. William of Rubruck, who visited Derbent in 1253, described what was left after the city was captured by the Mongols: 'The Tatars... destroyed tops of the towers and gun slots in the walls, having razed the walls and the towers to the ground' [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 187].

Mongol troops advanced into the mountainous areas of Southern Dagestan. Their presence in the town of Richa in autumn of 1239 (upper reaches of the Chirakhchay river, left tributary of the Gyulgerychay river) was recorded in epigraphic inscriptions. Three dated inscriptions have been preserved on a wall of a cathedral mosque from the 11–12th centuries in this town that describe how its residents fought the Mongol army. The first of these inscriptions [Istoriya Dagestana, 1967, figure on p. 205; Istoriya Dagestana, 2005, figure on p. 226] reports that the inhabitants of Richa held back the enemy for 27 days, from 20 October to 15 November 1239: '... An army of the Tatars came... to Bab al-Kist Rija, when 10 days were left from the month of Rabi al-Awwal. Then the residents of Rija were fighting with them until the middle of the Rabi al-Ahir month of the year six hundred and thirty-seven' [Lavrov, 1966, p. 81]. The second inscription contains information about the destruction of a cathedral mosque in Richa in 1239: 'This cathedral mosque of Bab al-Kist Rija was destroyed by the Tatar army at a time when Kurd Rija was destroyed in the month of Rabi al-Ahir... of the year six hundred and thirty-seven' [Ibid., p. 83, 276]. The third inscription refers to the exact date the town was destroyed—12 October 1239: '...when nine days were left in the month of Rabi al-Awwal' [Ibid., p. 82]. The capital of a small fief possession, Richa resisted Mongol troops for almost a month (see: [Shikhsaidov,

1958]). But Richa was apparently one of many intermediary points in the Inner Dagestan that made it difficult for the Mongols to advance through the mountainous regions because of their heroic resistance. However, less than two years later, as evidenced by the inscription from Richa, in July of 1241, the local ruler built a fortress, and in 1250 the mosque was restored, which still stands today [Istoriya Dagestana, 2005, p. 228].

The Mongols' siege of Avaria (Avir) in the 1240s is not described in sources, although studies reference it [History of Peoples of the North Caucasus, 1988, p. 195; Gadlo, 1994, p. 180]. Moreover, some information from the local historical chronicle 'Tarih Dagestan' by Muhammadrafi is interpreted in several studies as evidence that Avaria's leader established allied relations with the Mongols and used their military power to fight with his political opponent Gazikumukh Shamkhal. 'Tarih Dagestan' by Muhammadrafi describes the essence of the relationship between large political groups in Dagestan—Kaytag (Haydak), Qazi-Kumuh (Gumuk) and Avaria—in which 'the country of the Turks' was also involved: 'Then, when much time had passed, the agreement between Gumuk's emirs and Haydak's was broken... After that, the descendants of Hamza, the martyrs' head, and Abbas, the commander of the faithful from among Haydak sultans and the sea of khan genealogies, who survived during these feuds ... fled, complaining and begging for help, to the Avar leaders and entered into an alliance with them to share the good and evil in all circumstances. (At this time) terrible wars and satanic strifes began between them (the rulers of Avaria) and (emirs) of Gumuk. The Avarian ruler sent letters and ambassadors from among eloquent and wise men to Sultan Kavtar Shah, to the Turks... They agreed to remain friends and good neighbours, to provide mutual assistance in the fight against the enemies. This treaty was based on friendship, harmony, and fraternity' [Muhammadrafi, 1993, p. 104–105].

The source also pointed out that the allied relations were confirmed by marriages of children of both rulers (the son of Kavtar Shah married the daughter of the Avar ruler, and the

son of the latter married the daughter of a Mongol official) [Ibid.].

Moreover, according to the source, they undertook a joint campaign against Qazi-Kumuh using the forces of 'Turkic troops', the Avar ruler and his allied sultans of Kaytag: 'Then Kavtar Shah went against Gumuk with Turkic (troops) from the east side, and Sirtan with Avar Vilayah troops together with Haydak sultans from the west side, and they reached Gumuk on Monday, at the beginning of the month of Ramadan, during... Najmaddin' [Ibid.]. Sirtan was the son of the Avarian ruler who married the daughter of Kavtar Shah. The source does not explain who initiated this operation, but these were apparently Avarian and Kaytag exiled sultans who were at war with Qazi-Kumuh.

In spite of the long-term heroic resistance of Kumukh residents, the fortress was taken by assault, and the village itself was destroyed [Ibid.].

Studies have left two issues unresolved: the meaning of the term 'Turks' in the source and the date of the Kumukh assault. The source indicates the date of this event was 'the year seven hundred eighteen under Hijrah of the prophet' (1318/1319) [Ibid.]. However, the 38 copies of this work, from among which the copy quoted here was drawn up in 1246/1930–31, and different interpretations have given rise to different opinions regarding the date of

the event, and the identity of the external forces participating in it (for a discussion of these issues see [Ibid., p. 93–95]). L. Lavrov's viewpoint is the most widespread one, which contends that the 'Turks' mentioned by Muhammadrafi are the 'Tatars' (Mongols) mentioned in inscriptions from Richa, and that events in Kumukh took place after the capture of Richa, namely at the beginning of April, 1240 [Lavrov, 1966, p. 179, 187–188, 194]. This viewpoint dominates in other studies as well (see: [History of Dagestan, 1967, p. 206; History of Peoples of the North Caucasus, 1988, p. 195; Gadlo, 1994, p. 180; Gadzhiev and others, 1996, p. 297–298; History of Dagestan, 2005, p. 228]). Although some publications describe this event as happening in 1240 [History of Peoples of the North Caucasus, 1988, p. 195], or as an event from the beginning of the 14th century [Ibid., p. 211].

As can be seen from the sources, military operations of the Mongols in the first half of the 13th century in interior, mountainous Dagestan were scattered and short-term. William of Rubruck, who described the situation in the North Caucasus (1253–1256), stated that the highlanders of Dagestan ('Lezgi') numbered among other peoples of the region that the Mongols didn't conquer [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 66, 88–89, 95, 169].

Section III

Establishment of the Ulus of Jochi



CHAPTER 1

Formation and Political History of the Ulus of Jochi Before 1266

Vadim Trepavlov

§ 1. The initial stage of the formation of the Ulus of Jochi: 1206–1243

Jochi, the elder son of Chinggis Khan, was given an appanage twice. The first time was soon after the crowning of Temüjin in 1206, at the very beginning of the conquests. In charge of the right wing of the newly-formed Mongol army, Jochi made a campaign against the Tuva, Khakassia and Altai tribes, and conquered them by his father's order in 1207. Glad of his success at the beginning of the campaign, Chinggis Khan declared: 'You, Jochi, the eldest of my sons, have recently left home, and in the lands you crossed in a good way, you have already conquered forest tribes. Neither people nor horses were wounded. Now I give these tribes to you! [Lubsan Danzan, 1973, p. 184].

Nothing is known about the organisation of the Mongol government in South Siberian region at that time. Obviously, the system they established turned out to be quite soft, as the increasingly stiff demands of the government for Siberian residents caused immediate, massive turmoil among the Kyrgyz in 1218, the most numerous ethnic group in that area. Their unrest had to be suppressed by Jochi alone, as he was the demesne governor of the country.

However, later Tuva, Khakassia, and Mountain Altai became a demesne part of the Mongol Empire and were added to the 'Root Yurt' ruled by Tolui, a younger son of Chinggis Khan, and his family. Thus, Southern Siberia was excluded from Jochi's jurisdiction, as Chinggis Khan prepared other lands for his firstborn.

The second assignment of land to him was completed in 1225 when the main part of the Mongol army returned home to their native steppes after the extensive Middle Asian cam-

paign. By that time, in addition to Mongolia and Southern Siberia, Chinggis Khan ruled Manchuria, the principalities of the Uyghurs and Karluks in Eastern Turkestan, the ex-state of the Khwarezm Shahs (Middle Asia and Khorasan), and Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq. The majority of these lands were conquered by Chinggis Khan himself or by his son. In particular, Jochi's detachments persecuted the Merkits retreating to the west and fought for the first time against the army of the Khwarezm Shah in the steppes of Desht-i-Qipchaq. Eastern chroniclers mention the strong affection of the elder Chinggisid to the steppe land in the west of the Mongol State. In particular, Juzjani focuses on Jochi's impression of the Kipchak steppes: '...He found that there was no land more pleasant than this, no air better than this, no water sweeter than this, no meadows and pastures vaster than these' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordj', 1941, p. 14]. It was exactly these lands that so amazed the prince that were given to him as his father distributed the conquered lands.

This distribution caused a certain interpretation of property and land rights among medieval nomads. Their details should be mentioned to better understand the status and circumstances of how Chinggis Khan's sons formed their uluses.

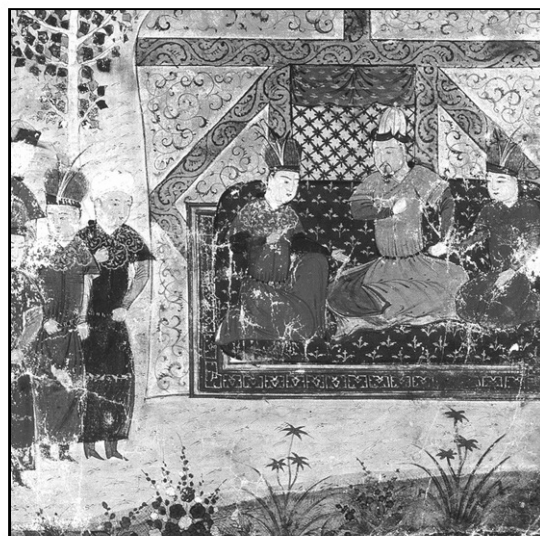
In nomadic empires, the highest posts were usually assigned to people belonging to the same clan as the ruler. In the Mongol Empire, this was formally the clan of Chinggis Khan, the Borjigins from the Taichiud tribe. However, the political situation forced the top rulers of the empire to review the unchangeable canon

of the family legacy. There is no proof that the founder of the Mongol State ever treated all Borjigins as family members that he had certain responsibilities to. His words 'you are my family tribe' were addressed only to his own sons and younger brothers [Lunsan Danzan, 1973, p. 189]. After his enthronement in 1206, Chinggis Khan issued an order to one of his close noblemen: 'Distribute this multi-ethnic state and give a part to our genetrix, younger brothers, and sons...' [Kozin, 1941, p. 159]. Thus, the concept of the family is even narrower as it does not include uncles, relatives-in-law, and does not even mention distant relatives. It simply defines a circle of people who theoretically have access to power.

However, during the distribution of the appanages, the Mongol sovereign made this circle even narrower: 'the heritage of Hasar goes to one of his heirs. His other heir runs his heritage of Alchidai; the other one, of Otchigin; and the other one, of Belgutei (here the brothers of Chinggis Khan are listed.—V. T.). In this understanding, I also give my heritage to one' [Ibid., p. 186]. This 'one' was his third son Ögedei, appointed as successor to the all-Mongol throne. Under the rule of Ögedei, there were his brothers and Chinggis Khan's sons from his elder wife Börte: Jochi, Chagatai, and Tolui. This means that this state, created during wartime, was regarded as an area governed only by the Borjigins, the family of Chinggis Khan.

What was the reason for the latter to single out his descendants from other clan branches? In 1225, Chinggis Khan told Jochi and Chagatai before they left for their just-formed ulus: 'My kinsmen have become famous among their relatives. They make attacks even though the cliffs' [Lunsan Danzan, 1973, p. 230]. His contributions to the Siberian, Jin (Northern Chinese) and Khwarezm campaigns, his skilled commanding, and his personal courage and initiatives seemed to him enough to place the priority of his own sons before their uncles and cousins.

In 1225, Jochi obtained from his father an ulus estate to govern in the northern part of Khwarezm (the Lower Amu Darya) and Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq [Ibid., p. 232; Kozin, 1941,



Chinggis Khan and his sons. Miniature. Iran.
14th century.

p. 186]. According to al-Nuwayri, the area of his appanage embraced 'the summer and winter lands from the borders of Kayalik and the lands of Khwarezm to the extreme outskirts of Saqsin and Bulgaria, which were reached by the horses of their hordes during raids' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 150]. At the moment of Jochi's death, in the west the Mongol troop's horses reached as far as Volga Bulgaria and the Black Sea Polovtsian pasture lands. The prince's headquarters were located 'within the Irtysh' [Rashid al-Din, 1960, 2, p. 78]. Traditionally, this area was the home of the Yemaks (the remaining members and descendants of the tribal union of the Kimeks, the founders of the Kimak Khaganate in the 9–11th centuries), as well as unions of the Kipchak-Ilburli and the Kangly.

In addition, by Chinggis Khan's order, there were several thousand Mongol warriors from the tribes of the Kingits, Sijiuts, and Hushins under Jochi's rule. Jochi's close successors also included Argyns, Oghuzes, Naimans, Buiraks, Oirats, Karluks, Kushches, Wusuns, Mings, Khongirads, Keraites, Barlases, Tarkhans, and Kiyats (see: [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2000, pp. 207, 208; Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 55]). As we can see, this list does not contain just Mongol tribes but undoubtedly Turkic tribes as

well: the Oghuzes and Karluks. However, the most numerous people of Jochi's lands were evidently the Kipchaks.

In February 1227, Jochi died amidst unclear circumstances (perhaps, he was killed by order of his father, who suspected him of separatism). His descendants are numbered differently in various medieval texts. As a rule, historians focus on the writings of Rashid al-Din, who delineated the genealogy of Jochi's fourteen sons. The elders were Orda, named 'Ichen' (lord), and Batu, later named 'Sain Khan' (good master). According to certain information, both of them managed to obtain the investiture of their grandfather (who died at the end of 1227), who decided to hand power over Jochi's ulus to them. Because of the fact that later the descendants of these khans, Orda and Batu, were governors of the Jochids in the 13–14th centuries, this version could be trustworthy. As for Jochi's other sons, Toqa-Timur and Shiban, their 'appointment' as independent governors by Chinggis Khan should be treated as further falsifications to justify the authority of the khans who descended from the Jochi's lines laterally.

It was precisely Orda and Batu, as legitimate representatives of their father's ulus, who took part in the meetings of the nobility in 1229 and 1235, where the upper ranks of the Mongol Empire discussed their plans for conquering Eastern Europe. The head of the army formed not only from Jochi's ulus but also from other uluses was Batu. Perhaps, this can be explained by the fact that the conquered lands in the planned campaigns would be under his direct ruling. The demesne khanate of Orda Ichen and his four younger brothers subordinate to him had already been formed on the lands of the Irtysh River Region by that time. Some Chinggisids from other uluses of the empire joined this army with their troops 'to help and strengthen Batu's power' [*Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordj*', 1941, p. 22].

As a result of the military campaigns in 1236–1242, Jochi's ulus was expanded by the addition of Volga Bulgaria, the territory of modern Bashkortostan, Western Dash-i Kipchak (between the Yaik and the Danube), and

part of the North Caucasus. It is more difficult to define the status of the Russian principalities. Vladimir Grand Princes initially (at the time of real unity in the empire) obtained yarliqs, meaning investiture charters, in Karakorum at the court of the khakan, while the other lower-status princes were satisfied with yarliqs from Batu. The duty of gathering tributes in Rus was also most likely distributed between the Jochid and imperial authorities. The latter arranged a population census of the principalities in the 1250s. Thus, ruling Rus' was not initially a monopoly of Golden Horde governors, which is why it would not be right to consider the Slavic lands a part of Jochi's Ulus. This is indirectly proven by the participation of the non-Jochid princes in the wars in Rus and Europe, which were mentioned above.

After the European campaign, Batu settled down not in his father's headquarters (which were occupied by his elder brother) but in the Volga Region. The permanent centre of Batu's portion of Jochi's Ulus was located in the city of Bulgar, but the khan himself, a true Mongol, evidently preferred the nomadic way of life. Thus, the area of old urban culture actually transformed into the khan's domain. Later, Batu founded the capital city of Sarai in the Lower Volga Region, which means that the Lower Volga Region also became a domain estate. Seasonal movements among these two regions (later also including movement in the North Caucasus) were a unique aspect of the annual life of Batu and other Golden Horde khans.

The headquarters of Orda Ichen was located somewhere in the south-east of Kazakhstan. There are complications involved with localising it more precisely because of the differences and brevity of data in the sources (see: [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, pp. 56–57]).

The widespread opinion in the literature that Ulus of Jochi (the Golden Horde) was founded only after the return of the Mongol army from Central Europe in 1242 or in 1243 is based on a misunderstanding. It is obvious that the beginning of Batu's reign over the newly-acquired western lands should not be taken as the beginning of the Golden Horde's sovereignty. We have seen that the ulus was founded

(singled out by Chinggis Khan) in 1225, and Batu with his brothers during the wars of the 1230s–1240s only expanded its borders.

After these campaigns, the territory of Ulus of Jochi never underwent any more radical changes. As far as can be judged from the sources, certain border modifications (or rather zones of influence) only took place in the Caucasus, owing to the variable success of the Jochids at war against the Hulaguids. Only in

the second half of the 14th century, when the state was overcome with riots and beginning to sink into chaos, the outskirts started coming out of the influence of Sarai one by one. During the period of its largest territorial expansion and internal stability, the Golden Horde stretched from the Lower Danube in the west to the Upper Ob in the east and from the Trans-Kama Region in the north to Khwarezm and Zhetysay in the south (see details: [Egorov, 1985]).

§ 2. Relations with the central power: from vassalage to autonomy

During the first decade of its existence, the Ulus of Jochi was part of the general system of power and governance in the Mongol Empire. According to the Mongol sources, the first rulers of the western uluses, the sons of Chinggis Khan Jochi and Chagatai, made their father a promise as early as in 1219 to obey their younger brother Ögedei indisputably in the future, as he was to inherit the supreme (khagan) throne, and thus to carry out all orders sent by him from the khagan headquarters.

Formally, the khagan (kaan), or the Grand Khan, as Head of the Empire, was its supreme governor and master of the destinies of its peoples and uluses. The famous statement of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine upon first consideration proves the monopoly of the Mongol grand khan on power: 'Everything is concentrated in the hands of the emperor, so much that no one can say: 'This is mine or his', but everything belongs to the emperor, that is, all the property, livestock, and people' [Puteshestviya, 1957, pp. 45–46]. In actuality, this fact is an exaggerated reflection of reality. For one, between the imperial and ulus powers, there was a division of authority (first of all regarding taxes and finances), but there was also a separation of governors based on competences in accordance with the traditional, long-lasting norms of nomadic sovereignty.

These norms included the division of the territory and the state population into two wings (right and left, or western and eastern) with an autonomous governor in each of them, where the right wing was considered 'young-

er'. This principle functioned in the majority of the nomadic empires of the Middle Ages, and things were no different in the Mongol Empire. The Uluses of Jochi and Chagatai were considered the right wing (*barağun ğar*), and the eastern part of the empire (which received the Chinese name Yuan at the end of the 13th century) was the left wing ruled by the khakan. The Chinggisids formed a peculiar co-governing system where the khan of Ulus of Jochi governed the right wing and was actually (not nominally) equal to the status of the head, located in Karakorum.

Even Chinggis Khan noted the separation of the Jochids and the Chagataids from the left wing. After his death, the co-governor of the khakan was Chagatai (for further details, see [Trepalov, 1993, pp. 77–78]). Then after his death in 1242, the hierarchic priority in the west shifted to governors from the house of Jochi.

In Karakorum, Güyük, a son of Ögedei, started governing in 1246. The relations between him and the Jochid Batu Khan were extremely hostile. However, according to some data, it was precisely these two monarchs who co-governed together. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine noted that 'Batu was the most powerful in comparison with all the Tatar princes, except the emperor, whom he had to obey'. European travellers were sure that despite the presence of the powerful khakan in the Mongol Empire, the Golden Horde khan is 'the main ruler of the Tatars'. His name was honoured even in Khorasan,



Ceremony at the Khan's court. Miniature. Iran. 14th century.

far from the Golden Horde, where from the variety of the Chinggisids, Güyük and Batu (and a local chief-noyan) were called to western ambassadors as the superior rulers from the point of view of the Mongol informers [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 69; *Sobranie puteshestvij k tataram*, 1825, p. 223; de Saint-Quentin, 1965, pp. 93, 95].

The reign of Güyük Khan (1246–1248) is described by Juzjani: 'All court nobility and the chiefs of the Mughal troops obeyed Batu and usually looked at him as at his father Tushi (Jochi.—V. T.)' [Tabakat-i Nasiri, 1881, p. 176]. Batu is described more specifically by Kirakos of Gandzak. This Armenian chronicler discussed the embassy of the Georgian Tsarina Rusudan and her offer to pledge allegiance to 'a Tatar chief, named Batu, who commanded the troops in Rus', Ossetia, and Derbent, as he was the second person after the Khakan. And he ordered her to take the throne in Tiflis, and (the Tatars) did not oppose it, as in those days the Khan has died' (presumably, Güyük Khan) [Kirakos Gandzaketsi, 1976, p. 181].

Even this segmental data allows us to make a conclusion about the special status of the khan of Ulus of Jochi, his subordination to the Grand Khan, and his power and influence over a certain part of the western imperial territories. However, the sources keep silent whether

Batu was considered the elder governor in the Ulus of Chagatai. It is known that during the reign of Ögedei, the appointees of the khakan and Chagatai, Mahmud Yalavach with his son and Kurkuz from Khwarezm governed China, Mawarannahr, and conquered by that time regions of Iran from Khorasan to the borders of Rum and Diyarbakir' [Rashid al-Din, 1960, 2, p. 64]. However, their authority was not spread throughout the Jochid lands across the Jayhun (Amu Darya).

More definite relations between the co-governors were

solidified during the reign of Möngke (Mengu) Khakan (1251–1259). After the death of Güyük Khan, the Mongol nobility offered the imperial throne to Batu, as he was the eldest Chinggisid at that time. He refused by referring to the fact that he already had a lot of lands and 'to run them, and to possess them, and govern the states of China (China.—V. T.), of Turkestan, and Ajam (Iranian lands ruled by the governors sent from Karakorum.—V.T.) would be impossible'. That is why he offered to enthrone his close friend and younger cousin Möngke (Mengu). 'Mangu Khan... took the throne of China and Upper Turkestan' [Tabakat-i Nasiri, 1881, pp. 179–180]. This means, firstly, that he started ruling the countries 'rejected' by the Jochid Khan, and secondly, that 'the throne' of Möngke was not considered the throne of Desht-i Qipchaq and other western regions.

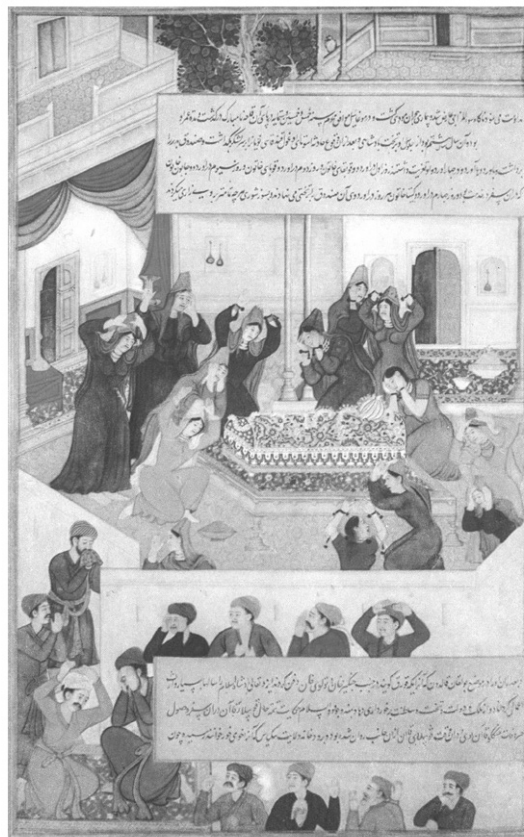
Obviously, Batu Khan was not absolutely independent. The Grand Khan appointed his fiscal officials in Russian principalities and regulated the financial expenditures of the Sarai court (see [Bichurin, 1829, pp. 319–320, 331]). As can be judged from the messages of William of Rubruck, the Golden Horde at that time did not have the right to establish diplomatic relations without permission from the central government or detain ambassadors to Mongolia, as in any event, according to Rubruck, 'Möngke Khan is

the most important in the world of the Moals'. And the same Rubruck quotes the khakan: 'Just as the sun spreads its rays everywhere, so does the sovereignty of mine and of Batu spread' [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 141]. The traveller noted that in the lands subordinate to Möngke the messengers of Batu were accepted with more honour than the Khan's emissaries in the Jochid lands.

In order for khakan decrees to be effective in the west of the empire, Batu's confirmation was required. According to Kirakos, Möngke Khan granted the Armenian Tsar Hetum I 'a decree with a seal, so nobody can suppress him and his country', and Hetum sent a messenger with this decree to Batu 'in order for him to write the decree in accordance with the charters (of the khan)' [Kirakos Gandzaketsi, 1976, pp. 224–225]. The Seljuk Sultans used the governor of Sarai as a judge in their internecine quarreling in the 1240s–1250s, although they (as well as Armenians) went to Karakorum for yarliqs. Information about active relations between Batu and foreign governors generally contradicts Rubruck's writing about the dependence of the Jochid khan regarding external policy.

The border of the area of influence was still considered the Amu Darya. There is a well-known typical case that demonstrates the sovereignty of the Golden Horde's governor. By the instigation of his brother, Muslim Berke, Batu stopped the army of Hulagu, sent by the Khagan to conquer Iraq, on the right bank of the Amu Darya. The troops did not move for two years: returning was not allowed by the order of Möngke Khan, and crossing was forbidden by the ambassador from Sarai. Only after the death of Batu in 1255, after accepting the persistent requests of Hulagu, the khakan ordered the campaign to continue [Das mongolische Weltreich, 1968, pp. 101–102].

Moreover, the beginning of the reign of Möngke Khagan was marked by the massacre of the tsareviches, the descendants of Chatagai and Ögedei. Later, their lands were divided between the supreme khan and the Golden Horde, where the latter obtained Mawaran-nahr (Transoxania) under its rule.



Court mourning the death of Möngke-Kaan.
Illustration for the manuscript of Rashid al-Din.
Delhi Sultanate

After Batu's death, the Golden Horde's throne was inherited by his son Sartaq. Möngke Khakan 'glorified him and rendered honours to him: he granted him his father's power to command all the troops and (run) all the lands conquered by him (Batu). Then, by appointing him the second (in the state), let him go home' [Kirakos Gandzaketsi, 1976, p. 226]. The Armenian chronicles state that the Mongol Grand Khan 'honoured him (Sartaq.—V. T.) and gave him his father's power by admitting him as the second governor after himself'; 'upon the demands of Möngke Khan, he (Sartaq.—V.T.) was given all the estates of his father, even with additions' [Armyanskie istochniki o mongolax, 1962, p. 27; Istoriya mongolov po armyanskim istochnikam, 1873, p. 11]. Thus, the successor of Batu accepted the number two position in the empire, just as his father did, and obtained the right to make legislation autonomously. It is likely that the

Jochid Khan could make up laws on any issue of the internal life of the regions run by him simply if they did not contradict 'the Yasa' of Chinggis Khan and the orders of the capital administration.

As is well known, Sartaq died after hardly making any use of these prerogatives. In Sarai, his uncle Berke was enthroned in 1256. He maintained a great deal of power and influence in the western part (the right wing) of the Mongol Empire and even tried to spread this over the newly-formed Ulus of Hulagu in Iran and Mesopotamia.

In general, as Rashid al-Din writes, until the end of Batu's days and 'after his death, during the times of Sartaq... and most of the times of Berke, between the houses of Tolui Khan (the khakan government.—V.T.), the path of unity and friendship was finally crossed' [Rashid al-Din, 1960, 2, p. 81].

In 1260 the new Kublai Khakan, who had just defeated his rival brother Ariq Böke, who was supported by Berke, addressed a message to the ulus khans: 'There are riots in the regions. From the banks of the Jayhun (Amu Darya) to the gates of Misr (Egypt.—V. T.), you, Hulagu, must run the Mongol army and the Tazik regions and guard them well... From the Altai side to the Jayhun, the ulus and the tribes may be guarded and run by Alghu (Chagatai's grandson.—V. T.), and from this side, from the Altai to the coast of the sea and the ocean, I will guard' [Ibid., p. 162]. As seen, Kublai Khan does not mention here the Golden Horde's governor, the supremacy of whom in the north-west of the state was stable and indisputable. However, there was an attempt to remove Berke's jurisdiction in the lands of Hulagu, as well as Transoxania, by approving Alghu to the rights of the Chagatai Ulus khan.

Since that time, the relations between the Golden Horde and the imperial government, along with the neighbouring uluses usually hostile to it, hit their bottom. It is clear that the main obstacle was political rivalry, but besides this issue, the contact between them was also objectively prevented by inconsistencies in the cultural and political orientations of

the elites of the enormous Mongol state. For example, the governors of its eastern parts turned into Yuan emperors, sinicised their court, and arranged their state governance in accordance with the Chinese, and partially Jurchen, canons.

An additional obstacle in the support of regular relations perhaps partially rests in the adherence of the governors to different religions. As is well known, Buddhism was widespread in China at the time of Kublai Khan; the Jochids and Hulaguids adopted Islam and, consequently, the orientation of the urban Islamic bureaucracy and merchantry. However, it is hardly justified to grant principal significance to these confessional differences. This must be noted, as the literature contains facts that after these ideological transformations, the governors of different uluses turned into believers of varying faiths and thus into 'infidels' when it came to one another.

Religious intolerance was never typical of the Mongol state. Having been created as a polyethnic world state with a pagan ruling ethnic 'nucleus', it absorbed and attracted members of the most various faiths to service. This practice was dictated not only by ideas of reasonability but also by the legacy of the founders of the empire. The tolerance of Chinggis Khan's attitudes towards members of numerous religions is clearly and complementarily proven by Juvayni [Ala al-Din Juvayni, 1997].

The decisive factor keeping the empire from a final division was the huge clan of Chinggisids. Despite severe conflicts between certain branches, the authority of Chinggis Khan's descendants was indisputable. The Yuan emperors preserved the formal status of elder governors in the lands of this clan. After the death of Möngke Khakan in 1259, the Jochids did not take part in the all-imperial councils of the nobility. However, the nominally preserved unity of the empire was proven, firstly, by the presence of the Chagataids and Hulaguids at these kurultais, and secondly by traditional trading and military relations. Upon the demand of Kublai Khan in the late 1260s, Ulus Jochi moved some troops to help conquer South China (Song)

[Vernadsky, 1997, p. 82]. In any event, it is known that the Golden Horde Öz Beg Khan admitted the hierarchic superiority of Yuan emperor Buyantu Khan in the first half of the 14th century [Ibid., p. 92]. It is quite possible that the same formal superiority of the khakans was supported by their obtaining the same symbolic yarliqs to rule in western uluses. However, real control over the Golden Horde's policy was lost by the central government most likely in the 1260s.

Historiography considers that Jochi's Ulus split from the empire was during the reign of Mengu-Timur Khan (1266–1282), when he ordered to engrave his name on the coins instead of the current Ariq Böke Khakan. Be-

cause autonomous emission served as one of the main features of state independence in the Middle Ages, this interpretation of events is acceptable. The first yarliq to the Russian metropolitan was issued on behalf of Mengu-Timur. However, the real re-subordination of the imperial vassal lands (in particular, Rus'), which also used to be controlled by Karakorum, to the Jochids had been visible even earlier. Since the times of Sartaq Khan, Russian princes had not gone to Mongolia for investiture (the last visit by Gleb Vasilkovich Belozersky had taken place in the Mid-1250s [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 1, 1962, column 474, 524]) but acquired yarliqs from the hands of the Sarai khan.

CHAPTER 2

The State System of the Ulus of Jochi

Vadim Trepavlov

§ 1. Traditions of the Turkic-Mongol statehood in the administrative and political system of the Ulus of Jochi

The state organisation of the Mongol Empire and its uluses was based on different institutions: those that were original and 'proper' Mongol; borrowed from the conquered people (the Uighur, the Khitan, the Chinese, the Jurchen, the residents of Islamic countries); and those inherited from ancestors and historical predecessors: founders of the nomadic empires of the early Middle Ages. The same 'multilayeredness'

was also typical of the state of Jochi's Ulus. The administrative system of the Golden Horde absorbed aspects of the traditional nomadic Turkic-Mongol ancient times as well as more contemporary phenomenon as a result of conquests.

One of the main components in the state system of the Jochid country was the concept of supreme (monarchic) power and organised governance.

§ 2. Conception of the supreme authority

The foundation of monarchic governance and the organisation of the ruling elite had several sources in the Golden Horde. The first and main aspect was the authority ('the legacy') of the founder of the Mongol Empire. In addition, upon inheriting power, internal clan principles of transferring the rank of khan were dominant. From nomadic ancient times, there was the tradition of prebiscite in electing the governor (in reality, the approval of the elected). As the Ulus of Jochi was a secondary formation within the empire, the investiture of the superior suzerain (the Karakorum khakan) was of high importance during the 13th century. When the Golden Horde khans turned to Islam, there was an issue regarding the legitimacy of their power, which was to be developed in accordance with the canons of this religion. Finally, during the course of the disputes and riots, it happened that the forefront was occupied by different Turkic-Mongol tsareviches and princes. After defeating their rivals, they took part in running the state or its split provinces, persuaded as they were that the supreme powers were on their side

as they had ensured success in battle against their competitors.

The Jochid clan was constantly growing and branching out, and the system of eldership of its different lines was becoming increasingly complicated. It is likely that by the end of the 13th century, their hierarchic priority of order had been fully defined. According to the currently available data, it can be supposed that the supreme places in this hierarchy belonged to the heirs of Batu, and (after him) of Buval in the west of the ulus and to the heirs of Orda in the east. The next by age were the heirs of Toqa-Temur (in the following century, they were replaced by Shibanids (the heirs of Shiban)).

While Mongols remained mostly pagan, their interpretation of the sources and the limits of the khan's power was based on statements typical of the nomadic world. Evidently, the main points of the concept of supreme power were inherited by the Mongol Empire from its historical ancestors: the khanates of the early Middle Ages. Their understanding put forth an idea of the enthronement of the founder of a

state, and the successful governance of it by his descendants with the benevolence and support of the divine powers. First and foremost, this meant the leading pair of the Central Asian pagan pantheon: the Sky (Tengri) and the Earth (Etugen).

The aulic Khorchi retold his prophetic dream: 'The Sky made an agreement with the Earth and appointed Temüjin as the tsar of the tsardom. May him, they say, rule the tsardom!' [Kozin, 1941, p. 107]. This means there was a 'meeting' of the divine world-builders about the candidature of the governor. The choice was given precisely to Temüjin, the future Chinggis Khan, and he explained it this way: 'From dawn until dusk I worked until the Sky and the Earth granted (me) the powers' [Lubsan Danzan, 1973, p. 188]. Being active and determined were seen as the criteria for acquiring the title of monarch: 'works' gave 'power'. The Sky and the Earth also took part in electing the governor and granting him power. As proof of Khorchi's dream, Chinggis Khan said later: 'Now I am strengthened by the will of the Sky and the Earth, with the might of the Eternal Sky' [Kozin, 1941, p. 104].

The Sky was often an independent, supreme substance. The functions of the Earth were clear from the words of Chinggis Khan: 'I was called forth by the Mighty Tengri, and Mother-Earth Etugen Eke carried me on her breast' [Ibid., pp. 104–105]. This means that the Earth was the first thing the Sky's will ever brought forth. After giving birth to the governor (having brought him into the world), Mother Earth did not take part in his further destiny. However, in some echoes of nomadic charismatics in folklore there is reason to believe that she 'is responsible' for his personal safety and health. Later, the Sky appointed the chosen to the estates and residents of his future power and helped in conquering new lands. 'The Eternal Sky helped, the Sky's gates opened, and I gathered my peoples,' said Chinggis Khan [Lubsan Danzan, 1973, p. 188]. The same idea can be seen in the letter of Güyük Khakan to the Roman Pope Innocent IV in 1246: 'Thanks to the power of the Sky, all the kingdoms from the east to the west were granted to us, and we possess them' (as cited in [Spuler, 1972, S. 69]).

After fulfilling the will of the divine powers and making use of their benevolence, the governing conquerer gave them the benefits of his 'works': 'In the Sky Lord,' Chinggis Khan said to his relatives, 'I trust absolutely, and have trusted (him) with all of my state!' [Lubsan Danzan, 1973, p. 189].

Thus, as much as it is possible to reconstruct the transcendental participation in the governor's destiny, the stages of implementing the khakan charisma were as follows: 1) the Sky and the Earth chose a worthy candidate for the kingdom; 2) the Sky appointed him; the Earth gave birth (brought him into the world) and guarded him; 3) the Sky handed the power to the monarch and provided the ability to carry out the tasks bestowed upon him (we will cover these tasks below); 4) the Sky helped its chosen one in all of his beginnings; 5) the Sky was a guarantor of the power of the governor and his successors; 6) after creating the state, the governor handed its and his own destinies to the Sky.

The cosmic power of the Sky was embodied in the personality of the governor by the charismatic god's will (Mong. *sulde*). At first it was granted by the divine protectors to Chinggis Khan, then it spread out over his descendants. However, later the bearer of Charisma was considered the entire Chinggisid clan (for more details, see [Skrynnikova, 1997]). Thus, political success was regarded as a result not of the governor's personal talents but of the Sky's good will towards him. Chinggis Khan stated on this subject: 'I became a governor not by my own courage. I became a governor by the will of the Sky, of my father. I became a governor not owing to my merits. I became a governor by the order of my father Tengri Khan. He granted me to defeat my cunning enemies' [Lubsan Danzan, 1973, p. 123].

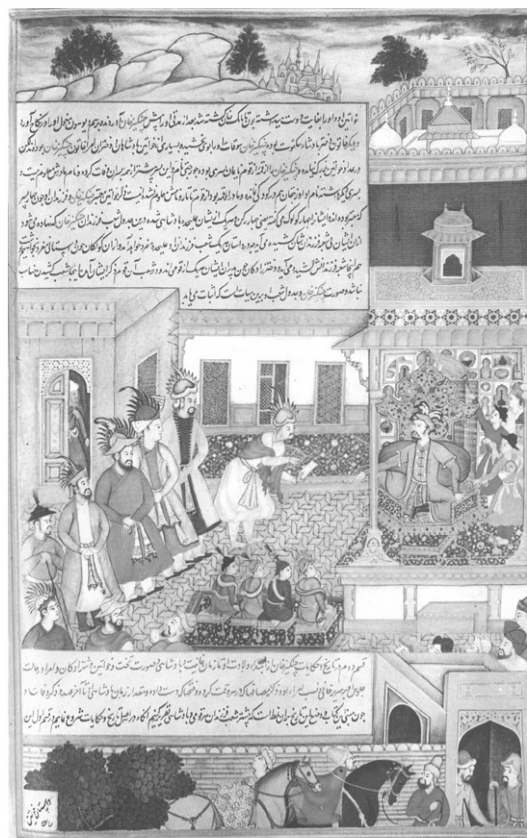
The governing rank of Chinggis Khan's family was strengthened by the famous legend of the family's first ancestor Bodonchar being sky-born. According to this legend, the foremother Alan Goa gave birth to him and two brothers from a ray of light that got into her womb through the smoke hole (upper hole) of their yurt (Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 1, pp. 10–14; Kozin, 1941, pp. 80–81). In addition, as regards

the family's origins, there was a totemic ancestor called Borte-Chino (the Fulvous Wolf), also born 'by the will of the Supreme Sky' [Kozin, 1941, p. 79]. As we can observe, the legitimacy of the Chinggisid's governance, including the Jochids, was based on a set of pagan concepts about the participation of supernatural powers in singling out this clan over others.

Granted by the Sky and protected by the Earth, power was carried out in three main areas: protecting the integrity and strengthening the State; expanding the borders through conquering; caring for the welfare of residents; and supporting the readiness of troops. At the very beginning of Chinggis Khan's career, his first supporters saw him as 'a person who could take care of the army and run the ulus well'. Chinggis spoke on this subject in the following way: 'Having become a pillar (of the State), I took upon myself the very difficult responsibility of protecting the people'. Similar issues are also mentioned in his speeches to his sons [Kotwicz, 1923, pp. 95–96; Lubsan Danzan, 1973, p. 189; Rashid al-Din, 1952, 2, p. 90].

Thus, the power of the ruling clan in the empire and uluses was based on the charisma of Chinggis Khan as well as on the charisma of the Chinggisid family. Later, during the Islamisation of the Mongol and Turkic nomads in western uluses, there was an issue regarding the legitimacy of the Chinggisid governance from the point of view of Islam. It could not happen that they even formally obtained investiture from the powerless Abbasid caliph, living aimlessly at the Egyptian court. Instead, a version with more fantasy was developed: Chinggis Khan was turned to Islam by the Prophet's follower: 'he accepted all the stipulations of God except circumcision, adopted the Islamic faith' and pronounced the shahada (the symbol of faith). It was almost as if the adoption of Islam by the Mongol governor became known to the righteous Caliph Abu Bakr, who actually lived in the 7th century [Kniga puteshestviya, 1999, p. 64–66]. Now, Chinggis Khan could generally be added to the grouping of Muslim dynasties that ceased to be 'infidels'.

In the early 1200s, the Mongols did not have a developed national identity. Therefore, the ruling elite did not have clear hierarchic



Chinggis Khan and his four sons. Illustration for Rashid al-Din's manuscript. Delhi Sultanate

gradation formed with the respective nomination of titles. The relative simplicity of the titulary was also adherent to the supreme governors of the empire. Muslim authors noted that 'unlike the other peoples, the Mongols do not give sophisticated names and titles to their governors and nobility... as for the name of the person who is on the throne, they add only one name, 'khan' or 'kan'; his brothers and relatives call him by his first name given to him at birth' [Abu'l Faraj, 1976, p. 354]; 'When one inherits the state throne, he gets the additional name of 'khan' or 'khakan', and nothing extra is written'; the brothers and sons of the khakan 'are called by the names given to them at birth, both when they are present and absent'. This is applicable both to the common people and to the nobility' [Juvaini, 1912, p. 19].

Thus, the supreme governors of the Mongol State were granted the imperial title 'khakan' ('khagan'), which was brought back to usage

by Chinggis Khan. The term 'khan' also related to the tsareviches, meaning the ulus rulers. In fact, in very important cases (such as the seals used for the charters to foreigner sovereigns), the khakans made use of the sacred formula mentioning the powers of the Eternal Blue Sky as the source of their power (see, for example [Pelliot, 1922–1923, p. 22]). This formula was evidently inherited from the ancient Turkic people, and it can actually be likened to the full khakan title.

All the other Mongol non-Chinggisid noblemen possessed the 'princely' rank of noyan, which later in the Golden Horde was similar to the Turkic bek and the Arab-Persian emir. As for the patriarchal traditions in the tribal life of the Middle Ages, there were the honorary titles (or rather, ranking names) of baghatur, mergen, etc. And as for personal achievements, the following titles could be granted (more seldomly, self-assigned): ilkhán, gurgan, tarkhan, etc. For the non-governing members of the Chinggisid dynasty in the 13–14th centuries, they actually simultaneously used the synonymous terms 'kobegun' (Mong.) and 'oghlan' (Turk.) in the meaning of 'tsarevich' (liter. 'son'). In the 15th century, in the Turkicised and Islamised former western uluses of the empire, they were replaced in this regard with the Arab 'sultan'.

Belonging to the Altan Urug ('The Golden Family' of Chinggis Khan) theoretically allowed all descendants of the founder of the empire to count on possessing demesne lands. That is why, in reality, power was carried out not only by the central government and by the ulus courts but also by a large group of close and distant relatives arranged in complicated hierarchical pyramids. Periodically, members of a huge clan were granted investitures in different regions of the vast, conquered landscape of Eurasia. Juvayni writes about this exact issue: 'Although it seems that the power and empire are inherited by one person, namely the one who is called the khan, in reality all the children, grandchildren, and uncles have their own part of power and property as well. The proof is that... Mengu Khakan (after his crowning in 1251–V.T.) at... the kurultai (meeting) distributed and divided all his lands between

his relatives: sons and daughters, brothers and sisters' [Juvaini, 1912, pp. 30–32].

The question regarding the principles of succession to the throne in the Empire and uluses is quite jumbled in the sources but has been well analyzed in historiography. The transfer of the throne by the Mongols was not legislative, which means it was subject to customary rules and traditions. These traditions allowed inheritance by sons (dynasties) as well as by brothers and other relatives senior to the sons ('an appanage agnatic system', refer to [Gumilyov, 1959]).

Chinggis Khan designated as his successor Ögedei, the third of four sons from his chief wife, and not one of his two elder brothers, Jochi or Chagatai. Here is how the 'Secret History of the Mongols' describes this scene. Jochi and Chagatai were asked about the possible future ruler, and they offered the candidature of Ögedei to their father. Chinggis Khan agreed, specifying that if Ögedei's family was not able to reign, 'will there not be a worthy one among my descendants?' [Kozin, 1941, pp. 185–186]. Thus, the family of the third Chinggisid was not enthroned permanently, but under certain circumstances the ulus tsarevichs could seize the throne (although some researchers suppose that this scene was made up only later to justify the enthronement of the fourth son of Chinggis Khan, Tolui, in Karakorum). Secondly, it is remarkable that Jochi and Chagatai by common consent were not offered khakanship. Rashid al-Din and Juvayni inform us that Chinggis Khan had to choose from just two candidates, Ögedei and Tolui [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 2, p. 258, Juvaini, 1936, p. 3].

In all likelihood, the matter here is that both elderborn tsareviches were sent to rule in the Western half of the Empire. Invested with the perquisites of co-regents, they did not dare to hope for sovereignty in the capital of Karakorum (for more information on this event in the history of nomads, refer to: [Trepavlov, 1991]), which is why Chinggis Khan did not take them into account when choosing his successor. This can explain why they offered up the candidature of their older brother, who lived in the East.

Batu's pointed refusal of sovereignty in favour of Tolui's son, Möngke, even though it

was Batu's 'turn to rule' [Rashid al-Din, 1960, 2, p. 113] as the senior Chinggisid at that time, serves as an indirect acknowledgment of the initial enthronement of the dynasties of Ögedei and Tolui. The indifference of the Jochids to the khakanship can be explained by the circumstances of the alliance of Ögedei's grandson, Kaidu, with the khan of the Jochid Ulus Berke. Fighting against Kublai Khakan, Qaidu turned to the neighbouring uluses for help in the restoration of his rights ('I am the legal heir of the khakan's throne!'). The Golden Horde supported him [Dalai, 1983, pp. 48–49], thus admitting that his arguments were convincing, and the complaints of the Ögedei dynasty were reasonable.

Tolui, the younger son of Chinggis Khan and Börte, as far as can be gathered from the sources, was never a contender to the monarch's throne. Rashid al-Din reports on the Turkic and Mongol custom according to which 'during their lifetime they define for their elder sons... and they give their younger son what is left' [Rashid al-Din, 1960, 2, pp. 107–108]. It is remarkable that Ögedei abandoned the throne in favour of, in turn, Chagatai, his uncles, and Tolui. The latter was on this list because he was always around his father when he was still alive, knew the rules and customs well, and also because he was a younger son and thus the heir of his father's succession. Most likely, this was part of a ceremony and a tribute to tradition. In the same way Güyük refused 17 years later, but the procedure was described in a more concise way (literally 'so-and-so is better suited for the khakanship'). In addition, Abu'l Faraj directly points to the fact that the tsarevich did this only to follow tradition [Abu'l Faraj, 1976, p. 411].

Neither Ögedei nor his successor achieved anything with their suggestions and were enthroned by force. Nevertheless, the order of the ceremonial offering of khakanship indicates the obsolete priority of elder relatives, including those from secondary and cousin family lines. Perhaps, this was the official doctrine of succession to the throne. It can be recalled that in 1248, after the death of Güyük, it was Batu's 'turn to rule', when he was left 'the eldest of the tsareviches'.

Nevertheless, the archaic system of inheritance was not always held as a matter of practice. During his lifetime, Ögedei bequeathed his throne to his grandson even though his sons were still alive, meaning he was a supporter of the dynastic principle performed at the will and bequest of the ruling sovereign. As a result of court intrigues, Güyük, the son of Ögedei, ascended to the Karakorum throne. At the Kurultai of 1246, Güyük agreed to be crowned only provided that 'after him (the khanate) will belong to his dynasty' [Rashid al-Din, 1960, 2, p. 119]. Devotion to the dynastic order of priority manifested itself in the domestic policies of the new khakan as well. Rejecting the candidature of the next Chagataid Khan, Güyük wondered, 'How can a grandson be the heir when the son (of Chagatai) (Yesü Möngke.—V.T.) is still alive?' [Ibid.].

After long-lasting intrigues and consultations with Batu, in 1251 the Mongolian nobility decided to set the elder Toluid, Möngke, upon the white felt. Apparently, he supported the conception of dynastic governance, or at least he gave *yarliq* for Ulus Jochi to Sartaq, son of the deceased Batu, and then to Ulaghchi, the son of Sartaq. But due to his sudden death, he did not manage to make arrangements for his own throne.

Military forces settled this inheritance dispute between the two brothers of Möngke, Ariq Böke and Kublai, in favour of the latter. Eventually, the problem of Kublai's successor was resolved by the original will of khakan: a competition was created to find out the biggest *bilig* expert (which were the sayings of Chinggis Khan), that was won by the grandson of Kublai, Öljeitü Temür, who was then enthroned.

Thus, three of the six all-Mongolian rulers in the 13th century (besides Chinggis Khan, but including Ariq Böke) were the closest and direct descendants of their crowned predecessors, which exemplifies dynastic order. Generally speaking, ruling khakans were in support of establishing a dynasty, and their cousins were proponents of clan principles, in direct opposition to dynasties.

The same trend can be observed in the uluses of Jochi, Chagatai, and Hulagu. There was a logic to all of them: initially, the first khan's

son succeeds to the throne (Jochi—Batu—Sartaq, Chagatai—Qara Hülegü, Hulagu—Abaqa), after which it is inherited by uncles, brothers, and nephews. Obviously, each of the ulus rulers strove to consolidate power behind their own homes. In the 13th century, the majority of the Golden Horde and Chagataid Khans were appointed by superior rulers that resulted from co-regent relationships between the Jochids and khakans, and from the dependence of the Chagataids from Qaidu. It was a rare experience when the throne was willed to a particular

person. This demonstrates that succeeding to the throne at the will of the predecessor was an unpopular and untraditional practice in Mongolian nationhood.

As for the familial relationships of the suzerains who came and went, one can only say that the clan principle dominated over the dynastic principle. Mostly it was the blood brothers or cousins of the preceding monarch who became khans, but every so often there was a succession of nephews (especially by the Chagataids and the western Jochids).

§ 3. Evolution of the governmental system (central administration and territorial division)

The governmental system of the Golden Horde was complicated and had multiple branches. It formed and changed shape for the almost three centuries of the state's existence. Starting with the introduction of the institutes traditional for the Mongol Empire in conquered Desht-i Qipchaq, the Jochids made efficient use of the administrative traditions of conquered people and neighbouring states. A complex of administrative bodies and positions, central and local offices, and capital and country administrations adhering to a hierarchical order made its appearance.

Traditionally, historians have taken great interest in the Jochid administration system, which is caused by several reasons. Firstly, the system was so stable that it outlasted the state it was created in and continued to function (mainly) in hereditary post-Golden Khanates and Hordes. In other former ulus-es of the Mongol Empire, such as China and Iran, this did not occur. However, in Middle Asia some principles of imperial statehood got a second wind from time to time thanks to the politics of Tamerlane and the Öz Beg Khans that moved to Transoxania in the 15th century.

Secondly, the administrative system of the Golden Horde had an objectively significant effect on Russian princedoms. In other words, the study of the history of 13–16th century Rus' is incomplete without regard to this aspect, and historiography gave rise to an entirely new dis-

cipline involving eastern patterns in Russian nationality and culture.

Additionally, the national identity of Ulus of Jochi demonstrates quite a rare historical example of a long-term, conflict-free coexistence over a huge territory with subjects belonging to different economic spheres (nomadic cattle herders and sedentary farmers), who belonged to different religions and spoke different languages.

Despite all the importance of this problem, historians are faced with its scanty coverage in the medieval texts. The most important sources for the study of the Horde's administrative system are a few preserved Khan's yarliqs. However, the Arabic and Persian chronicles and Russian chronicles are also of some help.

There were several events in the history of the Jochid Empire that could be interpreted as crucial landmarks in the transformation of its administrative system. The independence attained by the state from the Empire government in the latter half of the 1260s motivated the Sarai Khans to improve the state according to its new, sovereign status. Yarliqs granted on behalf of Mengu Timur to the Russian Orthodox hierarchs could serve as a first indication of this. Nevertheless, infighting that took place after his death distracted the Jochid nobility from administration improvements, and thus the administration system of the independent Golden Horde was formed only after the end of the infighting, during the times of Tokh-

ta Khan (the beginning of the 14th century). Soon the conversion of Öz Beg to Islam as the official religion resulted in new transformations, and as a result, the Golden Horde turned into another Islamic state with all the specific administrative ways and canons inherent to them, tried and true as they were throughout the centuries.

Later, as far as can be judged from the sources, there were no more significant transformations in this sphere. The internecine feuds of the 1360–1370s and the invasions of Tamerlane never allowed the authorities of the Horde to further improve its system. Waging a cruel struggle for power, they simply maintained the administrative institutes that were preserved after political convulsions.

Certain administrative characteristics proved to be quite stable and viable. They can be found in the Golden Horde, as well as in post-Golden Horde states; hence, they were typical of administrative management in this part of medieval Eurasia.

The following characteristics are relevant here: a) the monarchical power of the Khan, certain features of which were discussed above; b) the participation in the administration of the karachibeks, who were representatives of several (usually four) Tatar aristocratic dynasties; c) the division of the nomadic population and sometimes of territory into right and left hands ('wings'); d) the ulus system, that is, the whole population of subjects and territory appanages granted by the khan to commanders and 'civil' dignitaries; e) the institute of vicegerents *darugachi* (*daruga*)—in the administration of the sedentary population in the city and country; f) *yasak*-taxing; g) a combination of the state administration with traditional local governing bodies of the population.

The khan was the head of the Jochid administrative system. The apparatus functioned on his behalf and as executions of his orders, whether the throne was occupied by a sovereign ruler or a puppet of the nobility. The khan was responsible for assignments to the main administrative positions, the issue of currency, and negotiations with foreign rulers. He also headed the army during large military campaigns, etc.

But formally, he shared his powers with karachibeks, one of whom was senior (*beklyaribek*, *ulug karachibek*). Some sources reasonably consider that these four superior magnates represented the most authoritative Turkic-Mongol clans and also constituted the ruler's council. As far as it can be judged based on information about the Tatar Khanates of the late Middle Ages, they were the ones who had to perform the enthronement ceremony. The structure of the four main dynasties (except for the regnant dynasty) was traditional for Turkic-Mongol statehood and originated from ancient nomadic times. One can suppose that at the times of Öz Beg, in addition to their court duties, they also received four parts of the state for administration that turned them into *ulusbeks*.

Little is known about how the karachibek institute functioned in the Ulus of Jochi in the 13–14th centuries. Available data only allows us to reconstruct its effect in the right hand ('wing') of the ulus in terms of Batu's descendants. But there is also singular data on a four-clan system in the eastern steppes by the khan descendants of Orda Ichen.

As in any other state founded by nomads, the military occupied the most important place in the state's life. In addition, nomads were the majority of its population and army. This is why administrative institutes were created in the Golden Horde in the first place for the administration of the nomadic population. Yet the settled population—farmers, craftsmen, and tradespeople—were also the most important category of subjects, first and foremost as taxpayers. Gradually, following the conversion to Islam and the prosperity of cities in the first half of the 14th century, its significance in the economy and, consequently, social significance, increased significantly. It was for this reason that the central administration seemed to be orientated on these two main parts of the population.

Nominally speaking, one could consider that military issues and the ulus-appanage system related to them were under the authority of the *beklyaribek* and the three karachibeks hierarchically subordinate to him, while non-military issues (most importantly, financial) were

Male and female outfits
of wealthy Tatars, 14th century.
Reconstruction by M. Gorelik



under the authority of the vizier and the subordinate chancellery (divan). In other words, the nomadic population of Golden Horde was mostly under the supervision of the beklyaribek, and the settled answered to the vizier.

In the midst of such a division in jurisdiction, the role of the khan was to control his dignitaries, arbitrate in cases of their disagreement, and make final decisions in matters of principle. Not without good reason did medieval observers notice that the Jochid monarch 'takes notice only of the heart of issues, not going into details, and is satisfied with what he is informed of, and does not go into details

of levy and expense' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 230]. But such an indifference of the khan towards daily pursuits was typical of the 14th century, and perhaps in 1270–1290, Batu and Berke scrutinised the details of the administration because they were still fixing the operations of apparatus.

The beklyaribek was the figure-head of the bek class (noyans, emirs) and served as superior commander. When Ulus of Jochi converted to Islam, the ideological basis of foreign policy typical of medieval Muslim states—fight (go to war) for religion—was related to it. But

the perquisites of the beklyaribek fell short of those of the khan. In addition, the beklyaribek, as the second most powerful person in the state, was entrusted with the responsibility of building bridges with other states and, possibly, administering justice as the supreme judicial authority (in those spheres of life and among those social groups where Sharia was not spread).

It is no wonder that because these dignitaries were in possession of so many perquisites and resources, now and then they could claim independence and make arrangements for the throne. The most widely known and powerful beklyaribek Nogai, Mamai, and Edigü (which are often misnamed in historiography as temporary rulers), appointed khans at their discretion and had total control over everything in the state.

While the institution of beklyaribekship has its origins in the Turkic-Mongol state tradition, the vizier and divan were a result of borrowing from Muslim state institutions. The main responsibilities of these structures included support of the financial system's operation, fiscal policy making, monitoring of the ever-branching administrative apparatus, regulation of trade, urban planning, and others. While khans and the main beks spent most of their time in habitual (and prestigious) migrations, all the officials mostly stayed in cities. The divan was responsible for keeping tax registers (*daftar*), along with different journals and land inventories.

Unfortunately, this entire treasure trove of documentation is now lost. But even the little bit that is known about the functioning of the central governmental authorities of the Golden Horde attests to the fact that it contained elements of record keeping from the culture of different states and peoples, including the Uighurs, the Khitans, the Jurchens, the Chinese, and others. Ulus of Jochi has a noticeable trace of influence of the Muslim regions of Khwarezm and Transoxania, and perhaps, there are also some traces left by Volga Bulgarian culture.

The existence of two dignitaries, the beklyaribek and vizier, reflects the division of the ruling nobility of the Golden Horde into two parts: the military nobility (*noyons*, *beks*,

emirs) and high-ranking members of the administration. Medieval Arabian authors refer to them correspondingly as rulers of *emirs* and city rulers [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 347 et seq., 412 et seq.]. Both structures, military and civil, worked side-by-side and performed different functions.

The hierarchy of *beks* is known from the originals of *khan yarliqs* and their Russian translations, where commanders of *tumens*, commanders of thousands, centurions, decurions, ulus princes, military princes, regiment princes and people's princes (perhaps a synonym of ulus princes) are all mentioned. All these commanders and vicegerents made up a pyramid, on the top of which were *karachibeks* and *beklyaribeks*. During the 13th century they formed a sort of corporation that kept the military and administrative structure of the state in check and stood apart from non-military issues. In the 14th century, the tightening and sort of fusion of the military and nomadic nobility—the guardians of the war traditions of the Mongol empire—with officialdom started to become obvious.

The ulus system was one of the distinguishing features of the Golden Horde system. The term '*ulus*' came to the Golden Horde from Mongol antiquity and originally meant the people under rule. Later this term spread throughout the territory occupied by these people, making it a term for the appanage and for the state in general (the appanage was segregated as Ulus of Jochi, Ulus of Chagatai, and Ulus of Hulagu).

As mentioned before, the Golden Horde was divided into two wings delineated by the Yaik river, that is, the Ural, composed of a right wing (western, Ak Horde) and left wing (eastern, Kok Horde). Each of these was further divided into wings. Ak Horde consisted of two halves delineated by the Don river, and Kok Horde contained the appanages of Jochi sons Orda Ichen and Shiban, but it is difficult to define the border between them because of the lack of information. Historians only have access to usefully explicit information on the territorial and administrative structure of Ak Horde.

Ulus were not hereditary in the Golden Horde, at least not until the latter half of the 14th century. In fact, they represented conditional domains where the ruler could use the appanage if he fulfilled the following conditions: the accurate paying of tributes by the population, maintaining order and stability in their lands, and the mobilization of the appropriate number of warriors into the militia. It is believed that ulus corresponded to the military *tumen*, meaning a group of ten thousand. In other words, each ulus provided ten thousand warriors, and the ruler of the ulus held the rank of *temnik*.

Khans could change the owners of ulus, taking away and passing around the appanages at their discretion. Apparently, the borders of ulus never changed. Each of them had two capacities, or forms of existence: territory and people. The area of pastoralism was referred to as the *nutag* (Mong.) or *yurt* (Turk.), and the population as *irgen* (Mong.) or *el*, *il* (Turk.). Together, the *nutag/yurt* and *irgen/el* constituted an ulus. Over the course of time, the territorial component of the term 'ulus' became prioritised, while in terms of the Mongols, the nomadic population was top priority in the 12th century (which, in fact, made up the appanage). This kind of transformation prepared for the complete administrative division of the state in the 14th century when it was divided into four provinces, or *ulusbegs*.

V. Egorov analysed the state of the ulus structure of Jochid's entire right hand ('wing') in the middle of the 13th century taking into account various sources [1985, pp. 163–164].

In addition, Khwarezm was undoubtedly an independent administrative region, and the northern part of this state with the cities of Urganch and Khiva belonged to the Golden Horde. Perhaps this part of the ancient culture in the Lower Amu Darya Region was an enclave of the right hand ('wing'), surrounded by Chagataid and Kok Horde possessions.

As for the inner divisions of the left wing, only locations in the possession of Orda Ichen and Shibani are known. The elder Jochid inherited his father's headquarters along the upper reaches of the Irtysh. The sources describing the khan's domain of Kok Horde name differ-

ent placenames in south-eastern Kazakhstan. Among the big cities there are mentions of Otrar, Sawran, Jand, Barchkent, and Sygnak, which turned into the residence of the local monarchs in the latter half of the 14th century. For the most part, these settlements are along the Syr Darya, river in an area urbanised back in the pre-Mongol period.

Shiban's ulus spread out over the immense steppes of Western and Central Kazakhstan. According to the narrations of chronicler Abu al-Ghazi (17th century), Batu gave an appanage to his younger brother with a farewell speech: 'The yurt you will live in... will be between my yurt and my senior brother Orda-Ichen's yurt, and in summer you shall live on the eastern side of the Yaik, on the Irgiz, Sanuk, and Or rivers up to the Urals, and during the winter in Arakum, Karakum, and along the shore of the Syr river, on the creeks of the Chu and Sarisu rivers' [Abu al-Ghazi, 1906, p. 160].

There is no data on the location of the nomad camps of other Jochi's sons appointed as subordinate to Orda Ichen: Udur, Shingum, Singum, and Toqa-Temur.

Due to an increase in the significance of the urban economy and the development of administrative structures in the forms typical of stable sedentary states, administrative transformations and territorial divisions took place prominently in the Golden Horde in the 14th century. While preserving the structure of the nomadic appanages, the government established four more *ulusbeks*, named in the Arabic documents as Sarai, Khwarezm, and Desht-i-Qipchaq. One could notice that the first three are quite local regions with developed urban life, and one vicegerent was enough for them. As for the huge Desht, additional local division was probably used for administrative purposes, which was probably carried out under the old ulus system.

The boundary marking principle they used to define ulus borders is impossible to specify based on medieval texts. As we can see, geographical criteria (river borders) do not always work. If, suppose, an ulus had the Volga or Yaik as a boundary on one side, then what was its border in the naked steppe? Smaller rivers? Other landscape landmarks, such as mountain

ridges? There is a suggestion in the historiography that ulus-wing borders were based on the colonisation of various ethnic communities. Thus, it is suggested that the Kok Horde and Ak Horde almost entirely coincide with settlement areas of the Oghuz and the Kipchaks (according to the archaeological data) (refer to [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, pp. 57–58]).

It is possible that upon the formation of the Jochids appanage system, the structure of tribes was taken into consideration, so one ulus corresponded to a specific tribal com-

munity or community group. This is proven indirectly by late medieval references to the population of the Desht-i-Qipchaq in the first place as the main group of *els*, meaning the human contingents of ulus estates. Moreover, every *el* is marked in the sources by a tribal ethnonym: *el* of Naimans, *el* of Kungrats, *el* of Mangyts, and so on. If the theory about the four leading noble clans in control of the state (see above) is true, it is reasonable to suppose that these clans were in possession of their own nomadic areas.

Section IV

The Golden Age of the Ulus of Jochi



CHAPTER 1

The Administrative/Territorial Structure and Cities

§ 1. The system of wings and the administrative structure. The problem of the Ak Horde and Kok Horde

Vadim Trepavlov

In the majority of state formations created by nomads, the territory and population were divided into two provinces, or wings. The wings were equal (symmetrical) in a formal sense, although in reality they could have been different sizes. One of them was usually situated in the west (the right wing—'Barungar' or 'Ong Kol'), and the other in the east (the left wing—'Jungar' or 'Sol Kol'). What can be considered the centre ('Gol') was under direct control of the supreme ruler. The centre was sometimes formed as an independent administrative unit, but it often merged with the left wing. Therefore it was the latter, which was ruled by the main (senior) khan, that was considered to be more important than the right wing, which was controlled by a special vicegerent who could not belong to the khan's kin. It was often the case that this vicegerent occupied the position of the state's supreme commander (in the Ulus of Jochi—*ulug qarachi bek / beklyaribek*).

The rationale and prototype of this system was the mounted militia. According to their affiliation to certain wings, detachments of noions (later—emirs and beks) and tribes occupied certain positions in the left or right flanks during campaigns and in battles. It is known that Chinggis Khan set a rigorous decimal principle, according to which every subject occupied their own place in a ten, hundred, thousand and Tümen [unit of ten thousand], both as a warrior and a tax payer. Since every Tümen belonged to one wing or another, compliance with the wing's layout was also obligatory.

At the very beginning of the history of the Mongol Empire, when its territory included a comparatively small steppe area in the east

of Central Asia, the territorial and military features of the wings were apparently equal. However, when the empire grew to an unprecedented size, the wings became an abstraction or a political/geographical category, because it was impossible, for example, to gather a militia army in the right wing of the empire (uluses of Jochi, Hulagu and Chagatai). However, the typical organisation of the state life of nomads, the management of the population and command over the army required the wings to have an active structure, as there was a constant necessity to gather troops into a militia and arrange them into flank corps. This is why a secondary bifurcation of the wings eventually occurred: new compact left and right wings appeared within the existing wings and then the new ones split even further. It is obvious that this splitting continued until the territory in which it was possible to quickly mobilise the population and send them to war fell under the control of the governor. This type of situation was prevalent throughout the entire history of nomadic empires, and the Mongol Empire and the Golden Horde are not an exception.

The wing structure is well traced in the political history and administrative/territorial structure of Jochid Ulus, which began to form in the middle or towards the end of the 1220s. Lubsan Danzan wrote that when defining the appanage for Jochi, Chinggis Khan appointed 'Orosuts and Cherkisuts of Hukin-noion (for the management of) the territory...(saying): "Sever the western side of Jochi's possession!" [Lubsan Danzan, 1973, p. 232]. It is most likely that Chinggis Khan's order was not fulfilled that time: in 1225 when he ordered it, the North

Caucasus ('Cherkisuts') and Russian principalities had not yet been conquered, and the wars that begun in the mid 1230s were led under the command of Jochi's sons and general Subutai.

Lubsan Danzan said nothing more about Hukin-noion's destiny. However, it is important to note that the founder of the empire himself laid the foundation for the bifurcation of Jochid Ulus. The khanship of Jochi himself was supposed to be located in its eastern part, with its main camp "within reaches of the Irdysh" (according to Rashid al-Din), while the administration of his vicegerent, who was subject to the ulus holder, was in the western part (because the matter was not about Hukin-noion not being granted his own dominion, but about detaching a section of the possessions of one of the senior Chinggisids). A similar system was consolidated among Jochi's offspring.

The Ulus was divided between Jochi's eldest sons, Orda and Batu. Earlier we mentioned data from the sources describing the circumstances of this division. Other Jochids with their uluses were appointed to the wings of this territory: the right, or western side (Ak or White Horde) and the left, or eastern side (Kok or Blue Horde). Each of them had their own khan. According to some historians, the border between them was the Volga, and according to others, it was the Yaik River (Ural), but still others consider that the left wing constituted only the southeastern outskirts of the Ulus, ignoring the principle of the symmetry of wings (the personal, dominion nomadic territories of Khan Orda). In fact, the asymmetry of wings was possible, and such examples can be found throughout history. During Chinggis Khan's rule, the Mongol army of Jungar was almost twice as large as the army of the left flank. But if it is still possible to speculatively deduce a double quantitative superiority from the approximately equal size of nomadic territories occupied by a militia contingent, a ten-fold difference in the sizes of the territory is unexplainable.

It is possible that the division of Jochid Ulus was also influenced by the long-held ethnic division of Dasht-i Kipchak between the Oghuzes and Kipchaks across the Volga, or more likely, across the Volga-Ural interfluvium.

According to Rashid al-Din, princes Udur, Tuqa-Timur and Shingum were also in the left wing, together with the Orda [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 41]. Apart from that, there are reasons to suggest that the ulus of Jochi's fifth son Shibani also belonged to the Kok Horde, though there is much confusion regarding this historical character in the late medieval sources because of multiple falsifications caused by the apologetics of Öz Beg tsars of the Shaybanids.

Keeping in mind that the right wing was usually located in the lands conquered during the campaigns of Batu and Subutai (Western Dash-i Kipchak), we can conclude that the ulus-wing system was finally formed in this part of the empire not earlier than in the 1230s–1240s.

White and blue are the traditional Turkic and Mongol colour symbols of the right (western) and left (eastern) parts. Most Eastern sources entitle rulers of the Jochid right wings as khans of the Ak Horde, and rulers of the left wing as khans of the Kok Horde. The Russian chronicle refers to Khidr Khan, who came from beyond the Yaik River and occupied the Sarai throne during the internecine strife of the 1360s, as a native of the Blue Horde. The issue of colour terms in the Golden Horde system was unclear for a long time and was finally solved by G. Fedorov-Davydov [1968a; 1973, pp. 141–144].

The further split of the wings made the problem even more controversial, as new halves then appeared within them and each obtained their own colours. Therefore, for example, a new Ak Horde was formed inside of the Kok Horde: Shibani's ulus in Western Kazakhstan and South-Western Siberia. This blue-hordian Ak Horde should not be mixed with the common Jochid right wing that was designated in the same way. (Later, in the 15th century, when the Shibaniids achieved the rank of khan, the name of their appanage was used for the entire left wing, which is why it became known as the White Horde.) In the same way, the common-Jochid Ak Horde in the last quarter of the 13th century had one more Ak Horde within its structure to the west of the Don River and ruled by beklyaribek Nogai.

As we mentioned earlier, the left wing was traditionally considered to be superior than the

right wing, and its governor was the state's main ruler. Indeed, Orda Khan and his offspring had formal precedence over Batu and other western Jochids. But this priority was expressed only in the order of names when listing relative lines, and when the Karakorum administration addressed the Golden Horde's rulers.

In reality, throughout the first century of its existence the Ak and Kok Hordes were almost autonomous and were listed within the Ulus of Jochi only nominally, without any clear signs of cooperation. The khans of the Ak Horde rarely and only episodically interfered with eastern affairs, while there is almost no information about participation of Kok Horde suzerains in the events to the west of the Yaik River before the middle of the 14th century. There is no evidence that the aristocracy of the two hordes gathered to take part in quriltais to dis-

cuss common affairs (it seems they had none). There is also no information that a common tax system or the mobilisation of armies existed in both wings. It is possible that only a family relationship of rulers, a network of caravan routes and postal stations and, during the first decades, subordination to the imperial centre, could demonstrate the affiliation of both wings to the common state organism.

The two wings were apparently merged in the 1380s during the rule of Tokhtamysh Khan. This appeared to be short-lived and inefficient, because it happened in the environment of the emerging state crisis and the collapse of the Golden Horde, and also on the eve of Timur's raids, which were fatal for it. After them, the territory of the right wing was absorbed by the chaos, and new independent khanates started to form inside of it.

§ 2. The Ak Horde

Iskander Izmaylov

After returning to the Volga Region and understanding that his forces alone were not enough to attack Europe, Batu Khan started consolidating and organising his ulus. He introduced the traditional Turkic-Mongol military/political division of the state into right and left wings, and left the uluses that were most significant in size to himself and his brothers. Thus, his elder brother Orda Ichen became the head of the left wing and gained the Kok Horde in his possession, which was the outermost eastern borders of the empire, the Irtysh River area and the Aral Sea Region. Their other brothers and certain supreme Mongol nobles obtained smaller possessions within these uluses on the conditions of vassal use for their participation in military campaigns and paying taxes. It is most likely that the khan had a right to change and even take away one ulus or another if its holder broke his obligations [Safargaliev, 1960, pp. 39–45; Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, pp. 49–62; Trepavlov, 1993, pp. 96–102]. There is a dispute in the historical literature regarding the quantity and territories of the uluses into which the Ak Horde or the right wing of Jochid Ulus were divided.

If we sum up all of these data, we may assume that in the middle of the 13th century the Ak Horde was divided into several dominions. The Volga Region was most likely the khan ulus, i.e. the common possession of the entire 'Altyn Urug,' and it is possible that each Jochid had some possessions or rights for earnings there. We cannot exclude the possibility that the lands of former Bulgaria enjoyed special status and were first of all controlled directly by the supreme khan and, starting in the latter half of the 13th century, were included in the structure of the khan ulus.

As for internal divisions, the Ak Horde and Kok Horde were in turn divided into uluses that were governed by Batu Khan's and Orda's successors, who bore the title of *Oghlan* (or sultan, tsarevich). The possessions of independent beys followed. It appears that uluses represented a complex military/administrative system of hierarchically organised and subdominant possessions (*il*). The ulus, the governor of which was to deploy 10 thousand armoured knights in military campaigns, included beys who deployed one thousand warriors each. Possessors

who commanded a hundred warriors were in turn subject to beys. All these possessions included different forms of property (tarkhans, soyurgal), but their place in the system of 'wings' and the military was unchanged. As a result, the military/administrative system on the one hand was strictly connected to territorial possessions, and on the other—to the tribal structure of the aristocracy.

Khans of the Golden Horde controlled a vast territory in the 14th century, which spread from the Danube in the west to the Irtysh in the east, and from Derbent and Khwarezm in the south to the Cis-Kama Region and the Cis-Chulyman region in the north. The basic structural element of all these territories were the possessions of ulus-beys. However, the courts and fiscal/administrative apparatus of these uluses were located in main cities. Moreover, urban infrastructure appeared even where it had not been developed before, thus spurring an increase in the trade and craft activities of the area. It cannot be excluded that gradually, with the growth and consolidation of cities, they contributed to the split of big uluses into small possessions, thus prompting the regionalisation of power and management.

It is no wonder that almost all travelers and geographers paid special attention to the urban infrastructure, identifying these centres with their areas. Arabic historian al-Umari fairly accurately described the territory of the Golden Horde in the first half of the 14th century based on the stories of merchants and diplomats who had visited it. Among its most famous cities and areas he listed Khwarezm, Sygnak, Sayram, Yarkend, Jend, Sarai, Majar, Azak, Akchakerman, Kaffa, Sudak, Saqsin, Ukek, Bulgar, Derbent, as well as the lands of Siberia and Ibir, Bashkird and Chulyman [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 236]. Admiring the size of the possessions of 'the tsardoms of Khwarezm and Dasht-i Kipchak', Arabic traveler Ibn Khaldun described it to his readers in the middle of the 14th century as 'a vast tsardom in the north, from Khwarezm to Yarkend and Sogd and Sarai, to Majar city and Arran and Sudak and Bulgar and Bashkird and Chulyman; and the city of Baku is located within this

tsardom as well, it belongs to Shirvan's cities, and there are Iron gates near it, and it spreads in the south to the borders of Constantinople' [ibid, p. 378]. According to the data presented by Arabic geographers, this state's length was an eight-month journey, and its width was six, and it spread from the sea of Constantinople to the Irtysh River, 800 parasangs long, and its width stretched from Bab-al-Abwab (Derbent) to Bulgar, i.e. approximately 600 parasangs [ibid, p. 175, 206].

The entirety of the historical, archaeological and numismatic data have allowed researchers to determine the borders of the Ulus of Jochi [Egorov, 1985, pp. 75–150]. In the middle of the 14th century, the most western edge of the Horde was apparently the territory of the interfluvium of the Dniester, Prut and Siret, bordered in the south by the lower stream of the Danube. Here, the main camp of the rebellious karachi-bek Nogai was defeated by Tokhta Khan after a lengthy and difficult opposition (1300). The main city of this part of the Horde was Akkerman (modern Belgorod, near the Dnieper estuary) founded by the Horde's rulers in the latter half of the 13th century, which quickly became an important craft centre and a trading port through which crops, wool, meat and other cattle-breeding products were exported to Western Europe and the Middle East. A vast rural area with flower and vegetable gardens was located nearby.

In the Northern Black Sea Region, the steppes from the Black Sea coast to the borders of Rus' as well as the lands of Steppe Crimea were under the direct control of Golden Horde khans. The southern coast of Taurica was occupied by small Genoa port colonies. Their centre was Kaffa (Feodosia), a small territory of which was purchased by Genoa in 1266 and which by the end of the 14th century became a genuine trade capital of the entire Northern Black Sea Region: "a well-known inhabited city", according to archbishop Johannes de Galonifontibus, "a place of gathering for merchants from all over the world", where merchants speaking 35 languages would always come to trade [Galonifontibus, 1980, p. 14]. Among other cities, Soldaia (Surozh or Sudak) is noteworthy. All of these cities had small ru-

ral areas, but their main source of revenue was the transit trade with the Mediterranean. Based on written sources, these cities were dependent on the Horde and paid tribute to it, though sometimes they were still attacked by the Tatars and had to take part in internecine feuds. The main city of the Crimean steppes was called Qirim (Europeans called it Solkhat, and today it is known as Sary Krym). It was founded back in the 1260s and, thanks to an increase in the Black Sea's trade, became the most important economic and administrative centre of the whole peninsula. Ibn Battuta referred to it as 'a big and beautiful city' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 280], while Ibn al-Wardi described it as "a big city with bazaars, mosques, inns and banyas" [Polyak, 1964, p. 50]. Another important centre of the Crimea was Qırq Yer (today, Chufut-Kale) near Bakhchisaray. Starting in the beginning of the 15th century, it served as an administrative centre for the Crimea, and later it was the centre of the emerging Crimean Khanate.

In the north, the border between vassal Russian principalities and the rest of the Horde, just like centuries before, went along the water-parting lines of the Dnieper's tributaries: on the right bank, somewhere near the Ros, and on the left bank, along the Psel River and the Vorskla River, i.e. along the natural border between the forest and steppe. North-eastern, north-western and southern Russian principalities were part of the Golden Horde upon the right of dependent possessions through keeping their administration and dynasties, but also paying regular tributes ('the Horde return'). The territory of Rus' controlled by the Horde's khan included the possessions of Volhynia, Kiev, Novhorod-Siverskyi and Ryazan princes, as well as lands of Novgorod and Pskov. The Horde's khans also ruled the principalities of Smolensk and Galicia-Volhynia for some time, which were later included in the Lithuanian State. The border between these kingdoms and the territories that were part of the ulus system of the Horde apparently also lied along the watersheds between the forest and steppe, approximately along the line of: Kiev–Kursk–Tula–midstream of the Tsna River–estuary of

the Sura River Region [Nasonov, 1940; Fennell, 1989; Gorsky, 1996; Egorov, 1985].

The territories of the Sura-Sviyaga interfluvium were also part of the Horde. Here, centres of the Horde's military-administrative power (for example, the Bolshetoyabinsk Archaeological) as well as small settlements were located. To the south, in the Sura River Region and the Moksha River Region, there were lands that used to belong to Bulgaria. In the 13–14th centuries, the ulus of Muksha (Moksha), with its centre in the city of Naruchad (present-day Narovchat) was located here. It was a developed trading and economic centre of that time that even minted its own coins. Excavations revealed brick houses, banyas and a large Islamic cemetery with mausoleums [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 37].

The lands of former Volga Bulgaria—the Bulgar Ulus—were located on the Middle Volga and Lower Kama rivers. Emirates, who were subject to the Jochids, were located here. This dependency bore a different character in various years, from strong to purely nominal. In any event, the Bulgar Ulus of that epoch was one of the most developed areas of the Horde and had several fairly large cities (Bulgar city, Kashan, Kirmenchuk, Juketau, Bilyar, Kazan), as well as dozens of townlets and hundreds of settlements.

The largest and most famous Bulgarian city of that time was Bulgar. This town, which first appeared back at the beginning of the 10th century, was not particularly large in the pre-Mongol period, though it was an important economic centre. Its real history began in the 1240s when, after returning from the Western campaign and stifling the Bulgars' rebellion, Batu Khan transferred his main camp to the area of the Lower Cis-Kama Region. This region had a strategic significance because it allowed control over the country's heart—the Middle Volga Region—in the initial period of the empire's formation. The city of Bulgar at the end of the 13–14th centuries became one of the largest and richest centres of Europe. Its favorable geographical location at the intersection of river and terrestrial routes made it an important transshipping point in world trade [Smirnov, 1951; Gorod Bolgar, 1987; 1988;

1996; 2001]. Moreover, this city was the largest centre of Turkic urban culture and the centre of the entire area where Islam was being spread since the 10th century. Economic and military strength allowed the rulers of Bulgar emirates to actively participate in the internal affairs of the Ulus of Jochi in the 14th century.

In the north and northeast, the borders of the Ulus of Jochi, according to Eastern sources, included the 'lands of Chulyman, Bashgard, Sibir and Ibir'. It is most likely that Chulyman constituted the area of the Upper Kama River Region (the Bulgarian name for the Kama's upper reaches). 'Bashgard was the clearly denoted steppes of the Southern Cis-Urals, while 'Sibir and Ibir' were the vast steppe and taiga lands of Western Siberia stretching to the Ob and the Irtysh River Regions.

In the North Caucasus, the lands of the Golden Horde stretched through the steppe zone to the northern foothills of the Caucasus occupied by the militant Circassians, Alans and Vay-Nakh people, who were always fighting the Horde people. Among the many cities of the North Caucasus, we should name Azak (today—Azov) and Majar (near the modern city of Prikumsk). Azak was an important trade and economic centre and the final culmination point of many terrestrial and river routes. Thanks to the Genoese (they called them the *Tana*), who had a colony here, the city was widely known throughout Europe in the 14th century. Majar also played a significant role in the life of the region as the central point on the way from the Middle East to the Horde. According to Ibn Battuta, it was 'a large city, one of the best Turkic cities' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 287]. In Primorsky Dagestan, the lands of the Ulus of Jochi reached the important strategic fortress of Derbent (the Arabic name of which is 'Babal-Abwab', and the Turkic is 'Temirkapu' or 'Iron gates'). The Horde people repeatedly penetrated into Transcaucasia and sometimes conquered the lands of Northern Azerbaijan, right up to Tabriz and Ardabil. However, they were unable to hold these lands for a long time.

The main territory of the Ulus of Jochi was covered by steppes. In the linguistic and apparently even in the economic and cultural senses,



A khan tent. Miniature.
Iran. 1301–1314.

its population had to deal with only insignificant changes in comparison with the pre-Mongol period. It is no wonder that Eastern sources continued to name the territory of the Golden Horde 'Dasht-i Kipchak' [Arslanova, 1990]. Nomadic tribes continued to nomadise traditionally in the meridional direction from the south to the north (in winter) and back (in summer). Changes first of all affected the social and tribal structures which appeared to be the foundation of the system of Tatar-Mongol clans, the collection of household items, jewellery, weaponry and horse harnesses, and their shapes and ornamentation. Vivid evidence of the changes in spiritual culture are attested to by the change in the burial ceremonies of the population of the Eurasian steppes [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966, pp. 150–163].

The appearance of a great number of cities in Dasht-i Kipchak in the 13–14th centuries (today approximately a hundred of them are known) is a unique phenomenon in Medieval history. Not just independent cities, but an entire farming region that became the centre of the special civilisation combining the nomadic steppe and settled Islamic cultures, emerged on an almost empty site in the region, and had a small urban area. According to the historian's allegoric phrase, Golden Horde cities in their

golden age 'were a mixture of Middle Asian mosques and minarets, tiles and glazed crockery with wooden frames and nomadic yurts' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, p. 120].

Everything described above is indicative of the fact that a unique civilization had formed in the Golden Horde which, when absorbing the achievements of their conquered peoples and neighbours, brought forth a syncretic, colourful and magnificent culture. The golden age of the Horde's culture was so vivid and intense that it influenced the material and spiritual life of all of its neighbouring states.

We should also mention three circumstances that contributed to the prosperity of cities, the development of rural areas surrounding them, and the consolidation of the state's unity, thus holding the empire's disparate parts together and helping form its civilisation. The most important aspect is the creation of an uninterrupted, functioning communication system—*yams* (*jams*)—which were postal stations with horses and caravanserais. They were usually located at a distance of 30–50 km between each other, i.e. at the length of a day's passage by all the most important caravan routes of Ulus of Jochi that connected the various cities and ports of the country. The yam service was one of the most important public services of the population, and its elimination was especially argued for in the tarkhan yarliqs, for example, to the Russian clergy. Apart from purely state interests—the quick spread of important public information to all parts of the country—the system of yams together with caravanserais that emerged near them, became important trade veins of the country, over which caravans with goods moved from Crimean ports to Karakorum and Khanbaliq without encountering obstacles. At the beginning of the 14th century, traveler and geographer Ibn Battuta provided a vivid description of this route from Kaffa to Sarai, and from there to Urgench and then to India [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 280–314]. These were also not just routes for the movement of material valuables, but also information, cultural and technological achievements, and religious preachers. It is no wonder that

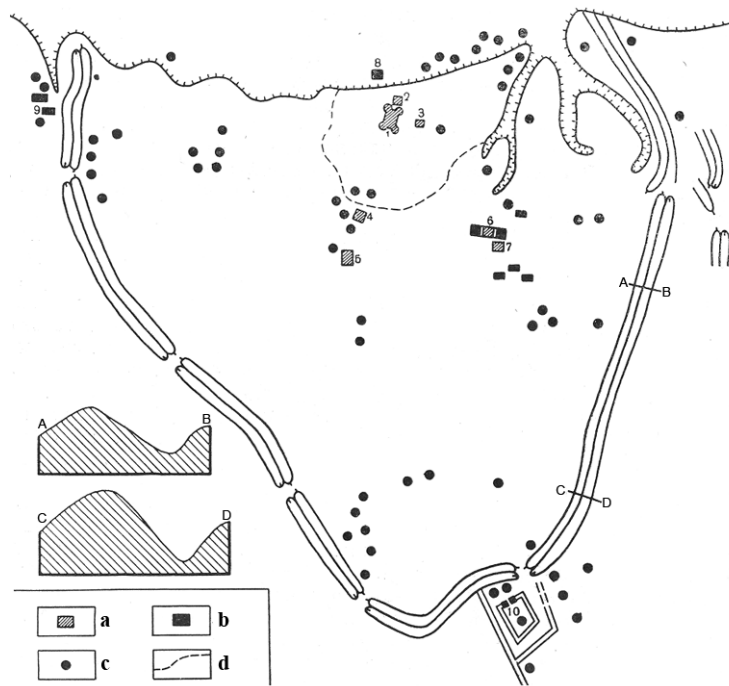
caravanserais often served as a vacuum for some Sufi communities, or that a hospice for preachers and dervishes would appear next to a caravanserai.

Another important condition was the creation in Ulus of Jochi of a somewhat stable monetary fiscal system. Even in the mid-13th century, its own monetary-weight system was formed here, the basis of which was the silver dirham ('yarmak') weighing 1,156 grams. Later, this system was organised by Tokhta Khan in 1310–1311 and, in its altered form, existed till the country's collapse, and in some regions even after that (for more details see: [Muhamadiev, 1983, pp. 41–140]). At the same time, copper coins were minted that were proportional in value to a silver coin. They circulated within the country and outside of it, and in some states (for example, in the Grand Principality of Moscow) this became the basis of the new monetary-weight system. The stability and solvency of Ulus of Jochi's traders contributed not only to the consolidation of their connections with the Mediterranean, but also to the emergence of progressive forms of credit systems, including banks and bills. In a similar way to China's yuan, paper money, or government bills, circulated on the territory of Ulus of Jochi.

Undoubtedly, apart from pure economics, the swift growth of Sarai and other cities was achieved through the importance of the khan's power. Originally created as administrative and political centres, the surroundings of which became inhabited by the aristocracy, cities quickly became places for economic activity related to the concentration, processing and redistribution of the products and wealth that flowed in from all parts of the Horde. Serving the nobility's needs became a strong incentive for a rapid upsurge in the economic and cultural lives of cities at the end of the 13—the first half of the 14th centuries, or the period of the peak power of ruling khans. However, such a tight link to the central power was eventually harmful for urban life. In the varying periods of the empire's crisis and decadence, cities started to decline due to unstable influxes of raw material and wealth, and at last completely disintegrated. The conservative lifestyle of

Plan of Bulgar city.
a—extant architectural
monuments, b—those
discovered by excavations
of the building, c—revealed
stone and brick buildings,
d—the territory
of the pre-Mongol city
(according to T. Khlebnikova)

the majority of the steppe population who were nomads with their herds in the arid steppes, and who did not actually depend on Sarai's khans, added to this downfall in a lot of ways. Therefore, amidst weakening centralisation, power was transferred from cities to nomadic hordes that became a concentration of political and military forces.



§ 3. Cities and lands of the Middle Volga Region

Bulgar city in the 13–15th centuries.

Iskander Izmaylov, [Murad Kaveyev]

Research on the Bolgar Archaeological Site has been conducted since the 18th century. In 1722 the town was visited by Peter I, who ordered to take measures to preserve the architectural monuments. In the 19th century, Bulgar and its monuments were studied by F. Erdman, N. Kaftannikov, I. Berezin and S. Shpilevsky et al. [Berezin, 1853; Shpilevsky, 1877]. Episodic excavations were begun in 1864. V. Tiesenhausen, V. Kazarinov, A. Shtuckenberg, P. Ponomarev, P. Krotov, M. Khomyakov, V. Smolin, and A. Bashkirov et al. conducted research of separate architectural monuments, ancient cemeteries, etc. A systematic study was started in 1938 by an archaeological expedition led by A. Smirnov (before 1973), and A. Efimova, O. Khovanskaya, B. Zhiromsky, T. Khlebnikova, M. Poluboyarionova, Yu. Krasnov, M. Kramarovskiy, P. Starostin and others participated in it at different times (see the history of research on the town here: [Khlebnikova, 1987, pp. 32–44]; the summary of these works

is available here: [Smirnov, 1951, pp. 105–152, 168–228; Gorod Bolgar, 1987; 1988; 1996; 2001; Kaveyev et al., 1988; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994; Kaveyev, 1995, pp. 93–103; Poluboyarionova, 2003]).

Bulgar city was one of the most ancient and significant cities in Volga Bulgaria and an important trade point on the Great Volga Route, which contributed to the rise of the Bulgarian state and its international recognition. It was one of the very first cities foreigners got to know, and even in the first third of the 10th century descriptions of the city became customary for the Eastern geographical tradition. In the latter half of the 12th century, Bulgar apparently lost its leading political and economic position in the country to Bilyar, though it still remained a large city [Khlebnikova, 1987, p. 55].

The Mongol conquest impacted the city greatly, and traces of destruction and burning have been found by archaeologists at 40 excavation sites. The layer of charred ruins consists of decayed coal 5–20 cm thick, and up to 50 cm in holes and scorches. The items found in this layer and the buildings destroyed during



View over the central part of the Bolgar Archaeological Site

the attack are fairly poor, including broken pottery, single household items, and craft waste. Thus, for example, animal bones, fragments of ceramics, an iron knife, a clay spindle whorl, a fragment of a blue-glazed Middle Asian bowl made of a composite white frit material dating to the 12–the beginning of the 13th centuries, and half of a pear-shaped jingle were found in the burnt house destroyed during the fire of 1236 during the excavation XCV carried out in 1987 [Kaveyev et al., 1988, pp. 67–68]. It is interesting that no human remnants have ever been discovered in this layer during its research. It is also possible that the population knew of the city's impending destruction and abandoned it. Lastly, this might be explained by the fact that the city did not put up as a fierce resistance as Bilyar, for example.

Bulgar's beneficial geographical location in the centre of a rich farming area near the confluence of the Volga and Kama rivers contributed to its quick recovery, but this time as the residence of the khan and his administration. The fact that by the mid 13th century Bulgar city had already earned this special status as

capital is proven by Marco Polo [Marco Polo, 1955, p. 45]. In the 1240s, the minting of Golden Horde coins was started in exactly this city. This is indicative of Bulgar's role in the mid 13th century as an economic and political centre of the Jochids' state. Starting in the 1260s, anonymous coins and coins with the names of Golden Horde khans were minted in Bulgar, and coins continued to be minted here up to the 1330s. [Fedorov-Davydov, 1987, p. 160, 163 et seq.].

During these years the city was entirely reconstructed. Ramparts were flattened and ditches were filled with earth, while the city's territory after the fire was scrupulously leveled and covered with river sand or clay loam. This can be observed clearly when examining the city's archaeological stratas.

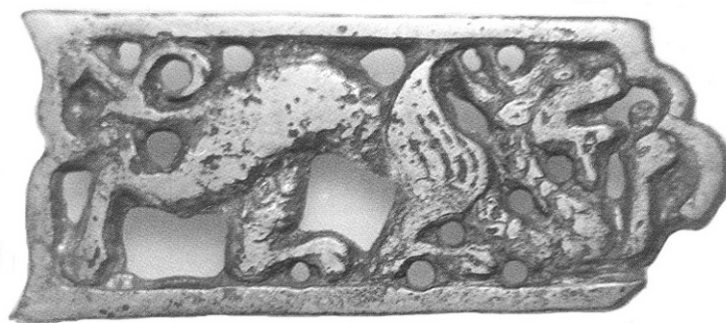
In the latter half of the 13–the beginning of the 14th centuries, Bulgar city experienced the most successful period of its history. The size of its upper terrace expanded to 900 thousand square km, and suburban towns were built adjacent to the city. At the same time, the lower part of the city behind the Melenka River start-

ed to become inhabited. The thickness of the early Golden Horde layers reached 20–80 cm there. The strata in the central part of the city is saturated with shave and wood ashes, which is indicative of the developed construction of traditional wooden hoses [Efimova, 1958]. The remains of iron and bronze productions were discovered here as

well. It seems that local bronze craftsmen specialised in the production of bronze houseware, first and foremost kettles and lockers. Leather workshops also existed, the products of which were popular among the citizens of the time. A well-crafted mesh leather called 'Al-Bulgari' enjoyed particular popularity.

Starting in the latter half of the 13th century, the area located to the east of the pre-Mongol city's border, as well as the area on the other side of the river, became settled. A great number of earthen dugouts and half-dugouts occupied by craftsmen and possibly workers were built there. Craft workshops which had existed earlier started to be reconstructed (like, iron, copper and jewellers' workshops), and other new shops were opened that specialised in blacksmithing, bone-cutting and masonry [Khlebnikova, 1987, pp. 64–65]. It appears as though potters producing houseware, fire tubes and service pipes were traditionally settled on the other side of the river. Clay items were stored in holes near houses, and other holes were used for broken and ruined products.

At the same time, a white-stone Jami-mosque (Cathedral mosque) was erected in the city centre. Its construction was completed at the beginning of the 14th century. It served as the main capital mosque of Bulgar city, and quite possibly of the whole region. In terms of its architecture it was similar to Seljuk hall mosques with their multi-row pillars. The Jami-mosque was a sub-square building with 20 inner octagonal columns supporting a wooden roof. On the southern side, opposite the entrance, a mihrab was built. It was decorated with rich, ornamented stone carving. A minaret



Belt onlay. 13th century. Bronze. Bulgar city.
Bulgarian State Historical Architectural Reserve

was adjacent to the northern facade, and inside of it a spiral staircase led to the bypass gallery. A sentence from the Quran was engraved in the middle of the minaret. The mosque was reconstructed in the 30s. Additional supportive columns were installed, and decorative niches were added on the western and eastern facades (for more details see: [Aksenova, 2001; Aydarov, 2001]).

At the end of the 13th century, two mausoleums were erected for a couple noblemen. One was placed opposite the northern facade, and the other was placed in front of the eastern one. Based on their types, they may be referred to as Islamic mausoleums, which were widely spread throughout Middle Asia, Near and Middle East. The inner rooms were half-spherical. Clay cavities that created an acoustic effect were installed in the upper part of the wall, and archaeological excavations inside of the eastern mausoleums revealed seven crypts in the form of rectangular chambers covered with rubble work held together by a lime solution. A wooden coffin was apparently placed in these chambers. Although, these burials were destroyed in the 17th century, according to the orientation of the crypts, all the deceased were buried in accordance with Islamic ritual.

South of Jami-mosque another stone building was erected in the mid 14th century in the form of a two-storeyed premise surrounded by side chambers. The second storey was a domed hall with plastered and richly ornamented walls. According to certain theories, this was a court building or an underground prison, which were typical permanent buildings for Islamic

cities. Fiscal administrative authorities were usually housed in them as well.

Starting in the beginning of the 14th century, the inhabited quarters of the eastern part of the city were renovated, and the area was settled by wealthy citizens. Houses with wooden household premises were built, the floors were wattle and daub, and heating channels made of sun-dried earth brick were installed under the floors. One or two channels came out of the upper part and were connected by the heating system under the floor. Apart from the usual household items, the inhabitants of this area used luxuriant glazed crockery imported from the Trans-Caucasus, Iran and Byzantium, celadon vases from China, and vessels made of decorative glass from Egypt and Syria.

The first stone-brick banya in Bulgar city was built, judging by the excavations, in the mid-13th century on the northern slope of the terrace. Later, the number of public banyas notably increased and became an indivisible part of Bulgar as a typical Eastern city (see: [Sharifullin, 2001]). The most exemplary is a red-brick banya that has been named the 'Red chamber', built not far from Jami-mosque on the left bank of the Melenka River under a steep slope on an area with tight-fitting plates, in the centre of which there was a fountain with a pond. It was made of brick with walls plastered with a red lime solution. A lancet arc decorated the entrance to the banya. Its inner rooms, the central hall and four corner rooms, were covered by half-cylindrical vaults and half-spherical domes. A fountain was erected in the centre of the hall. Niches were cut in the central hall's walls, where three ceramic tubes were installed: two for hot, and one for cold water. Then there was what was most likely the hottest area, a sweat room in which stone benches were placed. Tubes providing hot and cold water were installed in one of its walls, and in both halls gutters were built into the floor. There was also a service room with a stone reservoir filled with cold water, a copper boiler for boiling water and a furnace for heating. This banya, just like others, had a construction typical throughout the Near and Middle East. Banyas played an important role not only in the improvement of cities,

but also fulfilled an important public function. For example, in a number of cases they were waqfs for mosques and hospices. Every quarter, along with craft or trade workshops, tried to build its own banya because they served as meeting points or as a type of club. It comes as no surprise that galloping dominoes and chess figures were discovered here among the other findings.

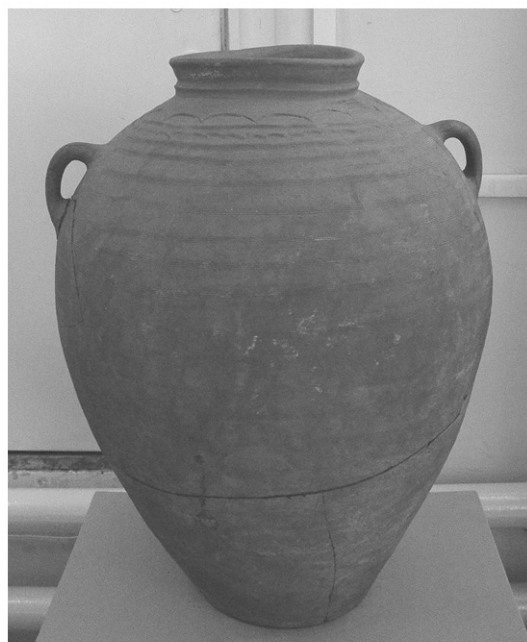
Construction along the high bank was possible only if it was strengthened against erosion and siphoned out wastewater. For this purpose, drainage pipes were laid along the streets that led to water collection wells that swallowed up melt waters and sewage [Efimova, 1954, pp. 369–391]; Baranov, 2001, pp. 321–342], while the coast itself was supported by a system of oak platforms, or frames that stretched along the entire slope (see: [Efimova, 1952, pp. 41–45]).

Bulgar was a rich and prosperous city. During periods of political stability it was a treasure for its citizens, but during times of trouble and internecine feuds, it was their curse, as the threat of war was especially increased in the political unstable environment of Ulus of Jochi in the latter half of the 14th century. Inhabitants had to take care of their defence, and for this purpose a whole system of fortifications was constructed (see: [Krasnov 1987, pp. 99–123]). They stretched from the steep river terrace to the south, turned north-eastwards and then on to the north towards the river bank, creating an irregular triangle. The length of ramparts and ditches was 8 km surrounding an area of approximately 4 million square km. Builders attempted to use natural obstacles, such as ravines and lakes, to their fullest. In areas where they were lacking, the number of fortifications was increased. Ditches and ramparts were the main elements of the city's defence system. Along the ridge of the ramparts there was a tall wooden wall made of log frames 2 meters thick, which was fortified with towers in the key points of defence (there were 17 of them along the perimeter of the wall). Sharpened spears hampering the movement of siege equipment were often hammered either into the ditches filled with water, or in front of them.

The city could be entered through any of the three gates in the southern, eastern and western walls. The entrances were strengthened by forts constructed with a whole system of cranks shafts and towers with gateways. The city's fortified area protected rich trade-and-craft quarters and the aristocracy's houses, as well as the sacred and public part of the city, including Jami-mosque, cemeteries with mausoleums, quarter mosques and banyas.

What was known as 'Little town' was built near the southeastern gates of the city. This town could have been a caravanserai for receiving guests and accommodating merchants (see: [Belyaev, 2001]). It is a wonderful monument both of utilitarian (trade, military) value and a repository of culture which was left unfinished. In fact, the remains recorded by archaeologists represented only the initial stage of building an entire complex of premises. Unfortunately, since they were unfinished and did not function, it is difficult to say anything definite about their purpose. In general, we may assume that they included both caravanserais and some cult facilities, including mosques and khanqahs (dervish lodges or hospices).

In the city's western part there was an Armenian Sloboda with a foundation that was likely laid back in pre-Mongol times, at least in the 12th century. But its genuine golden age peaked in the 13th and 14th centuries. Since religious tolerance was characteristic of the population of Bulgar, just like in other Ulus of Jochi's cities, Armenians could freely profess their religion, the Monophysite doctrine of Orthodox Christianity, and could also construct cult buildings. One unique fact is that the Orthodox cathedral, referred to as the 'Greek chamber', was likely examined in that part of the city. It belonged to the types of Armenian mortuary temples where the lower tier served as a mausoleum, and the upper was a church used by citizens of this Armenian community. A chapel was located to the southwest of the cathedral, while a Christian cemetery was found to the east. Before being buried, the deceased were dressed and covered in silk and brocade fabrics embroidered with gold and silver threads, and decorated with floral ornamentations, along with pictures of people and



Khum for storing water and grain.
13–14th centuries. Bulgar city.
Bulgarian State Historical Architectural Reserve

animals. Golden and silver earrings, temporal rings, and pearl pendants were never taken away from the deceased. Gravestones with epitaphs were erected over graves (for more details see: [Dzhanpoladyan, 1984]).

Bulgar's trade dock and the settlement of Aga-Bazar were located on the cape near the route to the Volga (see: [Zhiromsky, 1953, pp. 55–63; 1954, pp. 325–339]). In the 14th century, this area was one of the richest, and was inhabited by successful merchants and craftsmen. Here, along with wooden houses, stone buildings ornamented with wooden glazed tiles that were heated and equipped with water pipes, were also constructed. Its population consisted of craftsmen and merchants. It is most likely they sold and produced various household and luxury items, including circular pottery, iron items, bronze jewels (belt coverings, earrings, temporal rings, rings, etc), and also sold glazed vessels imported from Transcaucasia and the Middle East, celadon vases from China, and jewelry made of Baltic amber. Copper and silver pulis and dirhams minted in Bulgar and other mints of the Volga Region, Crimea and Khwarezm on behalf of Ulus Jochi's khans was circulated here (see, for exam-

ple: Yanina, 1962, pp. 153–178]). Here, in the piedmont area, were the quarters inhabited by migrants from various countries, such as Jews, Russians and others.

During the city's rise in the 14th century, various crafts, trade, and the construction of monumental buildings witnessed intense development here. The territory was widened at the expense of developing suburbs and neighbouring areas. Archaeologists discovered traces of iron production, bone-carving, leather, pottery, masonry and other crafts. Dwellings were discovered as the remains of ground wooden houses with under-floor and adobe furnaces, half-dugouts, and noble houses made of gummy and burnt bricks with an under-floor heating system. Remains have also been preserved of complex hydro-technical constructions featuring water pipes and canalisation made from clay tubes. The findings characterise expansive trade connections between Bulgaria and the different countries of the Old World.

The rise of the region's economy and the increase of Bulgar's economic strength logically boosted its role in Ulus of Jochi's political life. It began to be regularly named as one of the most important trade and religious centres of the Volga Region. During the Time of Troubles in the mid-14th century, the city suffered several sieges and conquests, including the campaign of Bulat Timer of 1361, the siege by the army of Moscow prince Dmitry Ivanovich in 1370 and 1376, and the raids of Novgorod Ushkuiniks in 1366 and 1374. They all took a considerable toll on the city, resulting in several suburbs falling into desolation.

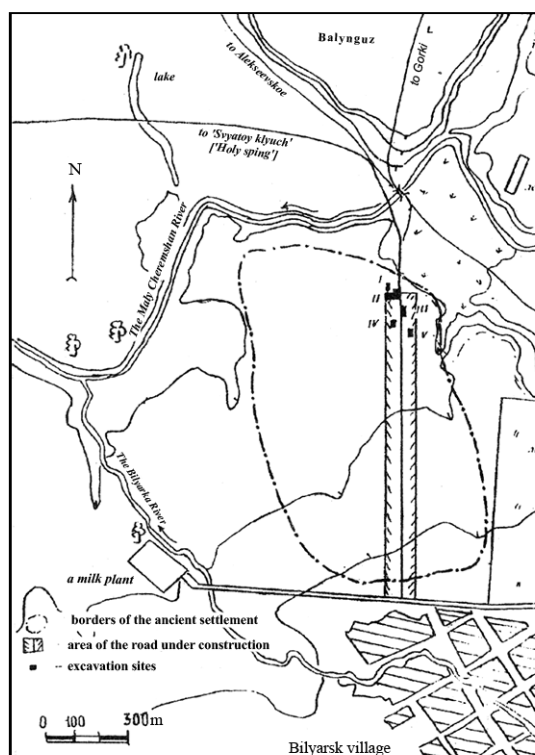
Nevertheless, in the 1370–80s, the city gradually returned to its normal pace of life. Jami-mosque was reconstructed for the second time, two door and four window embrasures were constructed, corner towers were erected on the building's corners, and decorative niches on the side facades were etched in. Definite changes also happened in the interior, where there were inner portals built near three entrances. A third layer of flooring was also added, and the inner props were increased to 36 columns standing six in a row. A square was built around the cathedral, while all wooden buildings and the cemetery were removed. The

'Red chamber' was reconstructed, but some other banyas were abandoned.

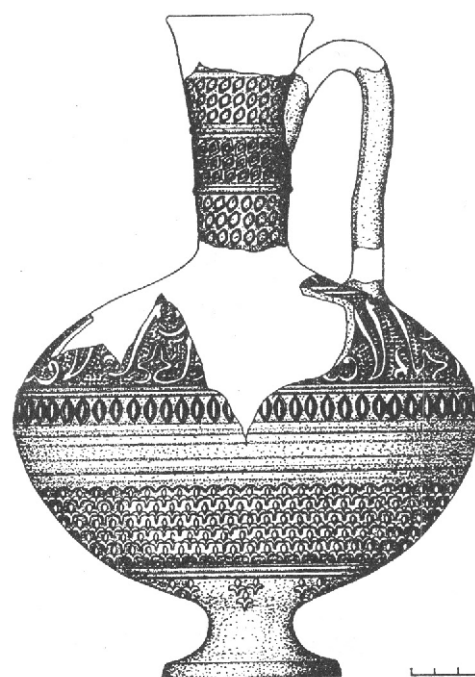
Craft and trade quarters were gradually revived, especially in the piedmont area, which was especially vulnerable to attack. New houses and trade shops were rebuilt on the site of the previously destroyed and burnt workshops and houses. New, more developed forges appeared, and an increase in the production of various items can be observed for the period. The craft quarter was moved out from the city centre, while houses belonging to rich citizens with buildings of burnt brick were constructed on their foundation using sun-dried brick.

The tradition of constructing monumental cult and public buildings continued. Starting in the mid-14th century, the eastern part of the city ceased to be inhabited. A cemetery with white-stone tombs made of lime blocks covered with plates and decorated with exquisite carvings appeared on this territory instead. They were apparently the family crypts of rich citizens. Funerals were carried out according to the Islamic custom, and an additional part of the deceased were buried in coffins.

Among these tombs, four can be distinguished in particular. They were connected to form a single block construction with separate entrances. The central mausoleum was similar to the (earlier) others, which were located near Jami-mosque. The northwestern room was originally used as a commemorative mosque in tombs. Outside, below floor-level there was a furnace with heating channels extending out from it. Later, the furnace pit was filled in, while its building was turned into an ancestral tomb in which eight bodies were buried. Brick gravestones were placed above some of them, and a minaret was built. Although it was not as great as the minaret of Jami-mosque, it was still a significant structure that made it to our time (the 'Small minaret'). The cubic foundation with triangular bevels was connected with an octagonal tier which, with the help of similar bevels, went into a round cylinder narrowing towards the upper part of the minaret with spiral stairs inside of it. On top, the minaret had a bypass area along the perimeter and the ending with a conical roof. The surface of the minaret was coated with lime slabs. A decorative arc



Plan of the Bilyar III ancient settlement



Jar with a stamped ornament.
13–14th centuries.
Bilyar III ancient settlement

niche richly ornamented with carved floral ornamentation was located on the western part, and the entrance located in the north led to the spiral stairs.

There was an ordinary city cemetery located nearby. Small stone crypts were erected above some of the graves, while gravestones with epitaphic inscriptions were constructed above others (see: [Aksenova, 2001; Mukhametshin, Khakimzyanov, 1987]).

Although the city continued to develop, its economic and political significance gradually decreased, while its functions were passed to other urban centres of the Bulgarian vilayet, for example, Kazan. At the beginning of the 15th century, Bulgar city suffered several strong military defeats that predetermined its fall and led to its complete collapse. In 1399 Moscow troops of prince Yury Dmitrievich were devastating Bulgarian cities for three months, including Bulgar, while in 1431 the campaign of the Moscow army under the command of prince Fedor Pestriy of Paletsky Principality completely destroyed the city. After this, the centre of Bulgarian lands moved to

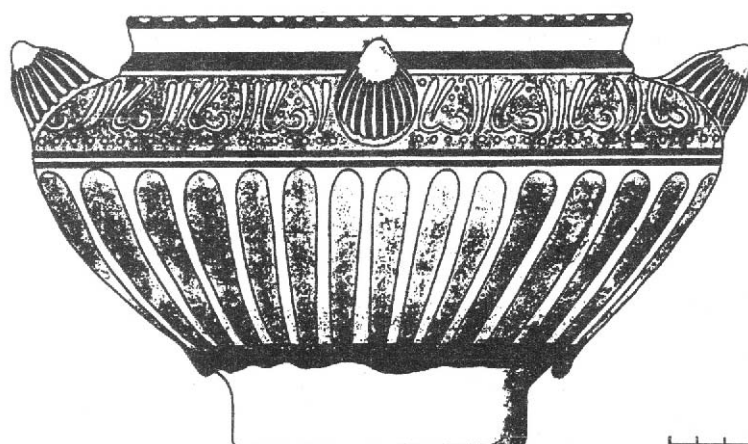
Kazan, while Bulgar became a small trade-craft town and a traditionally important centre of religious life.

Bilyar and its surroundings

Svetlana Valiulina

After the conquest of Bilyar, the population left alive apparently moved to ancient settlements that continued to exist during the Golden Horde.

The area's centre in the latter half of the 13–the first half of the 14th centuries was Bilyar of the Golden Horde, an unfortified town with a size of nearly 70 hectares located on the left bank of the Maly Chyremshan River, 1.5 km to the northwest of the pre-Mongol ancient town [Valiullina, 2000, pp. 273–287]. A new city emerged on the uninhabited free territory only partially covering pre-Mongol monuments. The city is known according to written sources and the discovery of coins of Bilyar coinage in treasures from the 1270s–80s [Muhamadiev, 1997, p. 57; Singatullina, 1998, p. 62]. The analysis of numismatic and epigraphic inscriptions has



Vessel with ultramarine
and turquoise glazing.
Bilyar III ancient settlement.
Bilyar Reserve Museum

allowed us to suggest that not only the city, but an administrative unit called 'Bilyar' existed during that time [Mukhametshin, 1997, p. 61]. Based on the existing right for coin minting, the Bilyar of the Golden Horde was one of the largest cities of the Horde and a centre of vast provinces in which the executive, administrative and tax apparatuses effectively propped up the central power [Egorov, 1985, pp. 139–141]. The surroundings of this city within a radius of 20 km included fairly large Bulgarian villages that had cemeteries with tombstones on the right bank of the Cheremshan and to the southwest of Bilyar [Khalikov, 1994, p. 85].

The collection of monuments discovered during the excavations of 1994–1998 and the annual collection of materials included household items, craft and trade items, and weaponry. The urban character of the settlement's culture is clear from the presence of expensive prestigious items.

Unglazed cookware demonstrates that their pottery traditions were continued from the pre-Mongol period. Traditional plaster and ceramic foodware spun on a wheel generally amounts to 54.4% of all known samples. The most representative is ceramic, which is characteristic of the Rodanovo culture, who inhabited the Cis-Kama Region in the 13–14th centuries (the 18th group according to T. Khlebnikova). A significant number of plaster ceramics of the 'Juketau' type were also found.

A group of monuments from the Golden Horde period and the time of the Kazan Khanate including the Balynguz Archaeolog-

ical Site, ancient settlements, a cemetery and mausoleums, is located opposite Bilyar of the Golden Horde on the right bank of the Maly Cheremshan River [Arxeologicheskie pamyatniki, 1990, pp. 77–79, no. 719–724].

The ancient town of Balunguzskoe is located on the high bank. It is surrounded by a line of ditches and ramparts along the entire perimeter, although it still produces an impression of incompleteness in many areas (low ramparts, ditches with bridges), and in the southern part there are cemeteries from the 14–15th centuries distorted by mausoleums. The cultural layer of the ancient town was thin and was poorly saturated with findings.

In the latter half of the 14th–the first half of the 15th centuries, the most significant settlement in the area was the Balynguzskoe (Toretskoe) III ancient settlement. This monument occupies the flat right bank of the Toretsky spring and the right tributary of the Maly Cheremshan River, and is located on the southeast slope of the hill on the floodplain terrace.

Excavations have revealed inhabited, economic, production, and burial objects and buildings here, along with a rich collection of archaeological, osteological, anthropological and numismatic materials. The workshops of metallurgists, blacksmiths, locksmiths, jewelers and potters have all been studied from this area [Valiulina, 2004, no. 12 (1213), pp. 157–191].

Metal products vividly reflect the high level of the settlement's craft culture and characterise it as an urban-type craft settlement.

Another important function of the urban centre is international trade, which can also be easily observed in the discovered materials, including parts of weights, lead seals, imported expensive cookware (porcelain, glazed, stamped), glass products, amber and coins. Expensive prestigious items reflect an 'urban culture' or lifestyle which, in comparison with the rural style, bore special features in its architecture and dwelling design. Single findings of mosaic tiles made of composite white frit material with turquoise and cobalt glaze have been

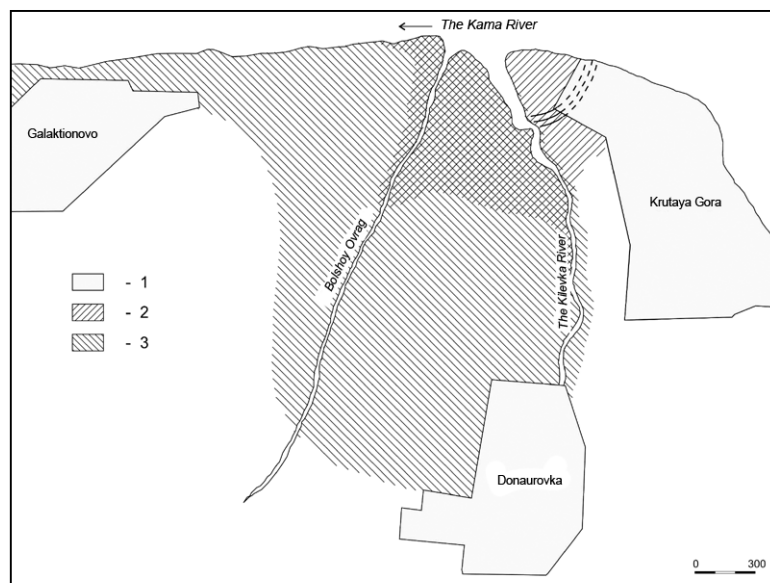
found every year during excavations. However, over 150 of them were discovered in one of the buildings. It is obvious that its interior and sufa were decorated with a poly-chrome mosaic.

Agriculture undoubtedly played a huge role in the settlement's life, which is evidenced by multiple discoveries, both archaeological (sickles, scythes, coulter, millstone, parts of harnesses, shackles, etc. [Mardanshina, 2004, pp. 122–132], and osteological [Asylgaraeva, 2001, pp. 79–83]. Excavations have provided scientists with exemplary materials that provide evidence of hunting, fishing and crafts.

A large collection of coins was discovered in the ancient settlement minted during the first quarter of the 15th century. The most ancient is the coin of Vasily the Blind.

Therefore, the monument may be dated to the latter half or the end of the 14th century—the first half of the 15th century, and may be considered transitional from the Golden Horde period to the Kazan Khanate.

The populated localities we have examined reflect the continuous nature of the colonisation of the area of the Bilyar Archaeological Site from the pre-Mongol period to the period of the Kazan Khanate. Even with the fall of the state's pre-Mongol capital and main centre of the micro-region, life in its surrounding areas



Plan of the ancient town of Juketau. Territories: 1—of present-day villages, 2—of the Golden Horde city, 3—the Bulgarian city

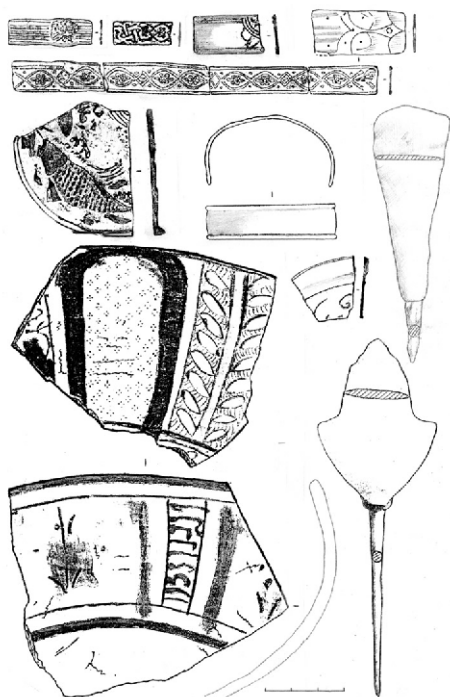
did not stop. Indeed, its economic and cultural potential was in demand and actively used by the population in the 13–15th centuries.

Juketau

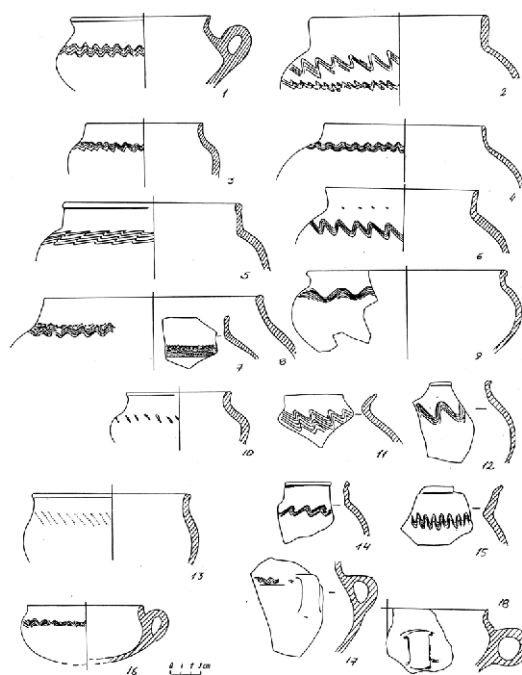
Nail Nabiullin, Fayaz Khuzin

One of few Bulgarian cities located in the Trans-Kama Region that did not cease to exist after 1236 is the historically well-known and reliably localized Juketau, the archaeological remains of which are situated on the left bank of the Kama River at the western edge of the present-day city of Chistopol, the Republic of Tatarstan.

In the mid 13th century, the city was conquered and destroyed. In a number of areas of the ancient town and the 'Western posad' (the Donaurovskoe II ancient settlement) located on the opposite bank of the Kilevka River, the pre-Mongol layer is overlapped with a small dark layer of burnt wood, crushed, decomposed coal and calcined sand. It cannot be excluded from theory that fragments of human remnants discovered in the arable layer and in the filling of one of the household's holes on the ancient settlement's territory are connected to the historical events of 1236. In the stratigraphical sense, the borderline of the carbonic layer be-



Archaeological materials from the
Donauvskoe II ancient settlement.
Excavations by N. Nabiullin



'Juketau' ceramics from excavations

tween the pre-Mongol and Golden Horde layers, its spread throughout a significant territory of the complex, and the discovery of rare but weighty materials such as 'notched' arrowheads, allow us to treat it as the archaeological traces of the Mongol conquest of Juketau [Khlebnikova, 1975, pp. 234–251].

In the wake of military acts it was impossible to avoid their economic consequences: the population started moving to safer northern regions, and connections between the city and neighbouring districts were broken. However, the city's significant potential in the preceding period and the total absence of large rival-cities nearby led to a certain influx and concentration of the population in Juketau and to the revitalisation of its economy.

Throughout the examinations of Juketau's fortified area, researchers noticed a weakness in the Golden Horde layer and a plainness of discoveries of that time [ibid]. It is typical that the ancient town's fortifications functioned only during pre-Mongol period [Nabiullin, 1998, pp. 219–223]. The absence of the Golden

Horde layer in the town can be explained by the fact that its territory was not really beneficial for economic activities. It was a high area far from water with its ground saturated by small stones, etc.

Lands on the opposite side of the Kilevka River (the archaeological Donauvskoe II ancient settlement) were more convenient for the population's activities. Their development was begun during the initial stage of the pre-Mongol period (during that period it was the historical 'Western posad' of the city), and the absence of sterile layers between them points to the continuous nature of their accumulation.

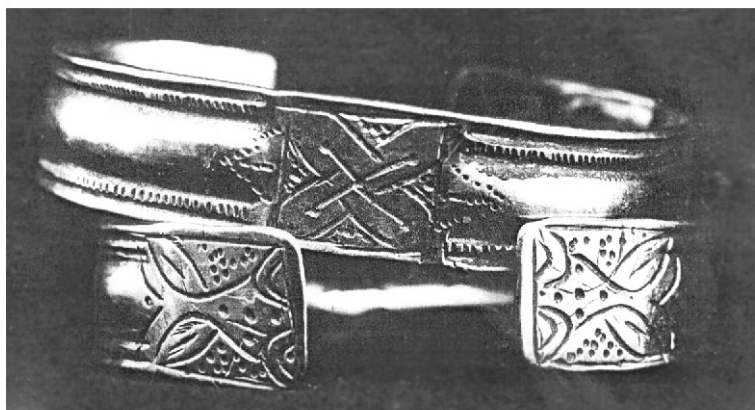
The set of unglazed ceramics from this layer is typical for the Golden Horde. Apart from the quantitative and qualitative changes that happened within pottery groups of a large chronological scale like group I ('common-Bulgarian') and group XIII ('Juketau') [Khlebnikova, 1984; Vasilieva, 1993; Kokorina, 2002], entire groups typical of the former epoch ceased to exist, while new groups began to appear. The increase of dishware produced according to

mixed traditions can be observed ('common-Bulgarian' forms and ornament with a coarse-sand and medium-sand paste and polished surface, the loss of the tilt in the multiple-row 'Juketau' wave, etc.). Imported 'stamp' ceramics and local copies of it appeared, and the glazed ceramics of composite white frit metal are mostly dated to the Golden Horde period.

Fragments of cast-iron cookware, bronze plate bracelets, mirrors, glazed crockery of composite white frit metal, buttons and whorls, and certain types of iron arrowheads were found in the layer dated from that period as well [Nabiullin, 2000, pic. 3]. Moreover, a number of redeposited and lifted items, as well as those found inside the layer, would be better to date to the 13–14th centuries. Some samples of keys and lockers were also among them.

Coin findings are considered to belong to a large diapason from the 1240s to the 1380s. Several treasures of silver coins totaling 600 units were also discovered [Fedorov-Davydov, 1963, IV, pp. 165–221, no. 57, 58, 58a].

Juketau of the Golden Horde grew southward and westward by widening the territory of the former 'Western posad', which then became the main and immediate part of the 'open-type' city. At the end of the 14th century, its size reached 150 hectares. A number of objects of residential, general economic and craft-production purposes are studied here. The cemetery continued to stretch southwards during the Golden Horde period [Khlebnikova, 1975, p. 258, 249]. Researchers of the 19th century were already noticing gravestones near the village of Donaurovka, and according to locals, they repeatedly found human skulls here. In this respect, we should pay attention to the somewhat uncertain messages of 19th century researchers about gravestones 'opposite the ancient town', and possible burials on the cape of this ancient settlement [Khuzin, Nabiullin, 1999, p. 97]. The 'Zhukotino headstone', known in the 19th century but now lost [Fakhrutdinov,



Golden bracelets from the Juketau treasure

1975, no. 1081], is also a remnant of Juketau's cemetery of the Golden Horde period. Therefore, the Juketau of the Golden Horde lost its perceptible boundaries by 'spreading out' into the terrace, especially along the Kama River, for several kilometers.

It is noteworthy that the remains of the Golden Horde's Juketau are an ancient settlement in the archaeological sense, in which there are traces of large craft industries, trade equipment, coins, rich treasures, and 'city' ornaments, as well as items of remote import and items from foreign cultures [Nabiullin, 2001, pp. 53–74].

Juketau was one of the largest craft centres of the area beyond the Kama River. We can trace a notable concentration of discovered factory buildings from the iron and non-ferrous metal industries, as well as the metal-forming industry, as well as obvious indicators of production, including raw materials and billets, slag and iron balls, spoilage and production waste. The cultural layer of Juketau's unfortified area is generally saturated with traces of industrial activities, especially slag and small fragments of brick. In the general set of cultural remains, tools and objects of artisans labour are widely represented (puncheons, chisels, an anvil; crucibles, moulds, etc.). The remains of pottery furnaces are recorded at a significant distance from the former pre-Mongol territory of the city (closer to the present-day village of Galaktionovo) [Khuzin, 1994, p. 141; Khuzin, Nabiullin, 1999, pp. 90–113; Nabiullin, 1999, pp. 101–126]. There is also a wide range of un-

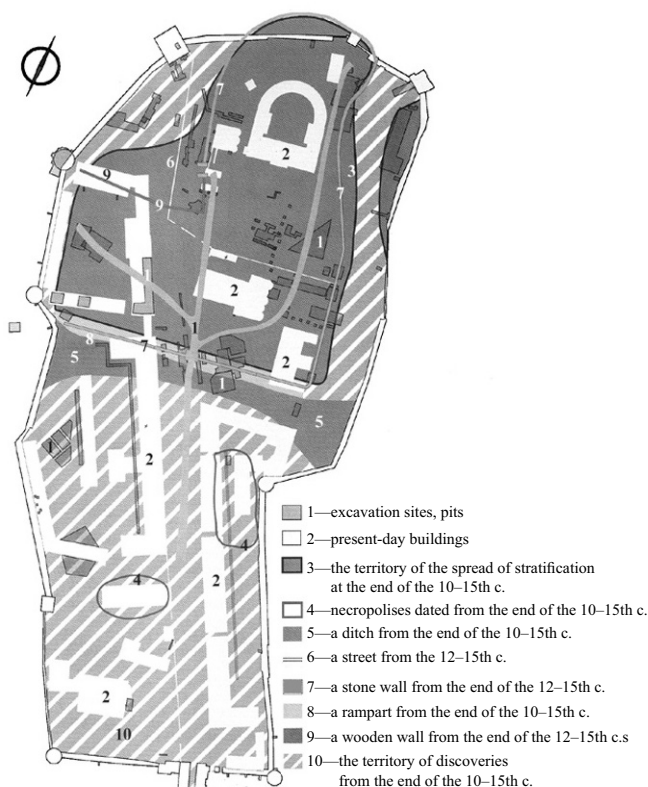
glazed ceramics, while the production of glazed crockery and glassmaking, much the opposite, did not gain development, which can probably be explained by the lack of these traditions in the former period of the city's history and the Bilyar's monopoly.

In any event, Juketau's citizens were involved in farming and cattle-breeding; hunting played an insignificant role in the economy, while fishing was also important.

Among the ceramics, the traditional dishware of the 'Juketau style', which on average represents about half of the monument's entire ceramic discoveries, continued to occupy a special place. In the pre-Mongol period, the existence of a special group of dishware was in many ways related to the authenticity of the ethnic groups that produced it. In the Golden Horde period, examples of ceramics bear a craft/production element.

Juketau was not simply just one of the largest centres of local, regional and interstate trade. This city also controlled the neighbouring bridges across the Kama. In general, this must have been one of the most significant centres of the Kama trade route. When Volga Bulgaria was annexed to Ulus of Jochi, many former international connection routes of Juketau became de facto interstate roads. However, we should not exaggerate Juketau's role and significance state-wide and on an international scale (the city did not mint coins, etc.). As early as in the latter half of the 14th century this is recorded in foreign sources, including the Russian chronicles, the Catalan Atlas and the maps of the Pizzigani brothers (*Sacetim*, *Sachatim*).

The strengthening of centrifugal tendencies and 'separatism' is related to the weakening of Ulus of Jochi in the latter half of the 14th century. As we can assume, in the second half of the 14th century there was a range of lands/'principalities' distinguished here. The degree of their dependency varied depending on the power of one Golden Horde khan or another, and the capabilities of the current governor. The lands that might have been the second most significant kingdom after Bulgar appeared to be 'the principality of Zhukotino', known from the Russian chronicles. The chronicles of the second half of the 14th–the beginning of the 15th century mention *the city*



Plan of Kazan. The spread of the medieval city's cultural layers

of Zhukotin (*Zhyukotin*, *Zhyukonin*, *Zhukontin*, *Zhikotin*, *Zhukon*, *Zhyukomen*), its citizens ('the Zhukotins', 'the Zhukotnits') and 'Zhukotino' 'princes'. The gradual decline and desolation of this large city happened due to deeper reasons, the first of which was its economic characteristics. It is obvious that the well-known, general historical events and phenomena of this time, including changes in trade routes, the redistribution of markets, the migration to the Cis-Kama Region, etc., gradually took a toll on Jekatau. Buried treasures which were unique 'indicators of the population's anxiety' seem quite logical in such an uneasy and unstable environment. Among them, the Juketau jewelry treasure containing coins (golden dinars of India's Patan sultans minted in 1340/41) found in 1924 is especially famous [Smolin, 1925; Nabiullin, 2006, pp. 31–36]. This rich treasure, which contained golden bracelets, a 'brooch', a 'case for a talisman', as well as pearl jewelry, was unfortunately stolen, so further full-scale scientific study is impossible.

The heavy distortion of Juketau's upper archaeological stratas and poor development in the narrow chronology of the late and post-Golden Horde antiquities makes it difficult to determine the end date in the city's lifespan. Based on the most recent numismatic discoveries, it is most likely that it falls somewhere in the end of the 14–the beginning of the 15th century.

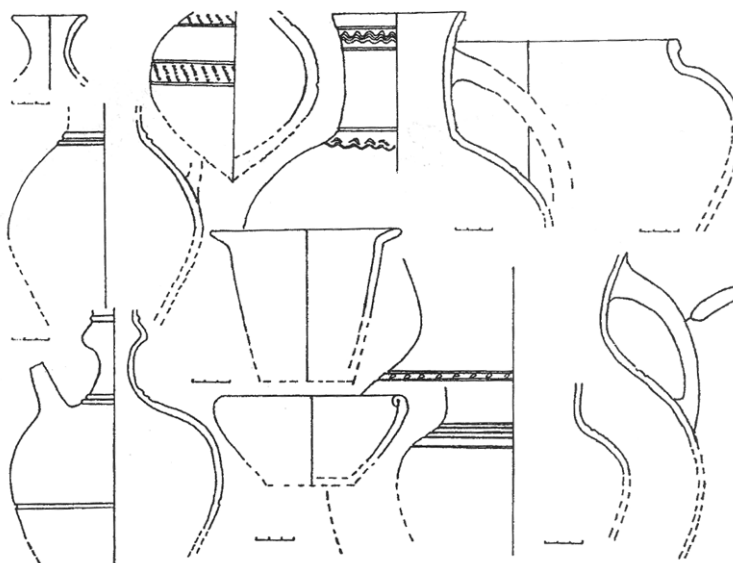
We should pay special attention to the localisation of medieval monuments on the territory and surrounding areas of the present-day town of Chistopol. Medieval materials were found there in the central part of the modern urban area. The assumed widening of the posad's territory southwards during the Golden Horde period is observable in the Epigraphic inscriptions of the first third of the 14th century on the contemporary Islamic cemetery of the city located upwards on the river. It is noteworthy that according to the content of several published [Khakimzyanov, 1987] and newly discovered monuments, members of the aristocracy were buried here.

Kazan in the Golden Horde era

Airat Sitdikov, Fayaz Khuzin

The epoch of Ulus of Jochi is an important stage in the development of Kazan and its further history. At the time of the conquest and destruction of Volga Bulgaria's largest cities by the Mongols, Kazan was most likely left untouched. No archaeological facts evidencing the city's collapse in 1236 have ever been found.

However, scientists are inclined to relate the arrowheads belonging to the collection of findings discovered after the Kazan Kremlin was excavated that started appearing in Eastern Europe during the period of Mongol conquests, as well as the charred ruins in the Golden Horde layers to Mengu-Timur's campaign against Volga Bulgaria [Drevnyaya Kazan', 1996, p. 324].



Circular pottery. 12–14th centuries. Kazan

When Volga Bulgaria and the Russian principalities were united in the common administrative and political system of Ulus of Jochi, the role of Kazan as a near-border fortress was lost. However, it did not cease to be the area's administrative centre, and continued to control settlements in the basin of the Kazanka River. The influx of populations from southern regions that continued throughout this period was a serious factor in the strengthening of this region. A new turning point in the region's history became the formation of the migrant feudal nobility. This is evidenced by the headstones found on the territory of the ancient town of Kabanskoe. Kazan's economic significance in the region gradually increased, and its role in the political life of the Golden Horde's Bulgarian Ulus was consolidated.

By the end of the Golden Horde period, Kazan turned from a marginal town into one of the most noticeable economic and political centres of the Middle Volga Region [Khuzin, Sitdikov, 2005, pp. 87–94]. The city developed dynamically and gradually expanded southwards along the ridge of Kremlin hill. By the mid-15th century, the city's unfortified posad reached its southern edge. A craft posad was formed in the area of the Virgin Monastery. This place is known in Piscovaja knigas as an 'Old ancient town' ('Staroe gorodishche'), and

unfortunately the remains of its assumed fortifications have not yet been discovered. Materials from the Golden Horde period are sporadically discovered in the process of security and rescue works that have recently been being carried out on the city's streets, and even on the left bank of the Bulak River.

During this period, craft production also penetrated into the fortified part of the city, which is evidenced by the melted refractories found in the Tezitsky ditch traditionally associated with high-temperature production.

The fortifications of the Kazan fortress on Kremlin hill were maintained throughout the entire Golden Horde period in the same scale as during pre-Mongol times. However, by the first half of the 15th century they started to fall apart because they had not been repaired for a very long time. On the southern side, the ditch was gradually filled with earth, construction and household debris.

Residential and household constructions on the fortified territory dating to the latter half of the 13th century were arranged along the central street without any definitive system. Due to the influx of new populations, building within the fortress became more intense, which thus predetermined the formation of more regulated building in the future and the creation of new streets.

By the end of this period, an internal layout appeared in the Kazan fortress that existed with its main features up till the end of the 17th century [ibid]. Apart from the central stone passage, two more streets paved with wood can also be dated to the Golden Horde period. One of them, just as before, led from the southern gates to the descent in the northeastern edge of the fortress. Another street laid perpendicular to the central one and led from the fortress' western wall to the northwestern edge of the modern building of the Annunciation Cathedral. All three streets crossed near the southern gates, which created a small square in this part of the city.

The revival of stone buildings after the pre-Mongol period is dated to the end of the 14–the beginning of the 15th century, as we may judge by the extant data. Fragments of glazed faced tile coloured blue, turquoise and ultramarine are often found in the Golden Horde layer. They are associated with the ex-

ternal polychrome facing of stone buildings. Such constructions are known in many Golden Horde cities, and similar buildings were apparently erected in Kazan as well.

The city was inhabited by a mixed population in the social and ethnic senses [ibid]. The bulk of material from the Golden Horde layer is different from the discoveries of the preceding time. Ceramic cookware is represented here by fragments of vessels that had their closest analogues in the materials of the Lower and Middle Volga cities of Ulus of Jochi. The roots of this dishware can be traced to the high-tech, pre-Mongol and Bulgarian Middle Asian pottery. The presence of migrants from neighbouring Russian principalities in Kazan is proven by the special white-clay cookware that was characteristic of North-Eastern Rus', as well as separate findings of cross and icon-pendants. Ceramic material also evidences the local Volga Region Finnish population living among Kazan's residents.

The general historical processes of this period had a mostly favourable influence on the city's development. The small Bulgarian settlement of the pre-Mongol period gradually grew, turning into a significant political and economic centre of the Middle Volga Region by the end of the 14th century. The weakening of Bulgar city, especially after the events of 1361, led to the consolidation of Kazan as a fairly large city and its recognition as a political centre. Russian chronicles started mentioning it at the end of the 14th century [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 6, p. 130; 8, p. 72; 10, p. 169; 20, p. 219; 24, p. 167; 28, p. 89].

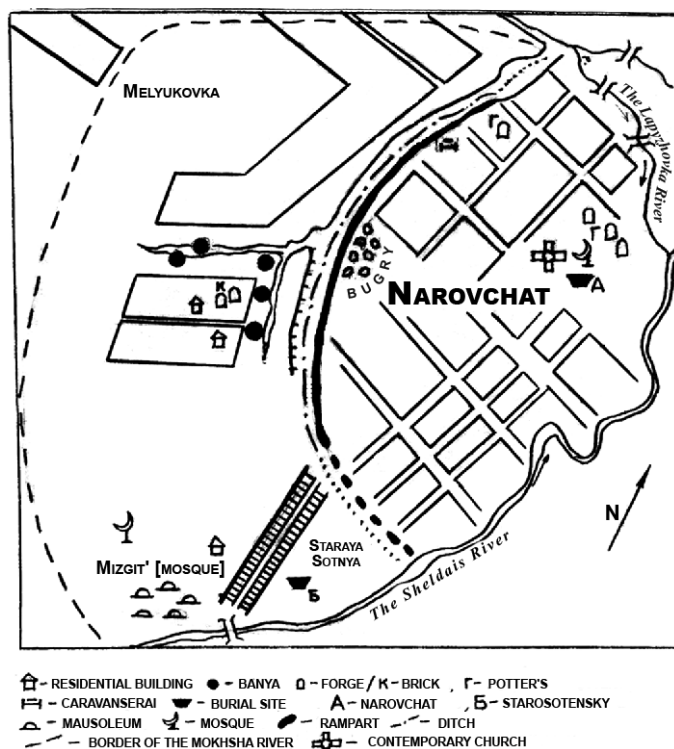
And it was in this period that Kazan started to play a more intensive role among other Bulgar-Tatar cities of the Middle Volga Area. It became a new centre on the former outskirts of Volga Bulgaria. This is proven by the coins minted at the turn of the 14–15th centuries on behalf of Ghiyas al-Din with the indication of the place as 'Bulgar' or 'Bulgar al-Jadid' (New Bulgar) [Muhamadiev, 2005; 1999, p. 253].

The consolidation of Kazan's role as a trade centre with international connections found its reflection in Western European maps of the first half of the 14–15th centuries. Many of them indicate the city of *Castrum* (Sazla-

Plan of Mokhsha (Nurijan)
(according to G. Belorybkin)

ta, Castarina) or 'Fortress' to the north of the Volga and Kama inter-fluve, on the site of modern Kazan [Drevnyaya Kazan', 1996, p. 324; Khafizov, 2000]. The development of international trade is proven by the archaeological materials, including glazed crockery with polychrome painting imported from the craft centres of the Lower Volga Region, the Caucasus and Middle Asia, fragments of celadon bowls from China, and separate discoveries and treasures of Jochid coins from the 'Golden Horde' layer of the Kremlin.

The location of Kazan on one of the most crucial transit trade ways on the Volga River undoubtedly contributed to its further development. In the Golden Horde period, it transformed from a small near-border fortress on Volga Bulgaria's outskirts, having mainly military/trade functions, into a fairly large regional centre. By the



time Ulugh Muhammad and his sons arrived, it might have already been in control of other Bulgarian principalities. The historical circumstances undoubtedly made the city's transition into the Kazan Khanate's capital inevitable.

§ 4. The Ulus of Mokhsha

Gennady Belorybkin

At the turn of the 13–14th centuries, Mukhsha Ulus was formed within the Golden Horde on the border with Rus'. The Russian chronicles called it the *Naruchad Horde*. It was located in the Moksha River midstream, at the border of present-day Penza Oblast and the Mordovian Republic. The ulus' capital was the city of Nurijan (Naruchad), which was located on the territory of present-day Narovchat village, in which traces of Narovchat ancient town were discovered. The latter was located between the Sheldais and Lapyzhovka Rivers and occupied an area of roughly 250 hectares.

Mokhsha city was discovered in the 1920s by A. Krotkov and later studied by A. Alikhova in the 1960s, and then in the 1990s by Yu. Zele-

neev and G. Belorybkin [Krotkov, 1928; 1938; Alikhova, 1948; 1959; 1969; 1973; 1976; Poleskikh, 1970; 1977; Zeleneev, 1991; Belorybkin, 1995; 2003; Belorybkin et al., 1999; Belousov, 1995]. Following the examination of the ancient town and the neighbouring monuments from the 12–14th centuries, scientists managed to reveal the main landmarks in the history of the city and Mukhsha Ulus.

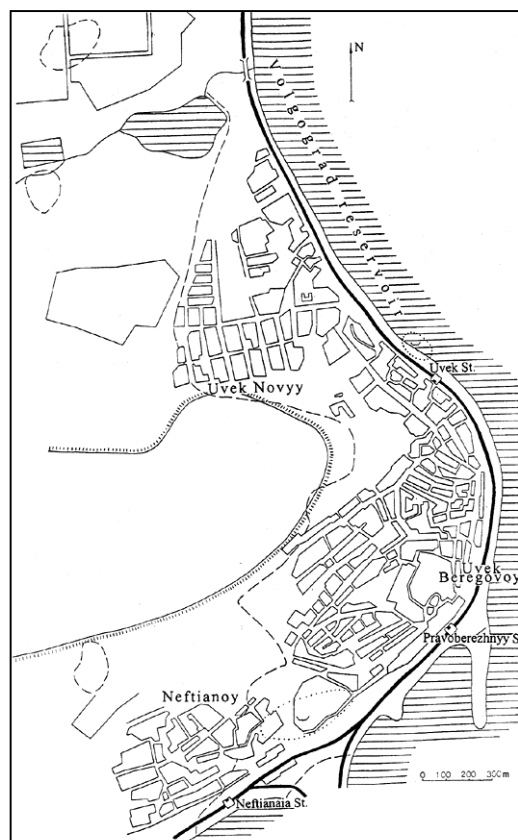
The city was probably built in the 11–12th centuries and partly destroyed during Batu's raids against Rus' in the 1230s–40s. A part of the population was killed, some people moved away, and others became part of the Mongol army [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 10, p. 211].

of khans and emirs Tokhta, Öz Beg, Kildi Beg, Tagai, and Bulat-Timur are found on their faces [Belousov, 1995; Belousov, Golubev, 1998]. The coins are also evidence of extensive contacts between Ulus Mukhsha and other regions of the Golden Horde. Multiple coins from other cities were found in Mukhsha, while Mukhsha coinage has been discovered in other cities as well.

By the 1330s–50s, Mukhsha reached the apogee of its development. The ulus' territory stretched out in the east to the Sura River, in the west to the Tsna River, in the north to the basin of the Tesha River, and in the south to the Khoper. This is evidenced both by the products of Nuriyan (Mukhsha) city, and by the coin treasures found throughout the area [Polesskiikh, 1970]. When the 'Great Troubles' began in the Golden Horde, Mukhsha found itself in the centre of military and political opposition.

In 1361 the city was conquered by Tagai. In 1365 he undertook a successful campaign against the Ryazan Principality, but was defeated by Russian troops on his way back near Shishovsky forest and had to escape. He was also forced to leave Ulus Mukhsha.

In 1367 the city fell under Bulat-Timur's control, but not for long, as Mukhsha's ruling elite had decided to enter into an alliance with Ryazan. The loss of traditional connections with southern and eastern cities and states meant that coins stopped entering into Mukhsha because of the battles being fought within Ulus of Jochi, which contributed to an orientation towards the Russian lands. But Mukhsha did not manage to stay separate from the turmoil in Ulus of Jochi, either. Undoubtedly, the city had to suffer through difficult times: workshops and buildings fell into disrepair, and



Plan of the Uvek archaeological site

people left their native homes and departed to safer lands, mostly to the north.

Aksak Timur made the final blow to Mukhsha's existence. In 1395, while chasing after Tokhtamysh, he destroyed the city of 'Mashkav' [Safargaliev, 1960], causing the whole ulus to collapse. The influential feudal lords gradually started to leave Ulus of Mukhsha (the Naruchad Horde), and enrolled into the service of Moscow princes.

§ 5. Ukek and its surroundings

Leonard Nedashkovsky

The area of Ukek city (which was located in the central part of present-day Saratov Oblast) occupied an important strategic position in the Volga Region between the Bulgarian cities in the north and the Lower Volga agglomeration in the south.

The ruins of the Golden Horde city of Ukek (the ancient town of Uvek) are located on the right bank of the Volga, in the southern suburb of Zavodskoy district of present-day Saratov, near the villages of Uvek and Neftyanoy. Today, the ancient town is



Dirham of Tokhta Khan. Reverse side
with an inscription: 'Sultan/ supreme Gias /
Tokhtogu (the line is written with an Uighur script) /
the Just, let his life be long'; reverse side:
'There is no God except for / of Allah,
Muhammad Rasul / of God. Coinage / of Ukek'.
Circa 706–707 AH (1306–1308)

almost completely covered with construction.

In the east, Ukek was bordered by the Volga, in the west by Mount Kalancha (135 m high), and in the north by the Uvekovka (Uvesha) River. The ancient town of Uvekskoe had a ditch and an earth rampart as its fortifications, which extended from Kalancha to the Volga. In the south, vast cemeteries with mausoleums and stone tombs were located adjacent to the city.

The ancient town of Uvekskoe measures over 3.3 km from north to south, and almost 1.4 km from west to east. Today the ancient town's area is over 205 hectares, but it has been being washed out by the Volga for centuries, thus Ukek's size was much larger during the existence of Ulus of Jochi. Judging by the territory, we may assume that the city's population in its golden age included approximately 910 thousand people, which was a fairly significant number for a medieval city.

Ukek was one of the earliest and largest cities of the Golden Horde (its foundation can be dated to the end of the 1140s–50s). Similar to other Ulus of Jochi cities, it minted coins (between 1266 and 1312) which is an indicator of the city's important political role. Based on the discovery of coins, we may assume that it was most economically active from 1270–1360s. In the last third of the 14th century, the city, just like many other Golden Horde centres, fell into decline caused by decades of internecine wars and the weakening of the khan's power. The link between the city's collapse and its destruction by Tamerlane is proven by the written, archaeological and numismatic sources, which



Vessel cover with an inlay and an amiable inscription.
Ukek

evidence that Ukek as a city ceased to exist at the very end of the 14th century.

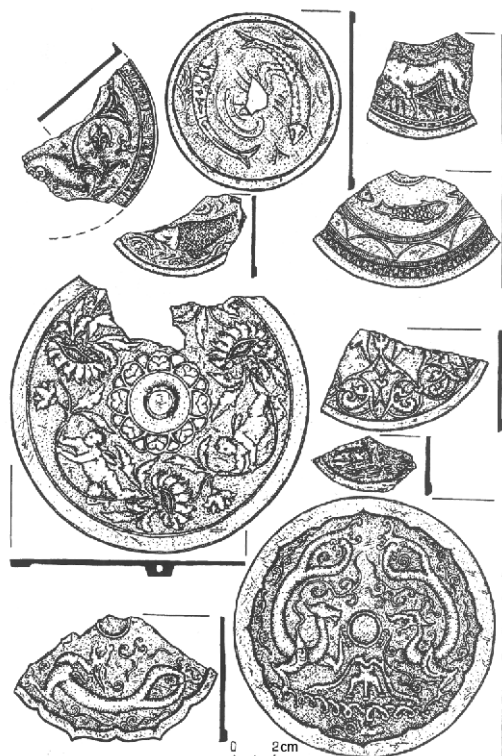
The proportion of dirhams from 1266–1291 for the ancient town of Uvek amounts to 10.6%, which exceeds the corresponding indicators of other cities of Ulus of Jochi by several times. The proportion of Tokhta silver coins is also extremely high at 19.2% of all discovered dirhams. The proportion of Öz Beg dirhams in the ancient town amounts to 25.2%, while Janibek silver coins are found in a smaller number in Ukek than in other large cities of Ulus Jochi (25.8%). There are 25 (16.6%) dirham samples dated from the time of internecine feuds at the end of the 1350s–the beginning of the 1380s. Almost all of them were minted on behalf of the khans reigning in a narrow chronological period between 1357 and 1367. Dirhams from the end of the 1360s–70s are only represented

by a single specimen (Kaganbek, 777AH) in the ancient town of Uvek, which points to a decline in silver coin circulation in Ukek during this period. There are references to only 3 Tokhtamysh silver coins dated from 785–788 AH. This allows us to speak of a final decline in dirham circulation in Ukek at the end of the 1380s–90s.

The active circulation of pulis began in Ukek only during the reign of Öz Beg Khan (17.3%), and the majority of copper and silver coin discoveries were from Janibek's rule (54.7%). The proportion of copper coins from 1357–1368 in Ukek amounts to 27.4%.

Significant contributions to the study of this Golden Horde city were made by H. Fraehn, G. Sablukov, P. Ponomarev, A. Krotkov, B. Zaykovsky and F. Ballod. Archaeological excavations of the ancient town of Uvek were repeatedly carried out in the 1890s—the first quarter of the 20th century. The materials of the excavations from 1913 and 1919 are the most famous, and are published in great detail. During those two research periods, the ruins of a brick mausoleum with nine aristocratic burials in it, a furnace for baking the tiles used to build the mausoleum, as well as neighbouring constructions and crypts were all excavated. Starting in 1993, Ukek and its surroundings have been examined annually by a team from Kazan State University led by L. Nedashkovsky

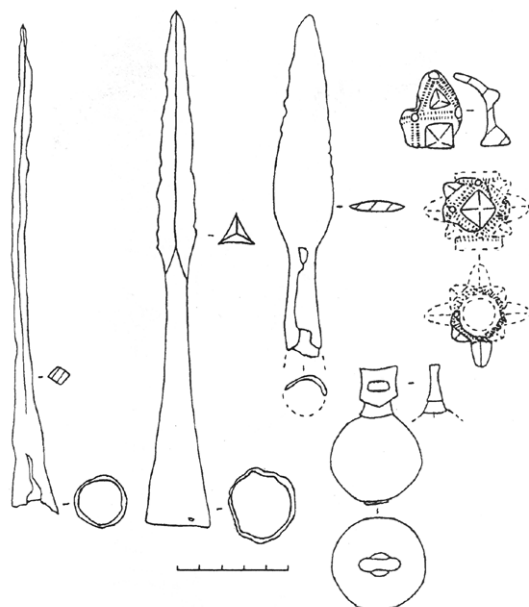
A whole range of settlements and burial sites—both from the settled and nomadic population—were discovered in Ukek's surroundings. The suburbs of Golden Horde Ukek were formed back in the last quarter of the 13—the beginning of the 14th centuries and existed until the city's collapse at the end of the 14th century. The settled population prevailed over the nomads during the time in this area. The nomadic world dominated on the Volga's left bank, where the domain of the Golden Horde's khans was situated and where, judging by the data from written sources, their main camps nomadised. Traditions of sedentism were instead stronger on the right bank. Nomad burial sites were also often arranged close to settlements, which is indicative of an interpenetration and symbiosis of the nomadic and settled lifestyles in Ukek's surroundings. However, the inventory of items from nomadic burials on the terri-



Mirrors produced by the Golden Horde. Bronze.
Ukek. 13–14th centuries.

tory under consideration is markedly different from other settlements, which is undoubtedly conditioned by the different economic systems: nomadic cattle-breeding on the one hand, and settled farming and crafts on the other.

A significant part (possibly, the majority) of the population professed Islam by the mid-14th century: over half of all burials researchers have access to were carried out in accordance with Islamic customs. This can be judged by the multiple discoveries of crosses, stone and bronze icons, and details of chandeliers (corona lucis) from Orthodox Christianity, which penetrated in from Rus', while Catholicism also made its appearance from Western Europe. The Mongol elite of Ukek who remained in power at least until the third decade of the 14th century adhered to their shamanistic beliefs, which can be assumed based on the discoveries of metal figurines of men ('iltahans', which symbolised the human soul and were attached to ongons, or images of Mongolian deities) and from other details of the material culture.



Both in Ukek's surroundings and the city itself, a significant amount of materials of alien (non-Golden Horde) culture can be traced. These mostly include items considered to be from the old-Russian and old-Mordovian monument group. According to burial materials, we may see that apart from the Kipchaks, the Central Asian (Mongolian) population dominated among Ukek's aristocracy.

We should also note that Mordovian materials were present in 6 settlements. However, they are not as numerous as Old Russian items, and were found only on the right bank of the Volga (and only in the northern and central parts of the area of our interest, which were closer to the Morvodian monuments of the 13–14th centuries).

A number of weights and their details were found in the ancient town of Uvek. The fact that trade was highly developed in Uvek is evidenced by 11 coin treasures (10 more treasures were discovered in the city's suburbs), more than 1,450 registered findings of various coins, as well as products of non-local production, which were also found on its territory. The discoveries of coins of the Hulaguids and Old Russian principalities, fragments of amphorae of Trabzon and Trilla origins, glazed ceramics from the Black Sea Region (made using the 'sgraffito' technique), the Middle and Near East (with luster painting and in the 'minai' style), and other items of Near and Middle Eastern, Central Asian and Western European production were discovered in Uvek.

According to the written records of the Golden Horde epoch, Ukek is represented as one of the most ancient genuine Golden Horde cities. The first proven mention of Ukek can be found as early as in the work of famous Venetian traveler Marco Polo, whose father and uncle visited this city in 1262. Western European documents (three of which are dated from the 1320s, 1330s and 1370s–1380s) point out that in the 14th century, one of the support bases for Catholic Franciscan monks was operational in Ukek. The name "Ukek" in Italian transcription is also indicated in Western European geographical maps of the brothers Domenico and Francesco Pizzigani (1367) and Fra Mauro (1459). Ukek is mentioned in the work of Eastern authors from the first third of the 14th century: 'Taqwim al-buldan' ('Survey of the Lands') by Abu al-Fida, and 'Vassaf's History'. Ukek is also noted in the geographical work of al-Umari, the Egyptian sultan's secretary in the first half of the 14th century. In the course of his travels throughout the Golden Horde in 734 (1333/1334), the city was also visited by Ibn Battuta: 'We were going to Ukak, a city of a medium size, but of beautiful architecture, and with abundant wealth and harsh frosts' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 302–303].

Al-Qalqashandi (1355–1418), when characterising the Golden Horde's administrative

division, mentioned Ukek as part of the Crimean province with its capital in Solkhat, and also noted that the Egyptian sultan kept up a regular correspondence with the rulers of the Golden Horde, including Ukek's khan. Information he provided apparently refers to the 14th century. Mentions of Ukek can also be found in other sources from the 15–16th centuries ('Iskander's Anonymous', al-Ghaffari, Aali Efendi). Persian works of the first quarter of the 15th century that dealt with Tamerlane's raids against Tokhtamysh mention Ukek among the cities destroyed in 1395. Nizam ad-Din Shami, in particular, wrote that Tamerlane 'followed his foes till the region of Ukek... After devastating the entire region, (the troops) took many trophies' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 121]. Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi also mentioned '(the lands) of Ukek... with everything which belonged and referred to it' [ibid., p. 185], and this completes the only mentions of Ukek's surroundings in sources.

One important question is identifying the chronology of Golden Horde monuments in the central part of Saratov Oblast, and the further examination of the stages of formation and development of the surroundings of Golden Horde Ukek.

The best material at our disposal for accurate dating is undoubtedly Jochid coins (they are present in the materials of 65 of 159 registered monuments). Based upon the stages of monetary circulation in the Golden Horde, the numismatic materials allow us to confidently distinguish four main stages of the development of Ukek's surroundings. The first stage is from 1266 to 1310 (from the beginning of Mengü-Timur's reign to Tokhta's reform), the second lasted from 1310 to around 1365 (since Tokhta's reform to the beginning of mass cutting of old dirhams and the reduction of the weight of new coins), the third from 1365 to 1380 (the climax of internecine feuds in Ulus of Jochi), and the fourth from 1380 to 1395 (Tokhtamysh's rule).

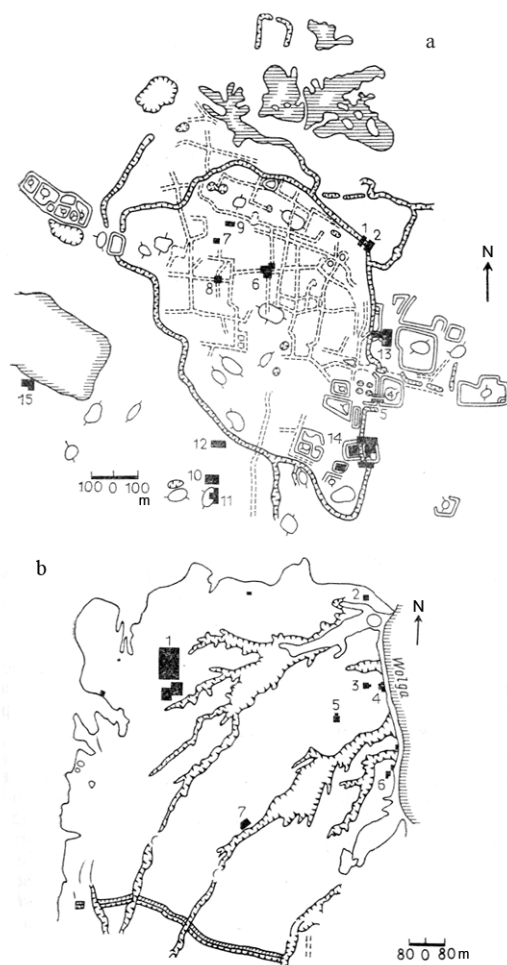
Coins minted in the first period (1266–1310) were found in 14 monuments. The earliest and most precisely dated are from 1273–1287, to the end of Mengü-Timur's reign and

Tuda-Mengü's rule. Nine more monuments contained coins from Tokhta's epoch (1291–1312). Based on this material, we can assume that Golden Horde Ukek's surroundings were formed in the last quarter of the 13–the beginning of the 14th centuries.

Discoveries of coins and treasures from the second stage (1310–1365) contain 41 objects. In addition, coin discoveries from the initial period of the feud (1359–1365) are traced in 23 of them. This means that the period of the golden age of Ukek's surroundings, just like the rise of the Golden Horde in general, fell during the time of Öz Beg's reign (1312–1342) and Janibek's reign (1342–1357), while during the internecine feuds initial stage the emerging decline was not yet as catastrophic as during the third stage. Dirhams from 1342–1365 (only one coin of the feud's period is dated from a later time: 774 AH) constitute 56.6% of all silver coins from Ukek's surroundings, while for the city itself the proportion of coins is only 42.4%.

Coins from the third period (1365–1380) were only found in three monuments apart from the ancient town of Ukek, one in each of them. Coin treasures of the third and first periods have never been discovered. This means that there are reasons to suggest that this was a time characterised by the significant desolation of its territory and by an economic crisis driven by decades of internecine feuding.

And finally, coins and treasures of the fourth stage (1380–1395) were found nine times, three of which were part of larger treasures, and two of which were single discoveries. Apart from the ancient town of Ukek, coins from this period were only discovered in three settlements. We may conclude from this that the economic rise of Tokhtamysh's epoch was not all that significant, though in certain aspects of Ukek it was rather noteworthy, for example, the proportion of puls from this time is higher in the Ukek surroundings than in the ancient town itself, though no dirhams have ever been located outside of treasures. It is notable that the latest Jochid coin discovered in the observed area is dated 797 AH (1395), which is the year when Tamerlane destroyed the Middle Volga cities that marked the decline and fall of not only Ukek, but the areas surrounding it.



Maps of ancient towns of the Ulus of Jochi: a—Parovskoe (Sarai al-Jadid), b—Vodyanskoe (Beljamen) (by G. Fedorov-Davidov)

The geographical arrangement of the monuments of Ukek's surroundings during different stages of their development is also of interest. At the first stage, 6 (42.9%) of 14 monuments dated by coins were arranged on the Volga's left bank. During the second period, monuments on the left bank even outnumbered those found on the right bank, where only 19 (46.3%) of 41 objects from that period were discovered. The situation radically changed during the third and fourth stages (it is logical to consider all of these monuments together because there are only 10 of them). Two objects (20%) were found on the Volga's left bank, and 8 (80%) on the right bank.

It is possible that the quantitative superiority of the left bank monuments over the right bank (where Ukek itself was situated) during the second stage (1312–1365) is related to the city planning policies of the Golden Horde khans. While the khan's power was strong, settlements on the left bank functioned as they stood on the route of the khan's main nomad camp in the latter half of the 13–the mid 14th centuries. When their power weakened and the main camp nomadised only in the lower reaches of the Volga during the third and fourth stages between 1365–1395, life near Ukek continued only on the right bank of the Volga, mainly in the immediate vicinity of Golden Horde Ukek, which was tightly connected to it in an economic sense.

§ 6. The Lower Volga Region and capitals

Iskander Izmaylov, Yuri Zeleneev

The Lower Volga Region was the heart of Ulus of Jochi. This particular region was 'wealthy in tilled areas' (i.e., in settlements.—*I.I., Y.Z.*), according to the words of Ibn Khaldun, an Arabian historian in the latter half of the 14th century [CWRHGH, 1884, p. 378 and there were two medieval metropolises in Ulus of Jochi: arai-al-Maqrus (Sarai Protected by God) and Sarai al-Jadid along with the other great cities of Hajji Tarkhan (near present Astrakhan), Beljamen (Vodyanskoe ancient town), Ukek (near present Saratov), Gulistan (appar-

ently, near present Volgograd), and Saray-Jük (present Saray-Jük village North of Guryev), which, along with dozens of small towns and settlements that surrounded them, formed a densely populated agricultural oasis, stretching along both banks of the Volga down to its lower reaches and also around the Don and Ural rivers. There was a political, economic, and cultural center of the empire here; a place where there was an accumulation of material and human resources mainly at the expense of regular raids on provinces and the development

of world trade. At the end of the 13th century, there had already been a significant rise and the cities prospered, especially the capitals.

After the Mongol conquest, the Lower Volga Region did not become the center of a newly formed state immediately. During the first decade after the return from the campaign in Europe, the winter base of Batu Khan was Bulgar, while the steppes of the Lower Volga Region were a district for the summer nomadic migrations of the Khan's court with his belongings and their herds. In the latter half of the 13th century and in the first half of the 14th century, the main area of summer nomadic migrations was the region bordered by the Lower Volga in the East, by the Lower Don in the West, and by foothills of the Caucasus in the South. The northern point in this region of nomadic migration was observed to be the place of closest convergence between the Volga and Don rivers, relative to one other.

From the beginning of the 1350's, the Lower Volga Region progressively transformed into a political and economic center of the empire. First and foremost was the presence of a sufficient quantity of natural resources for the maintenance of diversified agriculture. This crucial role was apparently played by settling practices that existed there without interruption even until the 8–9th centuries; in the 11–12th centuries, there were several cities with Saqsin as their center, being under the political influence of Volga Bulgaria.

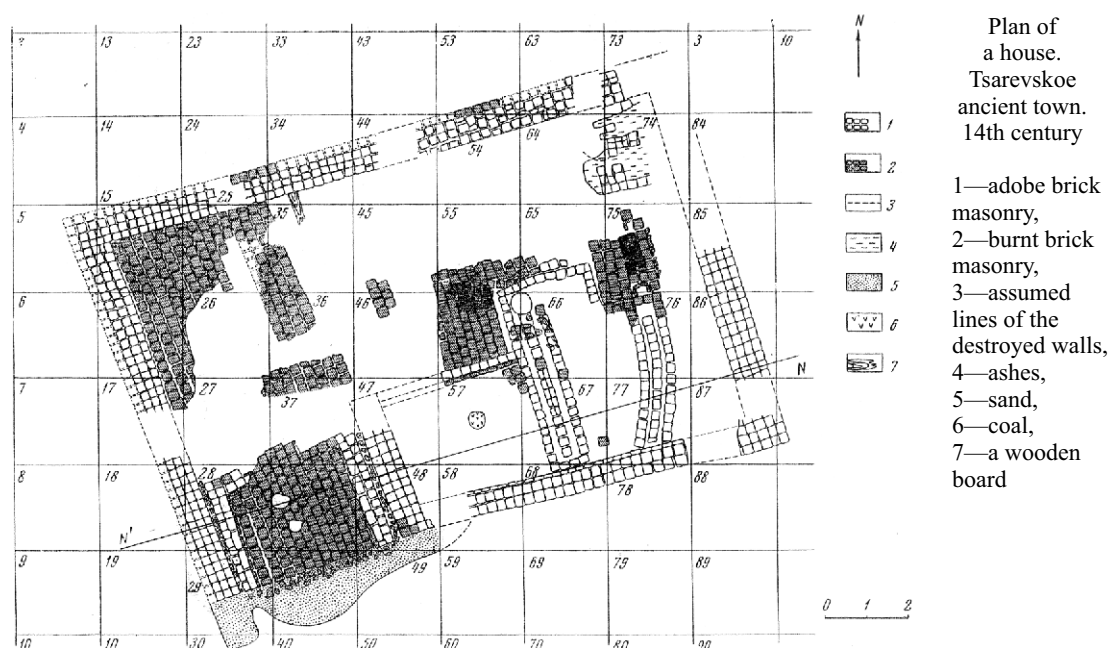
Farming, particularly melon harvesting, became possible with the support of the fertile lands and water resources of the Volga-Akhtuba floodplain. Hot summers and mild winters had already allowed for the cultivation of many vegetable and fruit crops by the Middle Ages.

Trade routes that had passed through the region since antiquity were of great importance for the economic development. The Volga trade route connected the Upper and Middle Volga Regions with fur and bread trading along with the pastoral Lower Volga Region and the markets of Transcaucasia, Iran and Middle Asia. Since the early Middle Ages, this route was used for transporting goods from Northern Europe to Asia and vice versa. A land artery connected Khwarezm and territories further East

with the Lower Volga Region, and through that with the Crimean Peninsula, and eventually with Southern Europe on account of increases in Italian trade activity in the Black Sea Region [Fedorov-Davydov, 1998; Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 7, fig. 2].

Thus, the Lower Volga Region had all the prerequisites for the formation of an economic center. Only administrative resources were needed, without which the process would have been impossible. In addition, it should be noted that the period of the 13–14th centuries was characterised by propitious climate conditions with a heightened atmospheric moisture within the steppes of Eastern Europe. It created further opportunities for rapid economic development in the region [Sergatskov, 2002, p. 72]. Within the conditions of political and economic sustainability in Ulus of Jochi, yeast settlements sprung up in dozens of cities surrounded by a rural areas and lead to a supply of significant riches from various conquests and participation in international trade.

Along the bank of the Akhtuba, a tributary to the Volga, there was indeed such an urban center in the Jochid Empire. Two of the greatest archaeological monuments from the 14th century can be found here: the ancient cities of Selitrennoe and Tsarevskoe, which, and not without reason, were associated with the great metropolitan areas of the Golden Horde. Furthermore, we can find the remnants of the Horde cities there, which, though smaller in size, were possibly great settlements for their time. These are the city-monuments such as the ancient Akhtuba Gorodishche, Hajji-Tarkhan, the ancient city of Krasnoyarsk, and others. Between these settlements there were smaller ones in nearly all convenient places along the bank of the Akhtuba, boasting mansions and houses as well as cemeteries and mausoleums. These included the monumental mausoleums near the village of Lapas in Astrakhan Oblast, which feature the tombs of the most powerful Khans of Ulus of Jochi. It is not by chance that the Golden Horde's cities made deep impressions on both the travelers of the 14th century as well as on contemporary archaeologists in the Lower Volga Region as the boundaries of the settlements are highly conventional.



Today Sarai or Sarai-al-Maqrus, the first capital of the Golden Horde, is located on the left bank of the Akhtuba near the village of Selitrennoe (Astrakhan Oblast). The capital was founded by Batu Khan at the beginning of the 1250's at the Akhtuba's crossing point with the Volga. In any event, the Pope's envoy, William of Rubruck, had already seen 'the city built by Batu on Etilia...' [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 330] in 1254.

According to Rubruk's description, Sarai and Batu's palace, which was situated on the left bank of the Volga River (or on its tributary), were founded by Batu Khan in 1254, i.e. more than 750 years ago. However, analysis of Rubruk's notes does not allow for precise placement of Sarai's location. Most likely, Sarai became Khan's permanent winter base shortly after its establishment. This apparently took place in the 1270's, evidenced by the advent of minting in the city. The coins of Sarai were first modelled after Bulgar coins of the Mengu-Timur period, thereafter being modelled after the coins of Khwarezm [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 13].

The transfer of the Khan's base into the Lower Volga Region gave a necessary impetus for the realization of favorable development conditions, which existed in the region. After

30 years, the city grew dramatically and began minting coins which indicate where they were produced—'Sarai' or 'Sarai-al-Maqrus' [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 13–14]. The city apparently served mostly administrative purposes for some time, but trade eventually developed, primarily to satisfy the demands of its nobility. In the 14th century, however—thanks to the stabilisation of the situation in the Golden Horde—there was a surge in commercial and production activity. The city grew and transformed into a true giant with a central square of about 35 square kilometers [Ballod, 1923a, p. 31; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 24–27]. According to archaeological data, city blocks stretched over 20 square kilometers [Egorov, 1985, p. 115; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 26]. In the Middle Ages, Sarai was a densely-populated urban area. Its suburbs, vast gardens, and palaces of the aristocracy merged into a single mass, making a great impression on contemporaries with its massive scale and grandeur. Even a world traveler such as Ibn Battuta, described, rapturously writing that 'Sarai is one of the most beautiful cities, having achieved such extraordinary magnitude on the flat plains. It is overflowing with people, beautiful markets and wide streets. One day we went riding with one of its elders, intending to travel around it and

see how large it is. We lived at one end of it, and having gone out in the morning, drove to the other end only by the afternoon. After completing our midday prayers, we turned back and reached our homes no earlier than sunset. One time we left and passed through the entire city, returning after half a day. The city is a continuous row of houses where there are no empty places or gardens' [CWRHGH, 1884, p. 306].

According to its contemporaries, the city's population was about 75 thousand [Ibid., p. 550]. Not without reason, Sarai was considered the greatest city of Europe—perhaps even the largest city in the East—and could be compared with the likes of Baghdad, Cairo, and Rome of the period. Being an important political center, the city had high living standards. It had a centralized water supply and drainage system while the majority of palaces and public buildings were made of adobe bricks. Excavations show a number of extravagant buildings. One of them was more than 600 square meters and was the center of an entire estate. There was a grand reception hall at the heart of this building, at the front of which there was another large room with a brick floor and swimming pool in the center. Water flowed into and out of the swimming pool through a system of underground canals that were connected to the city's water supply. Behind the swimming pool, there was a brick platform with a canopy or a tent where the lord would have sat. From that room, the doors opened to the inner chambers, where there were living rooms with underground heating, sofas, and servant quarters [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 60–62]. The Khan had a similar but much larger palace, about whom al-Umari wrote: 'The Khan's place of residence is a great palace, at the top of which there is a golden new moon... The palace is surrounded by walls, towers, and houses, in which his emirs live. This palace is their winter base' [CWRHGH, 1884, p. 241].

Inside the city today, scientists have unearthed entire artisan blocks, the inhabitants of which specialised in their own production in metallurgy, metal-working, pottery, glass-blowing, jewelery and bone carving, etc. All of them created products not only for domestic consumption, but also for exporting [Fedor-



Fragment of a stone with a carved ornamental pattern. Ancient Selitrennoe settlement.

The 14th century.

Excavations by A. Burkhanov

ov-Davydov, 1994, p. 20–27]. Transit trade, however, was even more significant for Sarai's prosperity. The famous trade routes—by which silk, luxury goods and eastern spices arrived in Europe—went straight through Sarai in the 16th century [Fedorov-Davydov, 1998, p. 38–54]. Sarai was a true 'Golden Horde Babylon', in which the Mongols, Kypchaks, Alans, Circassians, Russians, Bulgars, Byzantines, and Italians lived. Each nation had its own district with its own places of worship, cemeteries and, most importantly, markets. On the whole, the main population of the city was generally Muslim and Turkic as in the other Lower Volga Region cities..

In the 14th century, another important economic center of the country was the city, the ruins of which are now located near the village of Tsarev (the Volgogradskaya oblast). In Russian historiography, it was considered—until recently—that the name of this city was Sarai al-Jadid. However, the idea of the existence of two cities in Ulus of Jochi with the name

of 'Sarai' has recently been questioned. Some researchers proposed to call this city 'Gulistan' after one of the great minting centers, the location of which is between Ukek and Sarai. The analysis of numismatic and archaeological data confirmed the claims of written sources concerning the rise of this city at the beginning of the 14th century, during the reign of Öz Beg Khan. It was not by chance that he ordered that he should be buried there [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 20–24, 27–31]. The city achieved great prosperity during the lifetime of his son, Janibek Khan, when the Khan's court moved there and minting began [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 15–17].

Long-term excavations began in the middle of the 19th century by A. Tereshchenko and continued through the 1920's and 1930's by F. Ballod, A. Yakubosky, and from the 1960's to 1980's were carried out by V. Egorov, M. Poluboyarinova, T. Guseva, and Y. Zeleneeva [Guseva, 1985; Egorov, 1985, p. 112–114; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 20–45; 1998a, p. 3–15] were able to research the ancient city in quite a detailed fashion, having discovered the remains of the well-constructed and well-equipped city. The square area of the city within the walls and ditches created in the 1360's to protect the center of the city during a period of troubles, was about 2 square kilometers [Egorov, 1985, p. 113]. The center of the city was a broad square at the crossroads of the main streets, which radially diverged in all directions. Districts of aristocratic mansions and poorer blocks, residential and handicraft buildings, and places of worship were all identified here.

The sou-eastern part of the city is of particular interest, having featured a rather different ground plan. Here the space between streets was occupied by estates consisting of a great house, reservoir and household buildings, which were surrounded by a wall. As a rule, these estates were quite rich, decorated with Kashin majolica tiles with overglaze and underglaze ceramic ornaments, among which the most expressive are floral and arabesque ones. In the city's neighborhoods, especially those in the South and in the East, large-scale suburbs were discovered, featuring great castle-estates (some of them had squares up to 26 thousand

square meters large) around which small farmsteads and dwellings were concentrated. Estates of rich craftsmen and apprentices were discovered here and bone-carved jewelry pottery workshops were also found. In a jeweler's house, a crucible with golden drops, shards of golden plates, wires, half-finished products, bronze matrices, tools, finished items, and a jewelry forge were found. The same workshop likely produced incredible gold and silver vessels with gorgeous ornaments as well as belts and complicated, sophisticated decorations created in the skani and zerni styles. All of the castles had the same design: in the center of a quadrangular space, surrounded by a brick wall, they found the homes of the owners, gardens with a several small reservoirs. There were houses, and within the perimeter of the estate there were residential buildings and the homes of warriors, servants and slaves. The design itself and the rich findings from the castles indicate that they were the residences of the Horde aristocracy. Initially, this estate district was most likely the nucleus of the city.

Poorer districts and commercial trade blocks were gradually formed. The city districts that had narrow side streets and irrigation ditches were built up with small wattle and daub houses. Inside each block there apparently was a large house. All those districts were most likely inhabited by the common people. As in any Eastern city, the issue of water-supply was vitally important there. It was concluded that most of the streets had irrigation ditches that were connected by a network of canals with large, man-made lakes created in the northern outlying districts of the city. They were constructed to supply the city with water and for the struggle with melted water from the syrt, which threatened the city with floods [Fedorov-Davydov, 1998a, p. 10–11]. Characteristically, the city did not have a common fortress wall until the 1360's, showing just how powerful the Horde was. Only after the beginning of the Time of Troubles did a need to strengthen the capital arise. Around the city, there were also a several great Muslim cemeteries with mausoleum-dyurbes.

The initial planning of newly constructed cities has all the features of Mongol tradition.



Cup with a heterochromatic painting and relief under a very thin enamel. Kashin. Sarai. 13–14th centuries (sketch by N. Lisova)

In the second quarter and to the middle of the 14th century, the estates of the wealthy were not separately located along the steppe, but also among urban buildings. This is due to the gradual inclusion of free-standing estates into the reaches of the city as well as to the construction of some estates within the commercial trade portion of the city, which was an obvious distinction from Mongol tradition. For example, such an estate was excavated in the ancient city of Selitrennoe, in which the house had a central hall with a rise, upon which the lord could situate himself during the reception of visitors [Ibid., p. 107].

Mud huts were quite a wide-spread type of dwelling in commercial trade districts of the Golden Horde cities. They are from various periods of the existence of the cities. Huts in the ancient town of Tsarevo vary in size, but they generally share common constructive peculiarities. To the right of or in front of the entry, there was a 'sufa' with a heating system—'kanas,' which were adjacent to the walls of the hut [Zeleneev, 1998, p. 34, pic. 5]. In one case, the remains of a thatched roof were preserved. However, it is not yet possible to

determine the form of the roofs [Ibid., p. 2].

Aside from huts, commercial trade blocks of the Golden Horde cities were built up with above-ground houses. Their foundations were built out of adobe. Occasionally, adobe walls were also erected. In some cases, one can assume the presence of wooden walls, but adobe prevailed as the main building material in any case. The floor in such dwellings was wattle and daub or covered with adobe bricks. The base of the heating system was a furnace of burnt bricks or adobe bricks, from which canals could lead, which were also were built with adobe bricks. The trading quarter of Sarai al-Jadid began to be built up with such constructions from the middle of the 14th century. Houses constructed in this fashion

have been preserved among the people of the Volga-Ural interfluvium to the present day, but without a 'kanas' heating system.

The impression is created that Tsarevskoe survived a most devastating raid during the period of 'Great Troubles'. The traces of destruction were recorded by bones of the dead inhabitants, lying among the ruins [Zeleneev, 1995, p. 11]. In one grave, there were the bones of a 10-year old child, in which an arrowhead was stuck [Zeleneev, 1996, p. 18]. It is characteristic that there were not any adobe or burnt brick buildings within the upper levels of the ancient town of Tsarevskoe, which are dated to the 1360's according to coins of the time. As a rule, the buildings of that time were light, ground-based, wooden constructions that for the most part, have not been preserved well enough for reconstruction.

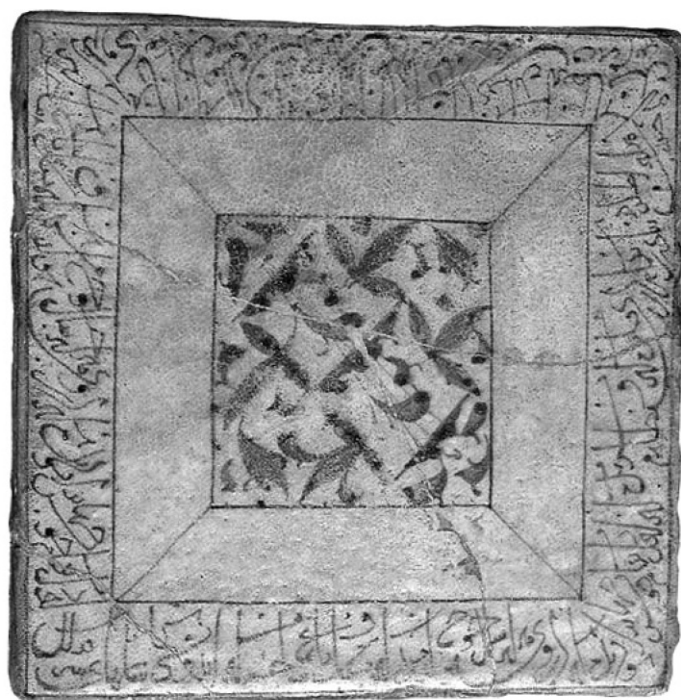
In the cities of the Lower Volga Region, different types of craftsmanship were developed. Base metal working and jewelry producing were the most developed. Various tools associated with these types of craftsmanship are quite often found in the ancient towns of the Lower Volga Golden Horde. Ladles were found in the

Tsarevskoe and Vodyanskoe ancient towns [Myskov, 2003, p. 8].

Pottery production was highly-developed. Different types of glazed crockery and non-glazed crockery were produced. The remains of potter's complicatedly constructed workshops with forges were uncovered in various Golden Horde ancient towns. In the greater cities (the ancient town of Selitrennoe), entire blocks were dedicated to them. The traditions of ceramic production in the Lower Volga Region cities of the Golden Horde were developed on the bases of East-European traditions of the preceding period (Volga-Bulgar, Alan) and on Middle Asian traditions while they were influenced slightly less by Transcaucasian traditions. Only some types of gray-clay basins and hums bore similarities to Mongol ceramics [Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 200–202].

Like the other cities of Ulus of Jochi, the cities of the Lower Volga Region and its settlements were important trade points that attracted merchants from all over civilized world. In some cases, their locations can be strictly observed to be 40–60 kilometers away from one another other in different directions, i.e., the distance of a day's caravan route. During excavations, china and seladon, Byzantine icons, Italian glass-ware, enameled Syrian-Egyptian glass, Indian golden coins, and Arabian tissues were found. Practically until the end of the 14th century, the cities of the Lower Volga and the Black Sea Regions were the main gates through which a flow of Chinese silk and eastern spices arrived in Europe. Numerous caravans from the heart of Asia not only enriched Ulus of Jochi, but also allowed it to play a role in the exchange of worldly goods and ideas, making it an important part of the medieval Old World [Fedorov-Davydov, 1998, p. 38–59].

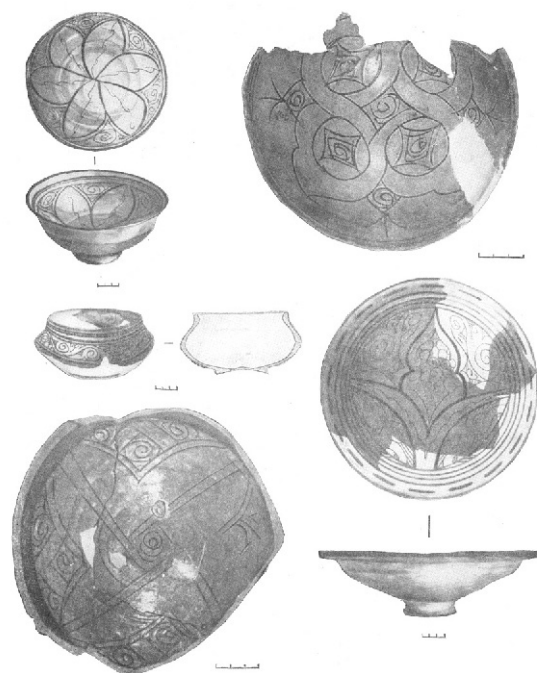
The cities of the Volga Region were also great cultural centers, where literature and art were developed and common-colloquial and literary languages were formed. The main



Architectural glazed tile with a Persian inscription.
14th century. Sarai

means of communication in the Golden Horde cities and steppe districts of Ulus of Jochi were various dialects of the Kypchak language. A common city language took root based on that language (the Oguz-Kypchack type of the Turkic language) in the Golden Horde. Evidence of this fact is, for example, the notes of 14-century Italian financier, Francesco Pegolotti, who in his trade manual recommended those going to pursue dealings in the Horde to have interpreters who spoke the Cuman (i.e., Kypchak) language [Pegolotti, 1936, p. 21–22]. The Codex Cumanicus dictionary, comprised in the 13–14th centuries in one of the cities of Ulus of Jochi, serves as evidence that the Kypchak language was a unique lingua franca in the cities of the Golden Horde [Radloff, 1887; Radloff, 1884, p. 52–53; Abdullin, 1974, p. 166–185; Nadjip, 1979; Makhmutova, 1982].

Archaeological findings bear witness to the character of this language and its distribution among the various layers of the urban population. An ox scapula from the ancient town of Tsarevskoe deserves special attention, where two faces were painted in Indian ink and contained words written in Kypchak:



Crockery with a heterochromatic painting and relief under a very thin enamel. Sarai. 13–14th centuries (according to N. Bulatov)

'This caricature, I swear by the name of Allah, was made by Ali.. son of Mohammed' [Vainer, Fedorov-Davydov, 1963, p. 245–246; Usmanov, 1963, p. 246]. Turkic verses were also preserved, scratched out on a large jug discovered in Saray-Jük:

'Having deprived me of honor and glory, you took a golden cup from me.

Having filled the cup with wine, you turned it to gold' [Samoylovich, 1913, p. 8].

The literary language of the Golden Horde–Volga Turki was based on this common-city Koine as well as standards of the literary Golden Horde language (and apparently on Bulgarian as well) [Samoilovich, 1927, p. 27; Usmanov, 1979, p. 101–106; Nuriyeva, 2004]. Such works of old-Tatar literature as 'Gulistan bit-Turki' by Sayf Sarai, 'Mukhabbat-name' by al-Khwarezmi, 'Khosrov and Shirin' by Qutb, 'Nakhdj al-faradis' ('The Open Way to Paradise') by Makhmud as-Sarai al-Bulgari, 'Kysas al-anbiya' ('The History of Prophets') by Rabguzi and many other famous pieces, though clearly not extant works of art, were written in this language (see: [Nadjip, 1989; The Medieval Tatar Literature, 1999, p. 63–91; Nuriyeva,

1999]). Distinctively, Mongolian edicts and diplomatic documents in the 13th century and at the beginning of the 14th century were partially recopied or duplicated in the Kipchak language (for instance, the outstanding charter by Öz Beg Khan to Venetian ambassador A.Zeno, written in 1332, was translated from 'Cuman' into Latin [Diplomatarium, 1880, p. 243–244; Grigor'ev, 1981, p. 81–83]. However, from the latter half of the 14th century and to the 16th century, only Turkic (Kipchak and Old Tatar) language was used in an official capacity [Usmanov, 1979, p. 1332 and the next]. Volga Region Turkic functioned as a literary language until the middle of the 19th century for the Tatars of Eastern Europe [Faseevv, 1966; Makhmutova, 1982].

Persian and Arabic—the languages of poetry and public worship—were simultaneously widespread among the intelligentsia and aristocracy. Their penetration was particularly widespread after the adoption of Islam during the reign Öz Beg Khan, when Arabic script began functioning as the main form of writing and Arabic and Persian became the official cultural languages of the Golden Horde. Not only were the translations of Persian poems into Turkic language well-known, but also Persian verses were found on glazed tiles and crockery:

'Oh, my heart! Perceive the world by your own desire.

Look, how people are exposed in it to trial like Noah was during

the 1000 years (of his life)

Look how many gardens and flowers are in the world.

Look how many colossal temples and strongholds have been erected worldwide.

Look how many satins and golden cloth (people) have worn.

And then destroyed them'

[Fedorov-Davidov, 1976, p. 204–205].

From the 13–14th centuries, there were notable writers and scientists who lived in Sarai, writing in Arabic and Persian: Sheikh Sad at-Taftazani, who wrote a number of rhetoric and law books (among them commentaries on 'Matn at-tahlis' by al-Qazwini), Mukhtar ibn Mahmud az-Zahidi (at the end of the 13th century), as well as the famous imam and noble

fakikh Ibn Bazzazi (at the beginning of the 14th century), who created 'al-Fatavi al-Bazzazi' ('The aphorisms of al-Bazzazi'), which were praised by contemporaries and many others [al-Kholi, 1962, p. 27–33].

The population of the Lower Volga Region at the beginning of the Golden Horde period was multi-confessional, which apparently reflected the religious situation of the preceding period. The process of islamisation, which had earlier occurred spontaneously, became more intensive in character after Öz Beg had personally adopted Islam and intended to make it the sole religion of the state. It should be emphasised that during the reign of Öz Beg, immigrants from Khwarezm—for instance shiekh Noman—had the greatest influence within the field of religious life. Missionary conversion of the Golden Horde nomads into Islam was also intensively conducted by the Khwarezmians [Malov, Malyshev, Rakushin, 1998, p. 110–112; Izmaylov, 2002b, p. 38–60]. The wall inscriptions, discovered in the Golden Horde cities, for example, 'Bukhari', 'Khwarezmi (Khwarezmi)' indicate a significant number of immigrants from Middle Asia [Myskov, 2001, p. 25, 39].

In the 14th century, burial structures that could be associated with the Muslim population became increasingly present. These were primarily burial sites with rectangular fences made of adobe. The canons of the Islamic burial ceremony can be observed in most of them. It is not difficult to observe that such burial buildings had a propensity for districts with a settled population, although further away from the Volga-Akhtuba region they were well-known. The most complete of such burials were studied in city cemeteries of the Golden Horde—near the ancient towns of Tsarevskoe and Krasnoyarsk. Such buildings were left by the city's Muslim population, possibly of Middle Asian descent. The variety of tombstones in city and suburb burial grounds points to different levels of islamisation of the population of Ulus of Jochi from the first half to the middle of the 14th century. By all accounts, a majority of the city population at the time was Muslim, but the fact that they were not orthodox allows us to assume that the overlord, 'Hanafi madhab', was quite loyal to some superstitions.

From the end of the 13th century to the beginning of the 14th century, the Volga and Volga-Don steppes were occupied by nomads who left burial mound sites, which several artifacts, for instance mirrors, can be traced back to that period [Zakharikov, 2003, p. 62]. The mound burial sites of that period—dedicated through pagan funeral rituals—were researched in the regions that were adjoined to Akhtuba, for example, the Bakhtyarovsk burial sites [Sitnikov, 2001, p. 43]. It should be noted that even in the latter half of the 13th century, a significant number of them (about 40%), consisted of burials that were quite close to their Muslim counterparts at the burial sites of the Don, Trans-Volga, and the Southern Cis-Ural regions. Obviously, they represent evidence of swift-spreading Islam among the nomads. During the second part of the 14th century, the burial mound sites gradually ceased to exist and were replaced by ground burial sites with burial ceremonies performed in the Muslim ritual.

In summary, it should be emphasised that different ethnocultural traditions were blended into the town-planning and material culture of the Golden Horde cities. This was for many reasons, but, first and foremost, because of the multi-ethnicity of any Golden Horde city. Nevertheless, it is obvious—especially beginning from the boundary of the 13–14th centuries—that the formation process of the united complex of culture in a Horde city was probably driven by language, confessional tradition, and the ethnocultural consolidation happening within it. All of the above influenced the ethnocultural processes in the entire state.

The Golden Horde civilisation is a bright page within the history of world culture. A magnificent imperial style was created in Ulus of Jochi. It absorbed the traditions of many peoples—not in a chaotic accumulation of different elements, but in a system of organically combined phenomena covered with powerfully sounding styles and movements that were different at various periods in the existence of the state [Vasilyev, Gorelik, Klyashtorny, 1993; Fedorov-Davydov, 1976]. Except for the syncretical background of the pre-Mongol cultures—some of which had a

developed metaphorical language, based on Islamic (Khwarezmian, Bulgarian) and Eurasian nomadic (the Kipchaks, Kimaks) traditions—one cannot help but note the Middle Asian and Far-Eastern elements of material and artistic culture in the traditions of Ulus of Jochi [Gorelik, Kramovsky, 1989, Kramovsky, 1989; Kramovsky, 1999]. The imperial culture of the Golden Horde was formed as a result of creative activity of practically all nations that were a part of the state and conquerors brought their development to the West. The brightest Chinggisid traditions manifested within a cultural circle of socially prestigious goods that were an accessory and feature of the military and service class nobility—from suit cut belts to breastplates, from weapons to horse equipment, as well as other accessories. Of course, this culture was not completely unified, because it was initially strictly socially oriented. However, at the beginning of the 14th century, a new urban, Eastern, medieval culture began developing in the cities in Ulus of Jochi, primarily in the Volga Region. It was a 'culture of glazed bowls and mosaic panels on the mosques of the Arabian astrologers, of Persian verses and Muslim spiritual learning, of interpreters of the Quran, mathematicians and astronomers, and of exquis-

sitely subtle ornaments and calligraphy' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, p. 118]. The specularity of fine and applied arts in the Golden Horde were ornamentation, polychrome in the usage of color spectrum, the presence of arabesque motifs, and so on [Ibid, p. 120–188].

In researching the historic topographic situation of the ancient settlement of Selitrennoe, archaeologists concluded that the greatest damage was caused to the city during the period of 'Great Troubles', likely in 1367 [Rudakov, 2002, p. 56]. Life in the greatest cities of the Lower Volga Region continued even at the end of the 14th and 15th centuries, i.e. at the period of Toktamys (the ancient town of Tsarevskoe) and after it (in the Selitrennoe, Vodyanskoe ancient towns) [Myskov, 2003, p. 2]. One may say that in spite of the decay in city-life, which started from the time of 'Great Troubles', the existence of the Lower Volga Region's cities continued for no less than one century. However, the devastation brought upon them by Timur, along with a number of other cataclysms, (including pestilences), led to the weakening of economic and political bonds inside the state, led to its weakening, and later on to the demise of settled city-life in the Lower Volga Region.

§ 7. Hajji-Tarkhan and its districts during the 13–14th centuries

Vyacheslav Plakhov

In the delta of the Itil (Volga) river, there was a well-known Hajji Tarkhan city in the 14th century. It was situated on one of the parts of ancient caravan crossings.

From the 13th to 14th centuries, Hajji Tarkhan was a staging post of international trade and an administrative center that managed the whole district. From the North, sables, foxes, ermines, linen, leather, honey and butter, metals, etc., were delivered through the city by the Volga Trade Route into Iran. A portion of those goods from Hajji Tarkhan went to the West and East. From the East and the South, silk, cotton, pearls, spices, weapons and armor were sent to the city. Venetian G. Barbaro wrote that silk and spices were sent from the East through

Hajji Tarkhan to Azak, where the Italian trading colony was situated [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 157]. Clothes, weapons, metals, amber, wine, and grain arrived from the West. The Hajji Tarkhan city itself exported fish and fish glue as well as animal products and large amounts of salt, and was a place of slave-trade [Travels, 1957, p. 90; Zaitsev, 2004, p. 21]. The goods, delivered from ports of the East coast of the Caspian Sea and Iran, were sent on ships up the Itil [Sharapova, 1975, s. 74–78].

There are many legends and works with varying opinions regarding the rise of the city [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 7–17]. However, the opinions are mainly speculative while artifacts and sources suggest the following...

In conducting land surveys, one can find different artifacts of antiquity from the left and right banks within the territory of present Astrakhan, which is crossed by the Volga river. Apparently, there has been a crossing point over the Volga here since antiquity. During the Khazar period, this crossing point was obviously used actively, i.e. within the territory of the left bank, in the center of the present city, Khazar vessels were discovered along with a bronze idol and coins. On the right bank were the Khazars burial grounds. In the 12–13th centuries, this area was located in the territorial region of Saqsin in the Lower Volga and Don River Regions [Fedorov-Davydov, 1969, p. 259].

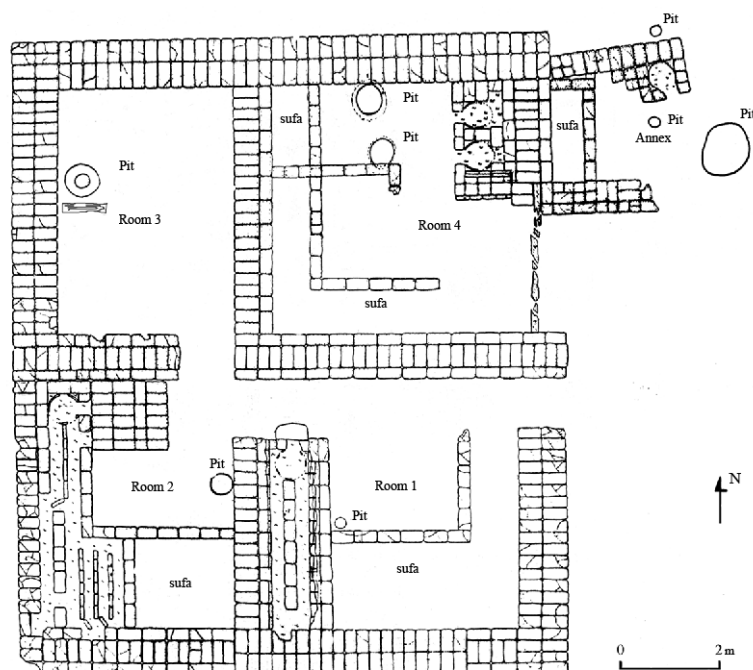
On the right bank in Astrakhan, there is a wavy ridge of geological risings 3 km higher than the present center on the left side of the Volga,—the Berovskie hillocks. This place has long since been called 'Zharennyie' or 'Sharennnyie' (burnt) hillocks because ashy lots, bones, crocks, coins, ornaments, sphere-cones, glazed tiles, and remains of buildings of burnt bricks tracing back to the Golden Horde Hajji-Tarkhani were constantly found there. [Obraztsov, 1925, p. 4–23]. Accumulations of modelled vessels in the Kipchak and Bulgar styles were uncovered. Furthermore, a coin of Seldjuk emir Mardin Nasir a-Din Artuk-Arslan, coined in 1214, was discovered here. The coin can be linked to the period of early existence in the settlement [Pietraszewski, 1843, p. 74]. Burials with peculiar decorations of that period of time were also discovered.

In 1254 while returning from Karakorum, William of Rubruck noticed that in winter that the nomads' camps of Batu were located on the eastern side of Volga while his son's were on the western side. They did not go further down the lower river delta. Here he found out that by order of Sartaq grandee-Nestorian Koyak, the construction a great church on the western bank of the river had begun along with that of a 'new' settlement, most likely located in the lower reaches of Volga. To this day, no points have been found that can really indicate the location of this building, except for one near Astrakhan [Travels, 1957, p. 185]. During construction projects of recent decades, coins from the second part of the 13th century and tools of the pe-

riod have been found. For example, a dastshui basin disk - a hand washing stand - were found on a number of lots on the right-bank of Astrakhan. Mausoleums of the 13th century have also been discovered.

Hajji Tarkhan came to prosper during the reign of Khan Öz Beg. In 1334, an Arab traveler by the name of Ibn Battuta visited the city and wrote: 'This city received its name from the Turkic Hajji, who was one of the pious men who settled there. The sultan gave him this place exempt from tax and it became a village, then growing into a city.' [Collected Materials On History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 301]. Ibn Battuta, however, was not interested in the reasons why Hajji had settled there and he described the events that had taken place 1334 years before. The Tatars kept this information until the 18th century: '...during the time of Öz Beg Khan, when the Tatars adopted the Mohammedan faith—Hajji, the first in command who came from the noble family of Tarkhan, was of this faith and land. On their return from Mecca, many hajjis would stay to live in Astrakhan to join this honorable man. Wherefore, Janibek Khan put Darkhan in charge of them and ordered to build a stone fortress at this place and named it Hajji Tarkhan, which generally means an abode of the hajjis' [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 12]. The construction of the fortress in Hajji Tarkhan might have started during the reign of Khan Janibek. The fortress encompassed the city centre, adjoining it to the river [Collected Materials On History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 184]. One can only assume that it occupied the northern part of Sharennnye Burgry, where a great number of coins, pieces of pottery, items made of metal and bone, glass and stone, vessels for mercury transportation, gold jewelry, and stonework remaining from the buildings with tile work could be found there up until the first half of the 20th century [Obraztsov, 1925, pp. 22–23]. The city centre's location on the right bank of the river was due to the stability in the government, which secured the safety of the cities' borders as well as to the steppe grassland, which was accessible to the city's inhabitants.

The city strip stretched along the Volga for 7 km. In its northern half was the most ancient



House of the third period (1340–1390)

part, surrounded by a wall, around which were 'ribats'—artisan quarters. The city was surrounded by a strew of estates with agricultural lands, followed by numerous settlements. To the west of the river bank, traces of settlements spread like tongues along fresh water lakes for considerable distances, sometimes for up to 3 km or more. According to archaeological findings, Hajji Tarkhan consisted of estates where the buildings were mainly built of mud brick. At the same time, there were traces of dwellings built of burnt brick.

The city's northern border was found to have started from the settlement of Streletsky (which also represents the northern border of the modern city). A complex of 22 ribat dugouts and ceramic furnaces was discovered there. The layout of the complex consisted of a chain of dwellings situated around oval-plan common yards. Four such yards were found. There were dwellings of the same type surrounding the yards. The dugouts were from 4 to 16 square metres in size. The entrance was either on the southern or northern side of each dwelling and was made of a ramp slope. The dugouts were divided into two main groups: those with a sufa and a hearth with kanas, and those

without a sufa and a hearth made of brick. The dugouts with hearths were made of brick have a lot in common with the Bolgar and Sarkel dwellings—Belaya Vezha of the pre-Mongol period. The arrangement of the dugouts with kanas show the influence of Middle Asiatic traditions; here we mean sufas and ramp entrances [Erzakovich, 1973, p. 166–182]. The people had left the dugouts before the city was ravaged by emir Timur in 1395. Numismatic material is represented by coins minted by different khans between 1313 and 1388. The bulk of the coins was minted during the reign of Khan Janibek (1342–1357) and in one of

the dugouts, a treasure numbering 44 coins relating to the last decades of the 14th century was found [Severova, 2003, p. 74–80].

Presently, the right-bank portion of the city is under intensive construction. In the northern and southern Sharennnye Bugry, large-scale construction projects are being carried out, which made it possible to identify the former locations of estates, bronze, iron and glass workshops, irrigation systems, pits with grape and millet seeds, as well as unique ceramic and metal wares. A former bazaar site was also discovered.

In 1984, during an excavation headed by V. Plakhov of an estate in a settlement situated in the city's west end, 5 chronological periods were revealed. They reflected the city's history. The first period was in the latter half of the 13th century. It included the remains of an aryk (an irrigation ditch) and two cellar huts. The cellar huts were rectangular, oriented from east to west. Framing remained on the walls of the huts made of mud bricks, which was of non-standard size for the Golden Horde period. A hearth pit and a waste pit dug out in the floor also remained, which is characteristic of the 13th century.

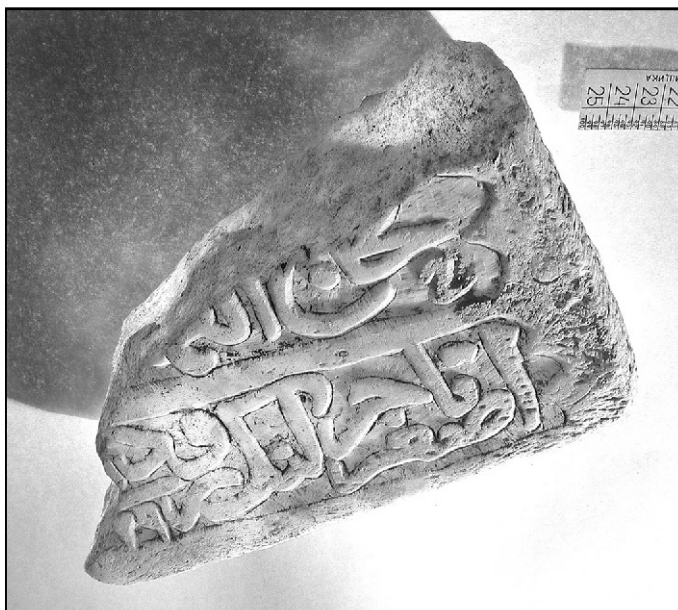
During the second period, the area already featured a yard with a fence around it, from which grooves intended for supporting the posts remained. In the yard, remains of a cellar hut and an outdoor hearth with a tandoor in the yard, as well as utility pits, were found. There were remains of a sufa and a hearth pit with a chimney hole that went outside the cellar hut.

Found in the dwelling and the pits in the yard were fragments of lamp-stands made from red clay, pots, kumgans, plates, chigirs, and the remains of bronze items: a cup, a boiler, bronze plates and shards, as well as badges. Items made of bone, a heterochromatic Kashin tile, a fragment of a spherical cone and a part of a foundry mould were also found there. These findings show that the cellar hut had been located in an artisan quarter, near a workshop. The coins that were found had been minted during the reign of Öz Beg Khan and were dated from between 1330 and 1340.

In the third period, a dugout and part of the yard were filled with earth and a house and cellar hut were built. The house was built of mud brick with the dimensions of 13 by 12 metres. Judging by their remains, the height of the walls was 2.5 metres. Remains of burnt floor beams were also found. The house had 3 rooms and one self-contained room, which joined the house and made the whole structure look rectangular. Two entrances to the dwelling were on the eastern side. The 3-room unit had 2 adjacent rooms with sufas and a kana heating. The third room joined them on the northern side and had a huma with holes drilled near the bottom, buried crown-deep in the ground. It may have been a storeroom with a cooler.

The self-contained room had a sufa, two tandoors and utility pits. On the eastern side, an extension in the iwan style with a tandoor was added. The rooms inside the house were plastered and whitewashed.

A layer of utility sediment contained small pieces of numerous jugs made from red clay, chigirs, pots, bowls, cups and lamp stands.



Fragment of an alabaster tombstone, 14th century

All the large pieces of broken crockery were found in the yard and the pits. There were also fragments of a dozen and a half heterochromatic Kashin cups and drinking bowls as well as walls made from Celadon, and glass vessels. Various items made of iron, bronze, lead, and bone, copper and silver coins and gold pendants made as large grains of rice were discovered. Judging by the remains of bones, their main food was sheep meat. There was considerably less horse and cattle meat. Camel, saiga, boar and duck bones were also found. The primary fish dishes featured sturgeon and beluga, and there were considerably fewer of those made from carp and more ordinary fish.

In the upper layers under the ruins of the walls, there were polychromatic tiles, which might have decorated the walls. The same layers, both in the yard and the house, revealed arrowheads among which there was 'a quarrel' from a crossbow. Judging by the coins, the house had existed before the city was captured by emir Timur in 1396. In the winter of that year, the houses in the city were intentionally burnt and destroyed.

After the conqueror's troops had left, the fourth chronological period began. One of the rooms in the house (Room 1) measuring 7.5 by 7 metres was fully restored together with

a sufa and kanas. On its western side, a small utility room was added and the house came to life once again. In the floor paddling, there were fragments of polychromatic Kashin cups and those made from red clay, as well as lamp-stands, items made of bone, parts of broken jewelry. In the rooms, coins minted by khans Bulat and Kerim-Birdi relating to the first decades of the 15th century were discovered. The estate's fifth period of life fell on the lifetime of the Khanate of Astrakhan which was established in the 1470s [Plakhov, 1985].

The eastern part of Hajji Tarkhan lay on the left bank of the Volga river, where the present-day centre of Astrakhan is located. It is situated on a set of elevations called Baer's mounds. During various excavation projects carried out on the mounds, a considerable number of 14th century objects were already recorded. The coins that are dated mainly trace back to the latter half of the 14th century [Schneidstein, 1979a, p. 4, 10–11]. In numerous trenches and foundation pits located on the Kremlin's grounds, the finding of objects from the Golden Horde period and burials of earlier periods was recorded.

There are works written in Tatar from the latter half of the 19th century to the early 20th century—not readily available and limited in circulation—which point to the locations of the most important objects which now exist in the territory of the city. These sources point to the location of a 14th century mausoleum, called Akrash Mashayakly, as well as to a graveyard with the mortal remains of Muslim saint, Ötemish-baba, and in the Kremlin—the place relating to the Golden Horde period where saint Kara-Daud and other hajjis were buried [Dzhumanov, 1999]. In one of them, a fragment of a tombstone made of alabaster was found.

Now, when construction projects are taken on within the city limits, remains of artifacts from the 14–16th centuries are destroyed without any research. This is due to Astrakhan administration's directive in considering the city to have been founded by Ivan IV's envoys in 1558.

While the Khan's power in the Golden Horde was strong, the city prospered. But in the 1360s, 'troubles began and Khans changed

from one to the other on the bloody throne' [Savelyev, 1857, p. 23]. Vigorous challengers for supreme power started to seize administrative city-centers. In the second half of the 1360s, 'Hajji -Cherkes, Khan Berdibek's commander-in-chief, seized the environs of Astrakhan and became the ruler of the Astrakhan appanage' [Collected Materials on History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 389]. In Hajji Tarkhan, he began to mint coins with the name of Cherkes-bek in 1374. In the late 1370's, Hajji Tarkhan was seized by Muhammad-Bulak, who was Mamai's proxy and minted his own coins [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 21]. After his accession to the throne in 1380, Tokhtamysh 'also conquered the appanage of Hajji Cherkes in Astrakhan' [Collection of Works Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 391]. His attempt to bring the disintegrating Golden Horde together led to a war with the omnipotent emir Timur, who, on defeating the Tokhtamysh army on the Terek river, came to Astrakhan in the winter of 1395–1396. The city's fortifications were built 'on the bank of the river close to the water in such a way that (surrounding the city) they reached the river again. (In winter) using pieces of ice instead of brick and clay, they would build a wall on which they kept pouring water at night until all the pieces got frozen as one whole. Having thus built a high (wall), they connect the city wall with this wall by using one piece of ice and build a gate there. After the city had been seized and the people had paid their ransom to be spared, they were driven away and the city was burnt down. Then, according to Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī's 'Book of Victory', Timur's army, upon crossing the Volga, seized the left bank portion of the city and, setting fire to it, burnt it down' [Collected Materials on History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 184–185]. In 1396, Astrakhan became the ulus of Temür Qutlugh, who was the grandson of Ak Horde Khan, Urus. In 1397, Temür Qutlugh, assisted by emir Edigu was proclaimed Khan of Ulus of Jochi. In 1402, his successor, Shadi Beg, began to mint dirhams in 'Yeni Hajji Tarkhan', that is in New Astrakhan [Markov, 1896, p. 94].

From that time on and depending on political situations, the city centre seems to have

been moved to the left bank as well. Hajji Tarkhan coins minted on behalf of the khans Bulat, son of Shadi Beg (1409–1410), Jalal ad-Din, son of Tokhtamysh (1411–1412), Keppek, son of Tokhtamysh (1414–1418), Chekrek (1415–1416), Dervish (1419), Kichi-Muhammad (from 1420) and Ulug-Muhammad (from 1427) have been discovered. In 1428, Devlet-Birdi (uncle of Hajji Giray, founder of the Crimean khanate), minted coins in Hajji Tarkhan. His coins had a tamga (a seal) engraved as a two-pronged fork with two dots, showing the local character of Hajji Tarkhan and Ordu-Bazar. [Zaitsev, 2004, p. 28–29]. After 1430, Hajji Tarkhan becomes the property of Kichi-Muhammad, grandson of Temür Qutlugh, khan of the Great Horde.

Around the city there were ancient settlements and villages, mainly lying along the caravan routes, which, together with travelers, provided the city dwellers with food. The travelers often carried items of religious worship. These settlements and villages were part of the city environs that we identify as those lying within a day's march from Hajji Tarkhan, including time necessary for crossing the river. Within 2 days' march from Hajji Tarkhan, one could already find other cities. The right to be part to one city or the other was disputed by both Sarai and Hajji Tarkhan up until the early 16th century [Ibid., p. 58].

At present, there are two settlements officially known to have their routes in early times. One is situated 20 km to the south of Astrakhan and is conventionally named for the towering of Khan-Tyube. While performing excavations during construction works, the layers from the Golden Horde period revealed layers of an earlier period with structures and ceramics tracing back to the 12th century and first half of the 13th century.

The second settlement, called Moshaiik, was about 15 km from Hajji Tarkhan, where the north-eastern part of the city is currently situated. Its central part lies on Berovsky mound. A house made of mud brick was unearthed here which partially survived. The house stood a metre deep in the ground. The heating system was original: on the outer side of the house, near its corner, a hearth was dug, from which the



Plan of a public bath. Majar.
Excavated by E. Zilivinskaya

warm air passed through the horizontal channels that had been left on the outer side of the walls during their construction. A coin minted in 1310 was found in the wall. A thin layer of sand from above the cultural layer contained in the house was uncovered, where there were remains of the settlement's life activity in the latter half of the 14th century. In a neighbouring mound, graves from the 10th to 14th centuries were found. Presently, the ancient site has been developed, with a housing estate, called Moshaiik, as well as dachas (weekend cottages) [Vasilyev, 2001a, p. 48, 51; Schneidstein, 1978, p. 8–13].

The number of quite large settlements that made the environs of Hajji Tarkhan increased particularly during the first half of the 14th century. During the reign of Janibek Khan, there were already over ten. However, they were not archaeologically investigated.

With the emergence of the Astrakhan Khanate, Hajji Tarkhan became a capital city. With the change in its political status, the nearest cities, lying about 50 km away (near the set-



Bath under investigation. Majar. Excavated by E. Zilivinskaya

tlement of Krasny Yar, near the settlement of Komsomolsky), transformed into large settlements. Judging from archaeological materials, they lost their political and economic significance and became remote environs of the

Khanate's capital. Their task was limited to providing the capital with foodstuffs, supporting caravan routes and crossing points, as well as maintaining mausoleums and holy places in the condition that they deserved.

§ 8. Golden Horde cities of the North Caucasus

Emma Zilivinskaya

The North Caucasus was already a densely populated area by the early Middle Ages. The Mongol invasion cut the lives of many Alan settlements short and prevented them from growing into well-developed medieval cities. During the Golden Horde period, instead of numerous settlements, here rose several large cities which became centres of trade and commerce, as well as those of administrative power of Ulus of Jochi's Khans. In the 13th to 15th centuries, the foothills of the Caucasus saw the birth and rapid development of the old Alan cities, such as Terek, Bulunguyev, Khamidie, Upper Chegen Archaeological Site and Nizhny Julat, which had advantageous geographical positions [Chechenov, 1969, p. 43, 46, 48, 60–61]. At the same time, they continue to maintain the original three-part structure

(the citadel, the fortified trading quarter, and an open ancient settlement).

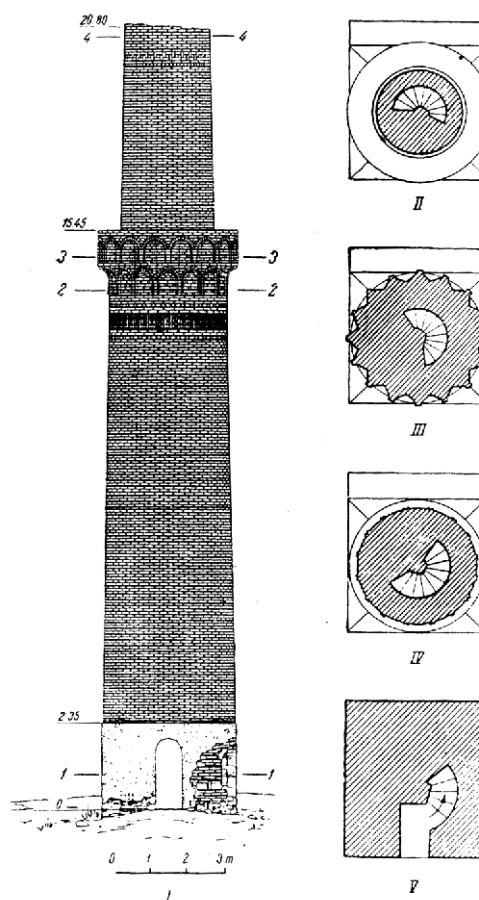
Some small rural settlements which do not have such a complex layout, also change into city centres. Verkhny (Upper) Julat may serve as an example of such a city [Kuznetsov, 2003, p. 119–185]. At the same time, in the steppes as well as at the crossroads of trade routes, new 'khanate' cities are built such as Majar and the nearby cities, which acquired the names of Malye (Small) Majary and Verkhniye (Upper) Majary [Yegorov, 1985, p. 122]. These are typical Golden Horde cities, which, like the cities of the Lower Volga Region, arose as clusters of aristocratic manor houses as a result of the khans' short term town planning activity in unpopulated areas.

The most significant city centres of the Golden Horde period were the cities of Majar

(in Stavropol Krai), Verkny (Upper) Julat (at the settlement of Alkhotovo in North Ossetia) and Nizhny Julat (at the town of Maisky in Kabardino-Balkaria). The majestic ruins of these cities have attracted attention of researchers, philarchaists and travelers. From the 18th to 19th centuries, they were visited and described in plans and pictures by S. Gmelin, I. Guldenshtedt, G.-Yu. Klaprot, P. Pallas, V. Viller and many others. But the archaeological investigation of these monuments only started in the early 20th century.

The largest Golden Horde city in the North Caucasus was Majar. It was about 6 square kilometers in area. The site of the ancient settlement lies on the bank of the Kuma River, at the place where the tributary of the River Buivol flows into it. The city was built in the 14th century at the intersection of the trade routes connecting Ulus of Jochi's centre (Sarai and the Lower Volga Region) with the Caucasus and the western regions (Azak and Crimean cities). Currently, the largest part of it is built up by the city of Budyonnovsk. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the ruins of the site were visited by I.-G. Gerber, S. Gmelin, I. Guldenshtedt, G.-Yu. Claproth, I. Falk, P. Pallas, Ya. Schmidt, Sh. Gode, K. Baer, A. Firkovich, V. Miller and others. One can freely assert that none of the travelers, archaeologists or philarchaists who visited the Caucasus left having ignored this monument.

The first excavations, which were probably the most effective, were carried out by V. Gorodtsov in 1907 [Gorodtsov, 1911]. He drew a plan of the site and investigated it in different places. He uncovered 6 residential houses made of mud brick that looked typical of the Golden Horde. Inside the houses, they uncovered L-shaped wattle and daub sufes, tandoors and a kana heating system. The floors in the rooms were adobe or paved with brick, often with a built-in toshna. There were two types of uncovered houses: ones that were square in plan and divided into 2 rooms (the larger one used for living, and the smaller one used for household activities) and rectangular ones, divided into three narrow rectangular rooms. The set of graves uncovered by V. Gorodtsov belonged to two periods—the Sarmatian and the

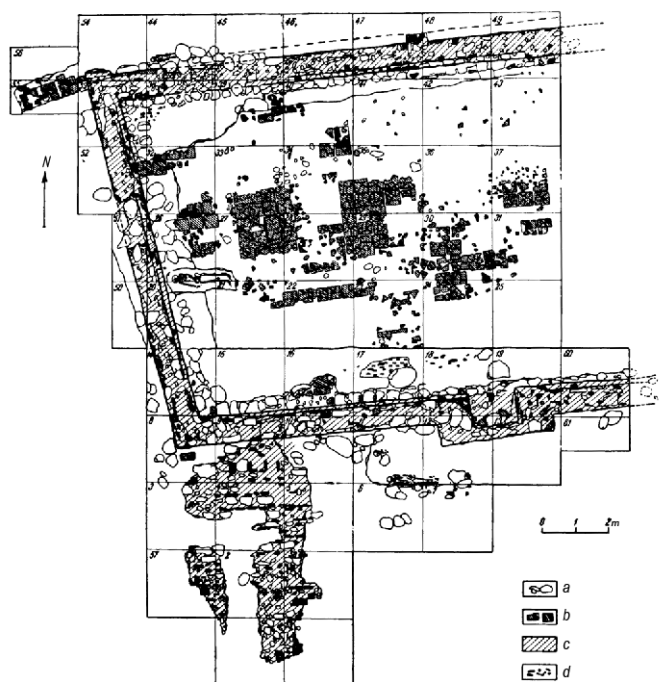


Tatartup minaret (according to O. Miloradovich)

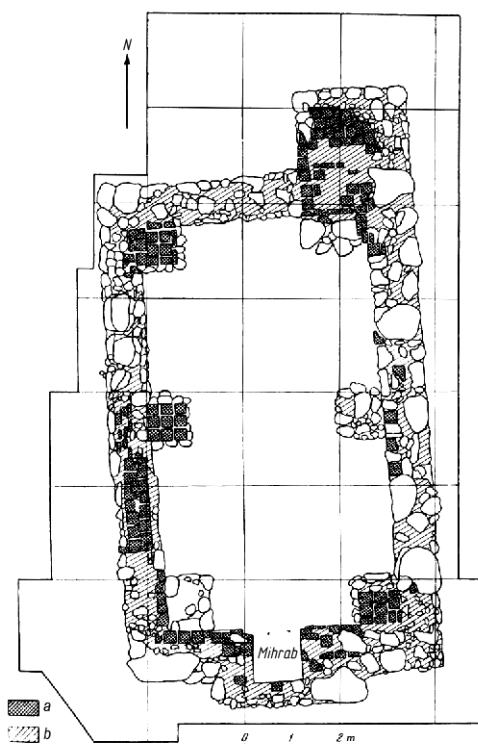
Golden Horde periods. The burials were of different structures: from simple pits to those with shoulders, adobe brick foundation stones and thoroughly built vaults. V. Gorodtsov was the first to reliably prove that Majar was a Golden Horde city modeled after the cities of the Lower Volga Region and constructed on a new unpopulated site.

In the 60s–70s of the 20th century, E. Rtveladze and A. Runich carried out excavations on the Majar Ancient Town. In using stratigraphic investigation and observation of the uncovered materials, they defined the borders of the monument, identified separate parts of the city and affirmed the conclusions made by V. Gorodtsov that the Golden Horde city reached its height during the reign of Khan Janibek [Rtveladze, 1970; 1972].

On the Majar archeological site from 1989 to 1991, excavations were conducted on the left bank of the Kuma River within the boundaries



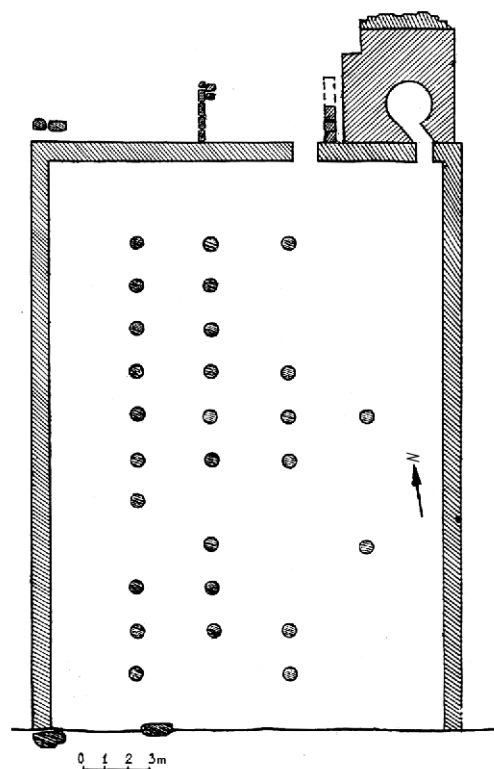
Plan of the Great Mosque in Verkhny (Upper) Julat (according to O. Miloradovich)
a—stones, b—bricks, c—cementing mortar, d—coal



Plan of the small mosque in Verkhny (Upper) Julat (according to O. Miloradovich)

of the town of Budyonnovsk [Zilivinskaya, 1994]. They showed that the cultural layer of the site in this part had been very much destroyed. Nevertheless, several residences, part of a street and a set of burial sites in the city necropolis were examined. All the examined burial sites had been made in accordance with Muslim rites. The people were buried without any personal belongings, their heads pointed westwards, facing southwards, stretched on the back and bent to the right. There were several kinds of graves: simple pits made in the ground, graves with a shoulder and a foundation stone, and finally, vaults made of brick or adobe brick, that is, they did not differ from those unearthed by V. Gorodtsov.

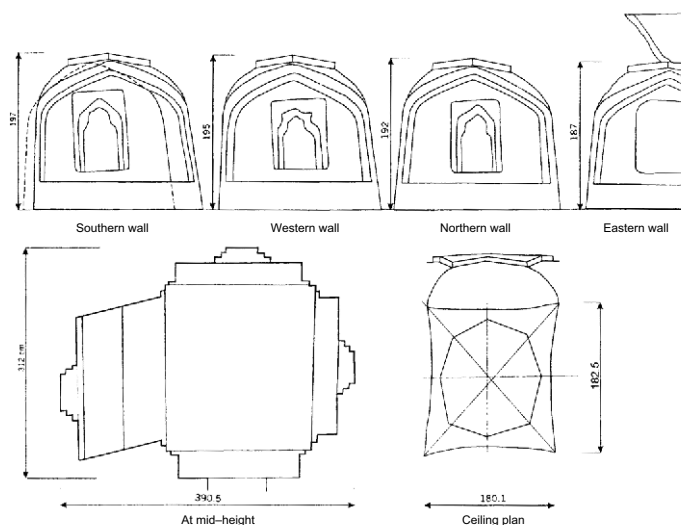
From 1993 to 1998, the excavations were carried out on the right bank of the Kuma River. The fields of a rather densely populated arti-



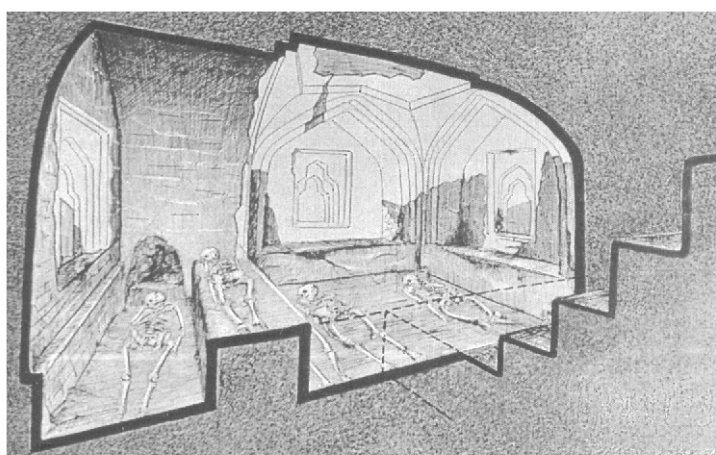
Plan of the mosque in Nizhny (Lower) Julat

san settlement were examined. The object of most interest here was a particular house. It was square in plan with wire-frame wooden walls coated with clay. A wall divided it into 2 rooms: a living room with a hearth, a kana and two sufas, and a smaller room, used for utility needs with two small storage cellars. Next to this house there were two more that were less preserved. Aside from the houses, numerous pits rich in different things were uncovered. In one of them, a small treasure was found consisting of 17 silver coins from the times of the Khans Tokhta, Janibek and Kulpa. The same field revealed remains of production complexes. Subsequent excavations were conducted in the same area on the very bank of the Kuma River. The remains of a large building made of adobe brick were uncovered. Its length was 12 metres. The walls, 100–120 centimeters thick, remained intact to the height of about one metre. The western part of the structure had been destroyed as part the bank of the Kuma River eroded. The structure was reconstructed several times. It dates back to the 20s–40s of the 14th century [Zilivinskaya, 1996].

Not far from that building, remains of a public bath, whose south-western part was destroyed as the Kuma River bank eroded were found. It consisted of rectangular-plan rooms which were situated in two rows. All in all, partial or full, 5 such buildings were uncovered. The bath was heated with a cylindrical stove whose walls were built of burnt brick and which was connected to an underground space. The walls of the bath were built of burnt brick laid on brick mortar. The foundations of the walls and the pillars of the underfloor heating system rested on the bottom of the foundation



Underground vault-mausoleum in Nizhny (Lower) Julat. Plan



Underground vault-mausoleum in Nizhny (Lower) Julat. Reconstruction

pit which was 0.5 m deep. The pillars were of one kind of brick and had no fewer than 10 courses of brickwork. They were covered with flat sandstone slabs. The walls and floors of the bath were covered with mortar. The water was fed through ceramic pipes [Zilivinskaya, 2001, p. 194–196]. Public bathhouses were very common in all Golden Horde cities. Nevertheless, the bathhouse in Majar is so far the first and only one found in the North Caucasus.

On the right bank of the Kuma River, copper smelting and pottery workshops were found. The largest amount of information was obtained about ceramics. [Volkov, 1991; Volkov, Zilivinskaya, 1996]. The ceramic com-

plex obtained in Majar testifies to the fact that there were 2 types of workshops. In the workshops of the first group, they made ceramics using Saltovo traditions of engobe and glossing. The firing of these ceramics was mostly done in three layers. The molding compounds used in the second group are characterized by a yellow or pink and orange colour, high porosity and total firing. Ceramics belonging to this group can also be glazed. The proportion of ceramics belonging to the imported groups shows that Majar shared the most intensive links with the capitals of Ulus of Jochi and East Crimean cities.

The Verkhny (Upper) Julat archaeological site is situated on the bank of the Terek River at 'Elkhotov Gate', a narrow passage connecting Eastern and Western Caucasia. In academic works, this monument is often called *Tatartup* [Kokiyev, 1929; Semenov, 1947]. In many ways, it drew the attention of researchers due to a Tatartup minaret, which had existed until not very long ago. At the end of the 18th century, it was minutely described by I. Guldenstadt, who was able to see not only the minaret but also the remains of a mosque near it as well as the ruins of another minaret, a smaller one, and two Christian churches [Guldenstadt, 1987, p. 503–508]. The systematic investigation of the monument began in 1958 with the North Caucasian expedition, headed by Ye. Krupnov. The excavations showed that the Golden Horde city arose on the site of an Alan settlement, which had existed over a long period of time. During the Golden Horde period, it became a major city—a centre of culture, trade and commerce.

The Tatartup minaret, which brought fame to the monument, consisted of a rectangular-plan base, (3.55 by 4.24 metres in size), on which sat a conical shaft [Miloradovich, 1963, p. 69–78]. The shaft consisted of two parts divided by a stalactitic girdle, which previously supported a small balcony intended for the muezzin. In the base section, there was a door with a semicircular end. The same kind of door led to the balcony. Inside, a pentagonal column was circled by brick stairs. The shaft of the minaret was decorated with several ornamental girdles, the main one made of a stalactite. Right under it, there were two strips of turquoise glazed

disks, alternating with diamond-shaped bricks. Between them, there was an ornamental girdle imitating Kufa inscriptions. The top of the shaft was also decorated with figured brickwork. The minaret reached 20.8 metres. The Tatartup minaret was part of the Great Mosque in Verkhny (Upper) Julat, but it stood separately from it.

Two-thirds of the Great congregational mosque have been preserved [Ibid., p. 66–87]. The rectangular-plan building, 22.8 by 11.4 metres in size, extended from West to East. Its walls were built of dressed stones, burnt brick and sandstone bricks and the floor was paved with large brick tiles, standard brick, and cobble stones. Some floor tiles had blue glaze on their surface. The floor in the mikhrab was decorated with glazed tiles, and its walls might have been too. The columns supporting the ceiling must have been made of wood and therefore didn't survive. In general, the plan of the Grand Congregational Mosque is quite typical of Ulus of Jochi, while the fact that the building is extended latitude-wise instead of longitude-wise (as are the majority of other mosques) is somewhat unusual. [Zilivinskaya, 1998].

About 250 m to the southwest, another mosque of smaller size was found [Miloradovich, 1963, p. 66–69]. The smaller mosque's long axis was longitude-wise oriented and had dimensions of 9.8 by 6.6 metres. Inside the mosque, there were the remains of 6 square piers in the corners of the room and in the middle of its eastern and western walls. They most likely served to support two domes that formed the roof of the building. A cubic minaret base was added to the northeast corner of the mosque. So far, the smaller mosque remains the only specimen of a building of public worship with a plan that existed in the Golden Horde.

A small rectangular Christian church of 7.7 by 5.6 metres in size, which looked like a side chapel having one apse, was uncovered in the same part of the city. Later, another side chapel, also with an apse was added to this church. Under the altar there was a square-plan crypt with a dome-shaped roof [Krupnov, 1963, p. 48–66]. Most likely, I. Guldenstadt saw this church with intact walls and roof [Guldenstadt, 1787, p. 503–508; Krup-

nov, 1963, p. 61]. Near the Great Mosque in Verkhny (Upper) Julat and inside the Christian church, gravesites were found. Examination of the skulls made it possible to conclude that the city's population belonged to the Caucasian race [Alekseyev, Beslekoyeva, 1963]. In 1960–1963, there were excavations which uncovered a 14th century mausoleum, two Christian churches, a house with outdoor facilities and a great number of Muslim and Christian graves. From 1976–1977, V. Kuznetsov, found a church with one apse and a 14th century vault near it [Kuznetsov, 2003, p. 136–146].

The Nizhny (Lower) Julat archeological site is situated in the northern part of Kabardino-Balkaria, where the flatlands meet the foothills, not far from the city of Maisky on the high right bank of the Terek River. The site was first examined by academician G.-Yu. Klaport in 1807. In his account, he described Julat as an ancient city, which, according to 'Derbent-name' existed as far back as the 8th century. He also briefly described the ruins of a mosque and a minaret and the numerous burials around them [Klaproth, 1812–1814, I, p. 430, 539; II, p. 359]. Subsequent researchers were mainly guided by this data.

Permanent excavations of Nizhny (Lower) Julat were conducted in the 1960s, headed by G. Ione and I. Chechenov. The digs were made on the site of the citadel and mainly involved the latest layers of the city's existence. It was here that the largest congregational mosque in the North Caucasus was unearthed [Chechenov, Zilivinskaya, 1999]. The mosque was a rectangular-planned building of approximately 25.7 by 17.65 metres in size. Its inner space was divided into 5 naves with 4 rows of columns. The columns rested on circular stone bases and were probably made of wood. The floor of the mosque was paved with brick—the mikhrab did not survive. There is reason to believe that the central entrance to the mosque was surrounded by a portal. The minaret, of which remained a rectangular-plan base, was added closely to the northern wall near the northwestern corner of the building. Thus, the mosque in Nizhny (Lower) Julat had a basilican plan typical of all large mosques of the Golden Horde.

An underground vault-mausoleum found within the mosque was of particular interest [Zilivinskaya, Chechenov, 2004]. The vault was below the ground level of the mosque. On its eastern side, there was a narrow corridor with eight steps leading to it. In general, the vault was a square-plan room, approximately 2 by 2 metres in size. All four walls had a pointed niche whose opening was nearly as wide as the wall itself. In the walls of all the niches, except for the eastern one, there were small false windows, which, looking like three small niches gradually diminishing in perspective, went outward behind the wall surface. The vault was covered with an octahedral dome-shaped roof. The vault was about 2 metres high. The inside of its walls were covered with white mortar. On the floor there were five graves, some of them featuring wooden coffins. Two skulls were subjected to anthropological examination [Alekseyev, 1967, p. 177–182]. One of the buried people belonged to the narrow-faced Caucasoids (Alans), and another belonged to South Siberian Mongoloids.

Architecturally, the vault is original. Cross-shaped mausoleums and vaults consisting of square-plan rooms with niches on all the four sides are quite common. However, the vault in Nizhny (Lower) Julat has niches which are almost as wide as the walls, and the shape of a cross can hardly be discerned. The fact that the southern niche was made so large that, in fact, it represents a second additional room, which is also quite unusual.

The digs made in the citadel, in the middle of the fortified part of the site near the ditch and ramparts, produced various materials in abundance, which is indicative of the intensive and versatile activities that took place on the site for one and a half thousand years (from the 1st century BC until the 14th century). On the site of the citadel, the cultural layer reached 3.5 metres, and nearly 1 metre thereof falls on to the Golden Horde period. The investigation of the citadel's rampart made it possible to make interesting conclusions about the political life of Nizhny (Lower) Julat. Built in the pre-Mongol times, the rampart was destroyed in the second half of the 13th century.

In the early 14th century, it was restored and completed. The last destruction of the citadel might have been during Timur's invasion and dates back to the late 14th century [Chechenov, 1967]. In the artisanal part of the city, the remains of dwellings, yurtas (nomad's tents), numerous unility pits and production complexes were uncovered. The data obtained during these investigations made it possible to form an idea about the population's occupations, which were farming, cattle breeding, and various crafts.

Aside from the three largest sites situated in the North Caucasus, there are other monuments from the Golden Horde period. For

example, in Pyatigorye, not far from the city of Yessentuki, eight mausoleums were uncovered—six of which are arranged in a row [Rtveladze, 1969; Palimpsestova, Runich, 1974]. These excavations made it possible to suppose that it was the site of a large settlement which was mentioned by Ibn Battuta [Ibid., p. 237–238]. E. Rtveladze believes that the name Yessentuki itself comes from the name of Tatar emir Essen-tuk who owned this land [Rtveladze, 1969, p. 263]. Another city centre with large buildings of obvious public character was found near the stanitsa (Cossack village) of Starogladvskaya on the Terek River [Dautova, 1981] but it was not examined.

§ 9. The Kok Horde

Aleksandr Kadyrbayev

The Golden Horde, the state belonging to Khan Jochi's descendants, occupied the whole of the Great Steppe stretching from the Danube in the west to the Irtysh River in the east. The whole state called Ulug Ulus ('Great Ulus') was divided into two wings, the left wing, or Kok Horde, and the right wing, or Ak Horde, and a great number of smaller appanages, which in turn were called uluses and hordes. The domains of all princes from Jochi's house were subordinate to the Golden Horde's khans based in Sarai who, before Khan Berdibek's death, were lineal descendants of Batu Khan. But sometimes this subordination was nominal. For example, descendants of Batu Khan's elder brother Orda Ejen, who were rulers of Kok Horde (Eastern Horde) or Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq, recognized the authority of the Khan in Sarai de jure, and didn't even attend the Kurultai—an assembly of families representing Jochi's descendants [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2000, p. 214]. Rashid al-Din, a contemporary of the Mongol epoch writes: 'From the very beginning, it never happened that somebody from the Orda family who had overthrown him, would go to the Khans of the Batu family, as they had distanced from each other and they are independent sovereigns of their own ulus.

But it was their custom to consider the person who succeeds Batu their sovereign and ruler, and they write their names at the top of their yarlyqs [Rashid ad-Din, 1960, II, p. 66].

In Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq, there were also the domains of Shiban and his descendants, his younger brother Batu and Orda Ejen. By the 14th century, they had covered areas of the Middle Irtysh River Region.

The questions 'When did Kok Horde arise and under what circumstances? What lands did it actually occupy?' have been often been a point of contention in scholarly publications. Though, there are no definite answers to these questions to this day, which could be proved by written or other sources. The scholars were unanimous only in thinking that the term Kok Horde means a part of Ulus of Jochi. As for the questions concerning which part of the Golden Horde in particular was called Kok Horde and when this Horde was formed, there is no definite answer in scholarly books. Muslim sources mainly contain information about Kok Horde, which is known to oriental historians, though it has not been sufficiently studied as far as the sources are concerned. Due to this fact, they have not been able to map out the historiography of the Golden Horde [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 1992, p. 189–190].

In old Russian chronicles—where Jochid Ulus is called ‘the Golden Horde’, or simply ‘the Horde’ or ‘the Volga Horde’—the steppe expanses to the east of the Urals, Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq, were recorded under the name of ‘the Blue Horde’, that is, Kok Horde or ‘Zayaitskaya Horde’ (that is, lying east of the Yaik River, now the Ural River) [Complete Collections of Russian Chronicles, 4, p. 82–83; 9, p. 27, 123]. Supposedly, Kok Horde included the eastern part of Jochid Ulus, namely, Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq (where Kazakhstan is now), the area to the east of the Ural River (excluding Semirechye) and to the north of the Aral Sea and the Syr Darya River.

The Kok Horde was predominantly populated by Turkic tribes and small populations of Mongol steppe tribes, including those that lived there before the Mongol invasions, such as the Kipchaks and the Kangly, and those that came together with Chinggis Khan’s Mongols—the Naimans, Keraites, Karluks, Kongrats and Merkits.

The chronological tables of Muslim dynasties give the names of the Kok Horde khans in the following order: Orda Ejen, Kunkiran, Sar-taqtai, Kuinji (Konichi), Bayan, Sasy-Buka, Erzen, Mubarak-Hoja, Chimtay, Urus Khan, Koyrichak and Barak [Rashid ad-Din, 1960, II, p. 67].

According to Rashid al-Din, Jochi Khan’s yurt ‘was within the Irtysh River area, and therein was the capital of his state’. [ibid] Abu-l Ghazi asserts that ‘Jochi Khan’s residence was in Dasht-i Kipchak, in a place called Kok Horde’ and that it is this part of his extensive domain that passed after his death to his son Orda Ejen. Abu-l Ghazi says nothing about his sources, but the information he gives is confirmed by a contemporary of Jochi Khan’s sons, the brothers Orda Ejen, Batu and Shiban. This is Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, the Pope’s ambassador to the court of the great Mongol Khan, who in 1246 travelled through all the steppe areas of the Ulus of Jochi. According to his account, he rode for a long time with his companions along the bank of ‘a certain sea’ (Lake Alakul, not far from the upper reaches of the Irtysh River). ‘This is the land where Orda lives, who is Batu’s superior; moreover, he is the oldest of all the Tatar princ-

es; there is also a Horde, or the court of his father, where one of his wives lives and rules’. [Travels, 1957, p. 3, 218, annotation 194]. Orda Ejen inherited the residence of his father Jochi Khan as his appanage; it was situated in the upper reaches of the Irtysh River near Alakol Lake. According to a legend told by the Muslim author Ötemish Hajji, when the question arose over the inheritance of the dominion of Jochi Khan, Chinggis Khan commanded that a blue yurt should be erected for Orda Ejen, or, in the words of the source, a ‘Kok Horde’.

Borderlines between the domains of the Jochids were roughly defined; depending on the military and political situation, they were either narrowed or widened. In the latter half of the 13th century, the city of Sygnak on the Syr Darya became the center of the rulers of the Blue Horde where they relocated their capital. They continued to be politically dependent on the khans of the Golden Horde, though only nominally, up to the first half of the 14th century. During the rule of Mubarak-Hoja, the rulers of the Blue Horde only made one attempt to become the sovereigns of an independent state. Mubarak-Hoja took the liberty to mint coins in 1328–1329 in Sygnak with the inscription: ‘Mubarak-Hoja is the just sultan, and God will extend his reign’. Coin minting was the exclusive right of the sovereign ruler, so this led to countermeasures by Öz Beg, the khan of the Golden Horde, who was considered the lawful supreme ruler of the entire Ulus of Jochi. His actions were aimed at returning the descendants of Orda Ejen to their original vassalage to Sarai; the separatist strivings of the latter for total political independence caused the Time of Troubles (Smutnoye Vremya), which Muin al-Din Natanzi, a Timurid author of the early 15th century, said ‘is still remembered in Desht-i Qipchaq’. In this struggle, the ruler of the Blue Horde, Mubarak-Hoja, was defeated, fled, and wandered the Kyrgyz regions and Altai for several years until his death.

After the death of Janibek Khan, disorder and palace coups gripped the Golden Horde. Several khans claimed the throne at the same time and each of them minted their own coins. Centrifugal tendencies strengthened and the Blue Horde became de facto independent. Its rulers actively struggled for supreme power in the empire of

the Golden Horde and from 1361, the descendants of Orda Ejen from the Blue Horde ascended to the throne of the Ulus of Jochi, one after the other. They were: Timur-Hoja, Orda-Sheikh, and Murid. The ruling upper circles of the Blue Horde strove to use the situation in the Golden Horde to unite all the dominions of the Ulus of Jochi into one empire under their reign. After the death of Berdibek Khan, an official invitation to take the throne in Sarai was made, for example, to the Khan of the Blue Horde Chimtay (1344–1361), who declined it. However, his sons, especially Urus, actively struggled for the throne of the Ulus of Jochi.

Urus became the Khan of the Blue Horde in 1361. The Muslim chroniclers Muin al-Din Natanzi and Kadyr Ali Jalairi describe him as a strong and powerful ruler with a resolute character. Under Urus Khan's rule, the authority of the khans was strengthened in the Blue Horde, and he started actively seeking the throne of the Golden Horde [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 151–152]. Urus Khan, with support of the 'pillars of the nation and nobility of the court', initiated a campaign against Sarai in 1368 and seized it in 1374–1375. He also besieged Hajji Tarkhan (Astrakhan) and conquered the Cis-Kama Region, which was called the 'yurt of Urus Khan' in the sources. But his successes were temporary, and in the next year, he was forced to leave the Volga Region for his native steppes in Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq. Though Urus Khan was a Chinggisid and a 'legitimate' candidate for the throne of the Jochid Ulus, he was unable to defeat Mamai, the temporary ruler of the Golden Horde, who was supported by the owners of the right hand ('wing'), or the White Horde, despite the fact that Mamai was not a Chinggisid.

That which Urus Khan, Orda Ejen's descendant, failed to do, was accomplished in the 1380s by another representative of the Blue Horde, the young Mangyshlak tsarevich Tokhtamysh, the descendant of Tuqai-Timur and the youngest son of Jochi. In 1378, Tokhtamysh, supported by the most powerful ruler of the East (Emir Timur, the ruler of Samarkand), was enthroned as a khan in Sygnak, the capital of the tsarevitches of the Blue Horde, the left hand ('wing') of the Jochid Ulus. From Sygnak, Tokhtamysh campaigned in the west and seized Sarai, the capital of the

Golden Horde, with Timur's support. Soon, he joined all the Jochids' possessions together into a united empire and restored the khan's strong authority [Bartold, 1968, p. 139]. The alliance of the Russian principalities headed by Dmitry, the Prince of Moscow, unintentionally helped him by defeating the army of his rival Mamai on Kulikovo Field, though this did not save Moscow from Tokhtamysh's invasion in 1382. He burned the city and obliged the Rus' to pay tribute to the Golden Horde again up to 1480, and to take debts on the tribute not paid to the Ulus of Jochi for their six years under Mamai's rule. But in 1395, Tokhtamysh came into conflict with his patron Emir Timur and lost in a war that lasted for several years, which cost him the throne of the Golden Horde. He never returned to the Blue Horde as 10 years later he died in the lower reaches of the Terek River in the North Caucasus. After Tokhtamysh, nobody managed to gain the authority that would be acknowledged in the entire Jochid Ulus. The Golden Horde began to split. Emir Timur appointed his proteges from the Blue Horde in Sarai, which by this time was de facto controlled by the ruler of Samarkand. They were mainly representatives of Urus Khan's clan, such as Koyrichak and Temür Qutlugh. But they failed to restore the former greatness of the Ulus of Jochi.

Koyrichak's reign of the Golden Horde was short. Soon after Emir Taimur had left the lands of the Golden Horde Volga Region with his main forces, his protege Koyrichak was dethroned and killed. The Blue Horde was also weakened due to the wars with Emir Tikmur. In 1423–1434, Urus' grandson and Koyrichak's son Barak overcame his rivals and seized the reins of the Blue Horde, which by this time had lost the middle reaches of the Syr Darya region and its capital Sygnak to Timur's descendants. But Barak did not limit himself to his grandfather's yurt. According to the Russian chronicles, he invaded the Golden Horde Volga Region in 1424 and defeated Khans Khudaydat and Ulugh Muhammad. As diplomatic correspondence shows, the latter was seen as the legitimate ruler of the Golden Horde by foreign rulers, though he only controlled the central part of the former Jochid Ulus, known then as the Great Horde. As Russian and Muslim chroniclers report, Barak cap-

tured Sarai and 'ascended to the khan's throne in Desht-i Qipchaq'. However, Barak khan failed to hold on to power for a long time in the centre of the former lands of the Golden Horde. By 1427, Ulugh Muhammad managed to win back Sarai and drive Barak out to the borders of his possessions in the Blue Horde. Barak refused to fight for the throne in Sarai and gathered his forces against the rulers of Samarkand, the Timurids. Barak may probably be considered to be the last khan of the Blue Horde. In 1425–1426, he campaigned against Timur's grandson, the ruler of Samarkand, Ulugh Beg, and regained Sygnak together with several settlements at Syr Darya. 'The pastures of Sygnak', Khan Barak said, 'belong by the law and customary right to me, as my grandfather Urus Khan erected the construction in Sygnak' [CWRHGH: Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 197]. But these were the last years of the existence of the Blue Horde. Since 1428, after the death of Khan Barak, Orda Ejen's descendant, authority in east Dasht-i Kipchak passed to the descendants of Shibān, who symbolized the steppe state. They were recorded in history under another name—the Öz Beg Ulus, and became the successors of the Blue Horde in the area of east Dasht-i Kipchak.

But the history of the Blue Horde doesn't only consist of wars and internecine feuds. Although the descendants of Orda Ejen first fought with the Chagataid Ulus, the Mongol state in Middle Asia, and then with the Timurids, for the cities in the Syr Darya region and the pastures in east Dasht-i Kipchak, the rulers of the Blue Horde sought to restore trade and economic relations between the nomadic world of east Dasht-i Kipchak and the settled population of the Syr Darya region oases. The rulers of the Blue Horde relocated their capital from the upper reaches of the Irtysh River to the southern borderline of their lands, the city of Sygnak, for good reason. While preserving and supporting extensive livestock farming in the steppe areas from the Irtysh to the Syr Darya and from the Altai to the Ulytau Mountains and the Aral Sea, they also secured the existing order of nomad movements to summer and winter pastures with consideration for tradition. The khans of the Blue Horde took steps towards restoring economic and cultural

life in the settled agricultural oases in the middle reaches of the Syr Darya, Talas and Chu rivers. Muin al-Din Natanzi reports that the khan of the Blue Horde Erzen modernized Sygnak and built many buildings: 'most of the madrasah, khanqahs, mosques and other charities in Otrar, Sawran, Jend, Barchkend' [Ibid., p. 129], urban settlements in the Syr Darya region oases. Erzen's grandson Urus Khan erected buildings in Sygnak following the example of his grandfather. According to the Muslim chronicler Mahmud ibn Vali, the other political centre of the Blue Horde under the rule of Urus Khan was the city of Saray-Jük in the lower Ural, which was considered together with Sarai to be the capital of the entire Jochid Ulus. By the end of the 14th century, the khans of the Blue Horde had been minting coins with their own names. Turning the middle reaches of the Syr Darya region into the centre of the Blue Horde with a capital in Sygnak encouraged the expansion of relations between the nomads from east Dasht-i Kipchak and the settled cultures of Khwarezm and other regions in Middle Asia. These relations were significantly influenced by the fact that urban life in the centre of the Golden Horde, the Volga Region, faded away due to the invasions of Emir Timur, and as a consequence, trade routes shifted to the south-east to the oases of the Syr Darya region.

Thus, the Kok Horde was already known as the official term for the region located in the upper reaches of the Irtysh near the Alakul lake, already during Khan Jochi's lifetime. After the death of Jochi Khan, the term referred to the descendants of his son Orda Ejen and their dominions, which covered a distance from the upper reaches of the Irtysh and further westwards to the rivers Ili and Syr Darya, at times probably up to the Ural. In the sources, the Jochids from the Blue Horde were called 'tsareviches of the left hand ('wing')', and their dominions were furthest east of the Jochid Ulus. In the latter half of the 14th century, the term 'Kok Horde' was replaced by Öz Beg ulus and ceased to exist. It should be mentioned that the last khan of the Blue Horde, Barak, had a daughter and three sons, one of whom was named Abu Said, 'also known as Jani Beg', who was one of the founders of the Kazakh Khanate.

§ 10. Shibān's Ulus

Vladimir Kostyukov

The border between the right and left wings, between The White and Blue Horde, was likely situated along the Volga-Ural Watershed area. The southern Urals and the steppes of western Siberia up to the Irtysh belonged to Shibān, Jochi's son, and his closest descendants (about this ulus see: [Kostyukov, 1998, p. 210–224]. The lands of the Eastern Aral Region and the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, together with the cities of Jend, Sygnak, and Sayram, were apparently the dominions of Shibān, but already during the rule of Orda Ejen, these lands were merged into his own ulus. Initially, he owned the original dominions of the Jochids in the upper reaches of the Irtysh and near the Alakul lake, where the history of the Ulus of Jochi actually started (about the history of the left wing of the Ulus of Jochi and genealogy of its rulers see: [Allsen, 1985, p. 5–40]).

While the Jochids were dividing the conquered territories after the completion 'of the seven-year campaign', the fifth son, Shibān, received one of the largest appanages. Shibān's great-grandson, Abu-l Ghazi, tells about this grant as follows: 'When Sain Khan returned from this campaign and stayed in his place... he gave his younger brother Shibān Khan... as the appanage from the conquered states, the Korel region; and he gave from the family dominions four peoples: the Kushchis, Naimans, Karluks and Buyrak, and told him: the yurt you are going to live in will be between mine and my elder brother's Ichen: in summer live at the eastern side of the Yaik, along the rivers Irgiz-suuk, Or, Ilek, up to the Ural mountains, and during winter live in Arakum, Karakum, and along the banks of the Syr, Darya, by the deltas of the rivers Chu Su and Sari-su. Shibān Khan sent to the Korel region one of his sons accompanied by good begs and people. This yurt was constantly under the authority of the sons of Shibān Khan; the present day the Korel sovereigns are said to be the descendants of Shibān Khan;... Shibān Khan spent summers and winters in the designated regions

and died after several years' [Abu-l Ghazi, 1906, p. 160].

The fact that Shibān received nomad camps in the Ural-Kazakhstan steppes is confirmed by contemporary records of events: in the report on his mission to Karakorum, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine briefly notes that in the vast expanse northwards of Middle Asia, 'lives Shibān, the brother of Batu' [Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, 1993, p. 64]. It is not clear what was actually hidden behind the report to assign Shibān the country 'Koral', that is Hungary. Perhaps this meant a mission to organize the final conquest of Hungary, but it is much more likely that it was the result of identifying the powerful general (temnik) Nogai with the Shibān's second son, Bahadur in Shibān 'historiology' [Şaqərim Qudayberdiuli, 1990, p. 98]. Regardless, Shibān's descendants never consolidated in Hungary, but were able to establish their rule in the Ural-Kazakhstan steppe for several centuries.

On first glance, it may seem that the baghatur and his warriors, who gained glory on the battlefield, retired and received favorable and quiet nomadic territories in the depths of the Jochid country. However, Shibān's corps had to subjugate the Kypchaks again in the northern periphery of the Ural steppe. Their place within Shibān's ulus should be highlighted. According to archaeological data, before the Mongol expansion to the West, the Kypchaks and their related Kanglies were merely formal owners of the territories assigned to Shibān. The Kypchaks and the Kangly offered stiff resistance to the Mongols and were cruelly killed after their cities were conquered [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 198–199, 206, 208]. Those who survived scattered in all directions, many of them went to the northern periphery of the steppe to the Bashkirs, or the Ishtyaks as Abu-l Ghazi calls them [Kononov, 1958, p. 43]. Sources provide no information about the future of the refugees who searched for rescue in the harsh northern regions. Although it is clear that the



Khan and his court. Miniature. Iran.
16th century

fate of those who were subjected by the Mongols or found refuge in the nooks was rather unfortunate. The former were conscripted into the army and placed at the front of each battle and died first. A big family burial-ground, discovered in the forest-steppe zone at the borderline between the Chelyabinsk and Sverdlovsk oblasts, provides certain information about the latter. Radiocarbon dating and ceremonial Islamic burials with specific Khwarezmian features confidently associate the necropolis with the Kypchaks from the period of the Mongol expansion. The authors of the publication note that the population which left the settlement lived in unfavorable conditions: all the buried people had pathologies of infectious and/or dystrophic origin [Koryakova and others, 1999, p. 88].

The return of the surviving Kypchaks to the steppe was probably only possible when Batu needed manpower for the inevitable struggle with Güyük. But considering the bad experience acquired by the Kypchaks after the previous propositions of peace and alliance by the Mongols and the extent of their losses, it

is doubtful that the returnees made up the majority of the nomadic population of the Golden Horde. It was not the Kypchaks, but the Turkic and Mongol tribal groups which originally formed the ethnic basis of the Shiban's ulus, who were from the Irtysh River Region, southern Siberia and Central Asia. All information about the tribal nomenclature dating back to the latter half of the 13th century until the 15th century does not provide evidence of an ethnic Kypchak revival [Kostyukov, 1998]. This is also evident in the large collections of archaeological materials from the 13–14th centuries. In particular, burial sites within a single necropolis exhibit an extreme diversity of details of the burial rite, eloquently showing the ethno-cultural complexity of the ulus populations [Kostyukov, 1997].

The Naiman, Karluk, Kushchi and Buyrak 'Omaks', consisting of fifteen thousand families and provided to Shiban, were apparently the basic units in his tumen who went through all the travails of the 'seven-year campaign' (marks of healed wounds were found on many skeletons from the discovered burial sites of the Golden Horde period in the Ural-Kazakhstan steppes). It was reasonable for Batu to keep corps of experienced veterans in the vanguard, in view of the likelihood the conflict with Güyük which could enter into a military phase. Although the conflict never turned into an open collision, Shiban was perhaps directly involved in its resolution. William of Rubruck reported that on his way to Karakorum he was put up by the widow of Batu's brother 'Stikan', which is easily associated with Shiban. She said that Shiban headed a delegation sent by Batu to Güyük to prepare a face-to-face meeting of two of the most powerful Chinggisids. In the course of the negotiations, Shiban and Güyük appeared to have had a quarrel and they struck each other dead. This dramatic story sounds rather plausible, but William of Rubruck doubted its veracity, and heard other versions, saying that Güyük was simply poisoned by the agents of Batu [William of Rubruck, 1993, p. 118]. The eastern sources also maintain a version about the poisoning of Güyük, moreover, they place the name Shiban among participants of a meeting at which candidates for the position

of the new emperor were discussed. One thing is clear: by the time of William of Rubruck's travels, Shibān was already dead. This is indirectly proved by the fact that in 1251, Batu put Berke and Tuqa-Timur, whose previous military merits were not mentioned in the sources, at the head of his huge army, sent to support his candidate for the Karakorum throne, instead of the experienced commander Shibān.

However, it seems that mutual disaffection between Güyük and Batu did not influence the intensity of contacts intended to organize the efficient use of conquered lands and income distribution. In this aspect, it was extremely important that the zone of the Kazakh steppes was the shortest summer route between Karakorum and Batu's quarters [Ivanin, 1998, p. 236]. A trip from the center of the Ulus Jochi to the capital of the Empire across the high steppe ranges took little more than two months, whereas a journey through Middle Asia took from three to four months. But in order to get such a significant benefit in time, it was necessary to create a reliable functioning system of yams on the northern route, where couriers, government officials and ambassadors could get fresh horses and necessary food. This was probably one of the most important tasks entrusted to Shibān. If all the geographical landmarks and summer and winter camps named by Abu-l Ghazi were actually mentioned in the patent, the scrupulousness of their enumeration reveals Batu's main subject of attention. In 1246, as is revealed from the trip of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, the yam service within Shibān's dominions was not functioning well yet. But already in 1254, on his way back from Karakorum, William of Rubruck notices certain advantages of the northern route. This information enters 'Opus Majus' by R. Bacon, who notes the two-fold time difference between the southern and northern routes [Matuzova, 1979, p. 215]. Thus, before the mid-14th century, as long as strong authority remained in Sarai and as long as it maintained regular relations with Karakorum and with Khanbalīq, the Shibānids were responsible for keeping the yams in working condition.

Unfortunately, written sources only allow us to draft a general picture of the ulus' history from its foundation to Abu-l-Khair's rule. Fac-

tual material is reduced to genealogical tables sometimes accompanied by short remarks about the personal features or destinies of certain personalities, as well as sporadic chronicle references to members of the Shibānids, which were usually related to military events. The terseness of the chronicles seems to prove Mahmud Ibn Vali's approving words about the Shibānids, who 'girding themselves with the belt of obedience to Batu Khans descendants, did not allow themselves to express a criminal desire and aspiration to ignore the customs of subordination' [Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, 1969, p. 346]. Of course, not everything was reflected in the pages of the chronicles, and the political ambitions of the Jochid sultans to whom the Shibānids belonged were a fluid substance which first of all depended upon the strength and influence of the central power. Nevertheless, we may consider it true that Shibān's clan expressed loyalty to the reigning rulers before the 1360s. As a rule, this behaviour guaranteed the preservation of the sultans' rights and privileges, but surely, within the frame established by tradition. We may conclude that Shibān's offspring occupied an unimportant position in the political system of Ulus of Jochi if we observe the composition of the kurultai held in spring 667 AH (from 10 October 1268 to 30 August 1269) 'at meadows of Talas and Kendjek'. The most important territorial issues touching Shibān's interests (and to a greater extent, the interests of Orda Ejen's house) were solved here. However, representatives of these uluses were neither mentioned in the events which had caused this kurultai, nor among its participants [Rashid al-Din, 1946, III, p. 71].

Anyhow, the Shibānids' attachment to lands which were not particularly wealthy and enviable in comparison with the appanages of other Chinggisids was not left without recompense. According to V. Bartold's just remark, 'a nomadic lifestyle mostly prevailed in the domains of Shibān's descendants. Nevertheless, even here, for over 200 years, power could be concentrated in the hands of members of one and the same khan clan, which was a rare phenomenon among nomads. Shibān's offspring who had been scarcely impacted by the urban culture remained loyal to the military traditions

of nomads and therefore could play the role of conquerors in the time when the strength of Chinggis Khan's dynasty was almost on the wane everywhere' [Bartoldt, 1968, V, p. 135]. A modest nomadic living contributed to the preservation of the values bequeathed by Chinggis Khan's Great Yasa and first of all—of familial subordination and solidarity which provided the most favourable political perspectives by the 15th century, because '... Shibanid sultans, due to their multiplicity and obvious numerical superiority, differed from other khans of the Jochid origin' [Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, 1969, p. 354].

After Shiban's death, control over the ulus passed to his second son Bahadur (out of 12 sons) and would always remain in the hands of his offspring. According to Mahmud Ibn Vali, Bahadur 'after ordering the closest relatives, tribes and the Kauchins to gather together,... chose the Ak Horde, also named the Yuz Horde, for spending winters and summers' [Ibid., p. 347]. It is curious that the name of Shiban's youngest son, who was to inherit his father's yurt and did not leave heirs, was Kunchi. 'Northern king Kanchi', whose possessions were described by Marco Polo, is usually identified as Kuinji, Orda Ejen's grandson. However, the vivid northern flavour of Kanchi's lands where 'neither cities, nor castles were present' [Marco Polo, 1955, p. 225–226] hardly corresponds to the true geography of Kuinji's possessions, who was also named Rukn al-Din Baybars, 'the ruler of Ghazna and Bamyan' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 118].

Mahmud Ibn Vali's mention of 'four Kauchins', together with a report of 'four Omaks', is evidence of the fact that the basis of governing the ulus was formed by the universal Turkic-Mongol tradition, according to which four non-Chinggisid emirs formed a kind of a 'state council' representing the interests of four large groups of the population united on an ethnic basis [Schamiloglu, 1993]. The Shibanids had to serve in the place assigned to them by the khan; his will regulated the borders of nomadic territories. Thus, the Shibanids' prosperity was possibly not entirely guaranteed during the reign of Berke. Mengu-Timur's return

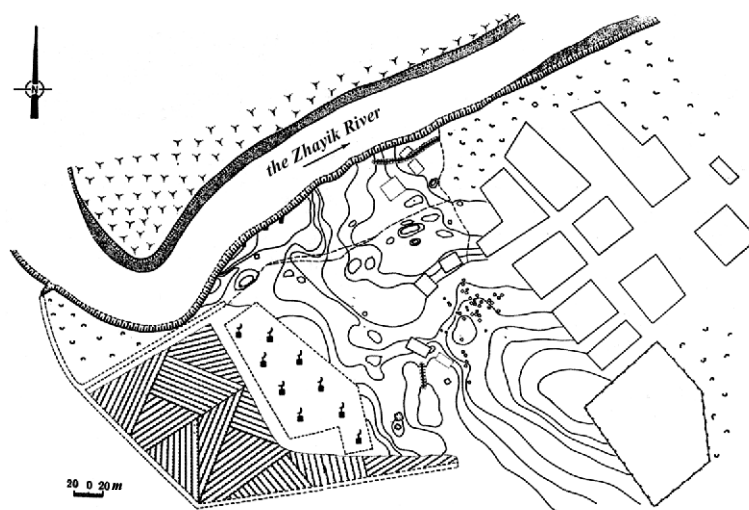
('according to Batu Khan's orders') of several Ak Horde possessions to Bahadur, which was described by Abu-l Ghazi, implies that these possessions had been annexed by Berke [Abu al-Ghazi, 1906, p. 152]. Moreover, for some reason, Berke refused to take Shiban's fourth son Balakan under his patronage, who ruled Jochid tumens in Iran together with Kuli and Tatar, the sons of Orda Ejen and Buval [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 188–189, 380; 1941, p. 57, 67–68].

If the Shibanids' disgrace is indeed hidden behind the above mentioned facts, its reason was likely a dispute on a religious basis. On the one hand, all sources note Berke's strict adherence to Islam, on the other, the right-wing Shibanids were possibly inclined to Christianity. It could also have had family roots which are found, for example, in the Christian etymology of Shiban's name [Pelliot, 1949, p. 44–47] or in a friendly greeting of William of Rubruck by Shiban's widow [Rubruck, 1993, p. 118]. It could have also been driven by the confessional situation in the ulus, a part of population of which was represented by migrants from the tribes which had been long involved in the orbit of Nestorianism and Buddhism. According to the Catholic missionary Johanca, in 1320, 'judges of the Bascards', that is, representatives of the Jochid administration in the lands of the Bashkirs, strongly followed Christianity and even started to organize missionary activities of Minorites in Siberia [Anninsky, 1940, p. 92–94], while at the beginning of the 15th century, the Bavarian Johann Schiltberger had an opportunity to see Buddhist joss houses in the Trans-Ural Regions [Schiltberger, 1866, p. 35]. It is well-known that at the end of Batu's rule, the nomadic territories of Berke and the Shibanids neighboured each other, and this neighbourhood hardly favoured the relations between the zealous neophyte Berke and Shiban's family, who had a liking for Christianity, and could have even been Christians. Besides, some circumstances of Berke's 'expelling' from the Ciscaucasian Steppes to beyond the Volga area convince us that its reasons were religious predilections of the ulus's future ruler. Berke's antipathy to his brother's family could have also been ignited by the zeal Shiban

expressed when devastating Islamic Volga Bulgaria.

In the time of Mengü-Timur's and Tokhta's reign, chronicles mentions the son of a Balakan who died in Iran—Tokta-Murtad or Tama-Toktai (the titular term 'Tama' means that Tokta-Murtad was a commander of a corps detached from the general army and deployed in a certain area). He commanded troops in several battles against the Hulagu-ids, then he was ordered to guard what was the most important border territory of Ulus of Jochi—the area of Derbent. In the final part of Tokhta Khan's struggle with Nogai, Tokta-Murtad supported the former and appeared to be the key figure in the battle, ending with Nogai's death. As we know, one of the reasons for the complete breakup between Tokhta Khan and Nogai was the demand of the powerful general to deliver Tokhta's uncle Saljidaï Gurgan. This was followed by Nogai's 'seduction' of 'several thousands belonging to Toktai' and finally, Nogai started to demand the delivery of not only Saljidaï Gurgan and his son Yaylak, but also of Tokta-Murtad. Then Tokhta, after inviting Tokta-Murtad, decided to engage the adversary in one more battle, which at last brought him victory over the autocratic ruler [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 71–72]. It is possible that the reason of this disgrace was Tokta-Murtad's raid against the Ilkhans' possessions at the time when Nogai attempted to make friendly relations with Arghun [Rashid al-Din, 1946, III, p. 117]. Meanwhile, it is curious that when describing these events, Rukn al-Din Baybars for some reason portrayed Shiban's grandson as an 'apostate' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 113]. It seems that this characteristic reflects the close relations between Nogai and Tokta-Murtad, which were either official or more likely, familial.

The Shibanids' loyalty to Batu's heirs was generously rewarded when Öz Beg Khan ac-



Plan of Saray-Jük ancient town

ceded to the throne. According to Ötemish Hajji, among all the sultans, Öz Beg made an exception only for Shiban's descendants: he 'granted them the Buirak and Karlyk which form a two-part tribe, and made them autonomous' [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 103–105].

At the beginning of the 'Great troubles', the Shibanids seem to have limited themselves to a demonstration of independence from Batu's heirs; the latter had already lost influence and real power. However, their ambitions could only be satisfied by the conquest of Sarai. Khidr Khan was the first among the Shibanids who took the Horde's capital. He ruled there for one year and a half until his son Timur Hoja killed him. In the 1360–70s, some other Shibanids managed to occupy the city for a short period. But at the beginning of the 1380s, when Tokhtamysh established himself in Sarai, they were forced to accept the situation. Later, during Timur's campaign against Ulus of Jochi in 1391, when he reached the South Ural steppes, the Shibanids decided not to tempt fate in the notoriously unequal contest and, according to Mahmud Ibn Vali, retreated behind the Irtys River, to their ally, the Kirghiz [Klyash-torny, Sultanov, 1992, p. 196].

Only after emir Edigu's death, the Shibanids' fortunes turned again and soon the vast steppe spaces in east Dasht-i Kipchak, as well as many regions of Middle Asia, fell under their control.

§ 11. Saray-Jük and settlements of the Volga-Ural interfluvium

Albert Burkhanov

The region of the Volga-Ural interfluvium, a steppe and semi-desert zone, was used in the Golden Horde era mostly for the nomadic economy [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966; 1981; Kriger, 1984; Garustovich, and others, 1998; Yaminov, 2003]. Rare sedentary settlements were arranged nearby rivers. They were discovered thanks to the results of small archaeological expeditions, while their Golden Horde names are not known.

Standing mausoleums of the 14th century built of brick and stones were preserved in the steppes of the southern Urals and north-western Kazakhstan. In particular, in the mid-stream of the Buzuluk River, two mausoleums and a ceramic furnace were dug out [Castagné, 1910, p. 41–43; Popov, 1971a, p. 177; 1971b, p. 139–144; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 37; Vasiliev, 2003, p. 144–145]. Mausoleums were constructed as singular or family tombs of major Golden Horde aristocrats from the nomadic society, which supports the fact of the wide proliferation of Islam throughout Ulus of Jochi's steppe zone [Rakushin, 1998; Izmaylov, 2004, p. 99–107; Malov, Malyshev, Rakushin, 1998].

One of the most important administrative-political and trade-craft centres of Ulus of Jochi was the city of Saraychuk (Saray-Jük). Its name is well-known from written sources and coins minted here in the 14th century.

Remains of the ancient city which are known today as the ancient town of Saray-Jük are 50 km north of the Kazakhstan city Atyrau (Guryev until 1991) on the right bank of the Ural (Yaik/Zhayyq) River [Agapov, Kadyrbaev, 1979, p. 187–193; Goncharov, 2001, p. 179–183; Tasmagambetov, Samashev, 2001; Fedorov-Davydov, 1981, p. 231; 1994, p. 37, and others].

Scientific examinations of Saray-Jük's ruins have more than a two centuries-long history. Interesting data on the city has been left by P. Rychkov, P. Pallas, A. Levshin, J. Castagné, V. Grigoriev and others [Rychkov, 1759; Levshin, 1823, p. 10; Grigoriev, 1908, p. 183–193; Castagné, 1910, p. 95–97]. Archaeologi-

cal studies of the ancient town have been carried out by N. Artyuzov (1937), A. Margulan (1950) G. Patsevich (the 1950s), and L. Galkin (the 1970–1980) [Artyuzov, 1949, p. 126–135; Margulan, 1951; Patsevich, 1956; 1959; Pachkalov, 2003, p. 173].

Since 1996, large-scale stationary investigations at the ancient town have been conducted by the Western-Kazakhstan archaeological expedition of the Institute of Archeology named after A. Margulan (led by Z. Samashev) [Samashev, 1998; Aitova, Samashev, 1998, p. 35–41; Samashev, Kuznetsova, 2000, p. 84–100; Tasmagambetov, Samashev, 2001; Goncharov, 2001, p. 179–183].

Saray-Jük, as one of the most important administrative points of Jochi Ulus, was founded in the latter half of the 13th century. In the first half of the 14th century it became a large political and trade-craft centre of the Golden Horde [Egorov, 1985, p. 124; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 37; Goncharov, 2001, p. 180]. It happened due to the fact that Saray-Jük was located in a strategically key point, providing safety for part of the transcontinental caravan route from European countries and Ulus of Jochi's capital part—the Lower Volga Region—to the cities of Khwarezm and Middle Asia, Iran, India and China. There is much extant information provided by merchants and travelers about the direction of this route and modes of transportation, about the nature and price of transported products. The trade route from the Lower Volga Region to Khwarezm through Saray-Jük was provided with comfortable caravanserais and wells. According to contemporaries, including Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, in the 13–14th centuries, this road was the main and safest way connecting Eastern and Western countries [Grigoriev, 1908, p. 183–193]. A convenient geographical location played a huge role in Saray-Jük's development: castles, mosques, madrasahs, caravanserais, banyas and other architectural constructions were built there. The city had a strictly elaborated planning with straight

streets and wide squares. Buildings were erected by talented architects, including representatives of the most famous architectural schools of the East.

A mention of this Golden Horde city is found in the work of Ibn Battuta, who visited the area in 1333/1334: '... after departing from Sarai, we arrived in Saraydchuk (Saray-Jük)... The city was located on the bank of a full-flowing large river called Ulusu (Ural) the meaning of which is a "great river". A bridge of boats, similar to the one in Baghdad, was thrown athwart it... In this city, a zawiya of a righteous Turkic monk who is called an Ata (father) is situated. He feasted and blessed us. This city's qadi also received us' [Ibn Battuta, 2000, p. 38–39; Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 307–308]. As we see from the words of the Arab merchant and traveler, before setting off on a long journey along the caravan route, people were blessed in Saray-Jük by Islamic holy people who lived near saints' graves.

Saray-Jük's fame and greatness are related not only to the burial places of Islamic sheikhs, but also to the fact that it was one of the main pantheons of the Jochids. According to Khiva Khan Abu-l Ghazi, Golden Horde khans and aristocrats were buried there [Grigoriev, 1876, p. 320; Tasmagambetov, Samashev, 2001, p. 58]. However, this is only a hypothesis. According to one version of the Tale of emir Edigu, the head of Tokhtamysh, who had died in Siberia, was possibly buried in Saray-Jük in 1406. The graves of a number of Nogai princes and murzas, the epic heroes Yer-Targyn and Kambar, as well as the Kazakh Khan Kasym are also situated here [History of Kazakhstan, 1997; Tasmagambetov, Samashev, 2001, p. 58].

Results of multi-year archaeological works allowed researchers to distinguish three basic stages in the life of the medieval city [Samashev, 1998; Tasmagambetov, Samashev, 2001, p. 59; Goncharov, 2001, p. 179–183; Pachka-lov, 2003, p. 171].

The early stage constitutes the first decades of Saray-Jük's existence. In this period, the city had a central part which was built up with adobe brick houses. The suburban part was lo-



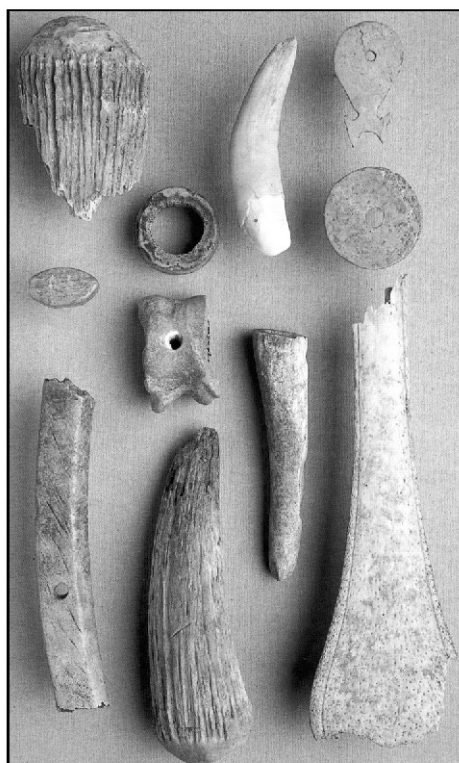
Ceramic fragment with a stamped ornament.
Saray-Jük

cated to the south, closer to the river and along it. It was 300 meters wide and filled with yurts and light framed buildings.

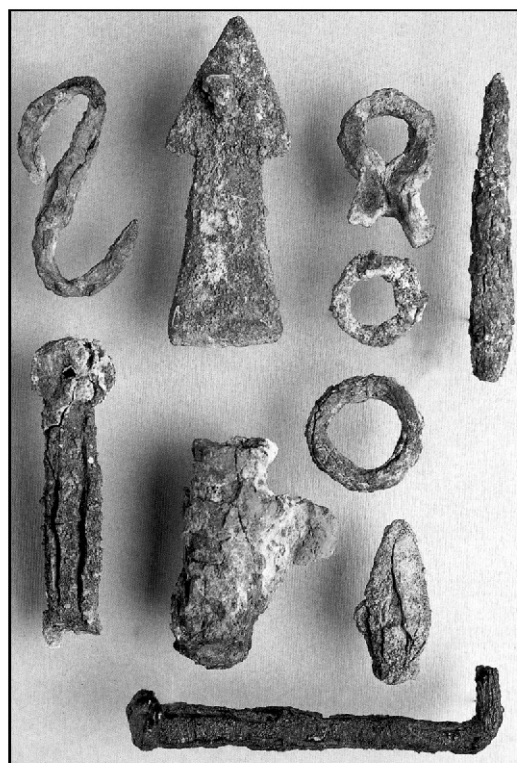
The second stage began in the 1330s and lingered for the rest of the 14th century. Saray-Jük's golden age falls exactly in this period. The city started to be organized and broadened: brick constructions were erected in the city. Saray-Jük extended into the isle between the Yaiks' estuaries, thus controlling all movements along the river in this part. Based on the data provided by Fra

Mauro and information from authors of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century about the ancient town, as well as the contemporary state of the historical-cultural landscape, Saray-Jük's size amounted to over 1200 thousand square meters (2000 meters long from west to east with a width of 600 meters).

The third stage in Saray-Jük's development was between the 15th and 16th centuries. In that period, the city's topography gradually decreased in size and shifted southeastwards, towards Sorochinka channels' branching from the Yaik. Between the 18th and 20th centuries, the Yaik changed its corridor many times. During high water, the river seriously destroyed the ancient town's cultural layers. Currently, the remains of Saray-Jük, excluding the neighbouring territory with an ancient cemetery, have a size of 360 thousand square meters (600x600 meters).



Household items made of bone. Saray-Jük



Household items made of iron. Saray-Jük

All three stages of the city's history are well traced from archaeological materials, especially thanks to recent research by Kazakh archaeologists.

When Saray-Jük was built, the traditions of nomadic urban development were taken into consideration and thus works were done according to a single plan. Houses were constructed mainly of adobe brick and consisted of two to four rooms, each with dimensions of 4x5 meters. Bench-sufas, 1.5–2 meters wide, which were characteristic of an Eastern house, were always placed along three walls of the room. These sufas were heated by horizontal flue channels, or 'canalias', which were installed inside of them. All walls and sufas were plastered and whitewashed. The floor was made of compacted clay. Coverings of reed mats were preserved in a number of quarters. Walls above sufas had arched niches in which candelabras, expensive cookware and other household items used to be placed. Apart from living areas, houses also had household premises in which holes for storing millet and

barley, as well as plums, apples, grapes and almonds were located. Dried onions were also discovered here. Storage facilities were fenced from heated living areas by walls made of a wooden frame and adobe bricks inserted in them in the form of a spruce. Such constructions were decorative and served for the natural ventilation of storage places.

In general, the architectural system of Saray-Jük houses and their interiors show the influence of traditions of the medieval cities in the Lower Volga Region, Khwarezm and the Syr Darya River [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994; Baypakov, 1998, p. 58–59; Akishev, Baypakov, Erzakovich, 1972; Baypakov, 1999, p. 35, 39, 42, 47–55; Burkhanov, 2001, p. 69–71; Zilivinskaya, 2001a, p. 67–69; Egorov, Poluboyarinova, 1974, p. 44–68].

A space was unsealed in one of the houses in which, apart from a tandoor and sufa, remains of the original construction were found—smokehouses for fish and meat products.

Pottery of various forms of local production was discovered in the rooms. Vessels



'Horse' pendants made of bone. Saray-Jük

made of composite white frit material covered with shiny turquoise enamel are of interest. There were also imported products, such as stone boilers from Khwarezm and Khorasan, glazed vessels from the Lower Volga cities and Chinese celadon items.

Apart from the central part, the city's suburbs were also developed and built-up in the period under consideration. Out-of-town estates were 5 km away from Saray-Jük, near river channels. Flower and vegetable gardens and sowings were located near country houses. Camels and horses used in the caravan trade were kept in the Yaik floodplain. Chichir constructions were used for vegetable gardens and orchids. Vegetable and horticultural crops, as well as grain were cultivated here.

Similar to many Golden Horde cities, fortifications were absent in Saray-Jük, however, citizens lived calm and peaceful lives. At the second stage of the city's development, since the second quarter of the 14th century, due to the high water in the Yaik River and flooding of the outskirts, Saray-Jük's inhabitants had to settle more densely. This rearrangement made the city higher, but kept the basic streets and quarters. New houses were built in place of older ones. Multi-room houses with household spaces located under the same roof as inhabited spaces were built.

As before, the main part of the residential area was occupied by a U-shaped or L-shaped sufa with a furnace and channels in one of its parts. Internal walls served either as a shield or a frame. Walls and sufas were plastered, then

whitened and adorned with kiizes and carpets. In many houses, floors were laid of burnt brick. A tashna (in the form of a vessel) was placed near the furnace, in which utilized water was poured out to be absorbed by the ground.

Remains of a banya consisting of several rooms having different functions were also discovered. Water was heated in cast iron boilers.

The basic water-supply in the city was carried out via the transportation of river water in jars by araba carts and by means of deep wells in yards. It is possible that in certain cases, water was received from irrigation channels and through the water-supply.

In the mid 14th century, crafts reached high development; goods produced here provisioned citizens of the city and steppes. Multiple discoveries of ceramic vessels and other products, and the remains of workshops and furnaces speak of a high level of pottery in the city [Patsevich, 1956; Samashev, Kuznetsova, 2000, p. 84–100; Tasmagambetov, Samashev, 2001, p. 63].

Clay of three types was used in the production of ceramics. Red-clay products included jars, saqiya vessels, big khoums for storing products, bowls and chirag lamps. The second type of ceramics consisted of teabowls, cups, jars and vases artistically decorated with composite white frit material and adorned with diverse floral and zoomorphic ornaments. The third type included stamped grey pottery jars and canteens. Their surface was decorated with a relief ornamentation and symbolic

pictures of fish, birds, plants, stars and Arabic texts of a philosophical and religious content.

Saray-Jük was one of the centres of bone carving. It is vividly evidenced by various multiple discoveries: buckles, covering plates for bows, ornament details of quivers, knife handles, rings for archery, instruments for textile and leather industries, so-called 'horse' pendants, etc. Talented craftsmen made leather objects: bags and belts, boots, heeled boots, coats, wineskins, saddles...

Multiple glass products were extracted from layers from the 14th century. These were locally produced beads and rings, various bowls, and plates of coloured window glass.

A variety of discovered iron and bronze objects is evidence of developed metallurgical production in Saray-Jük. Local blacksmiths were skillful and produced items meeting the needs of citizens, merchants and nomads. Harnesses for horses, knives, arrowheads, scythes, grub hoes, etc. were among the results of their production. Bronze casters cast art products: buckles, cups, and lockers in the forms of horses and mirrors of various themes on the reverse side. Stamps covered with the Arabic script designed for the production of leather frontpieces were also found here.

Local jewelers worked on production of unique pieces of art; discoveries in the ancient town include: rings with multicoloured insertions, bracelets decorated with rich carvings, exquisite earrings and golden galloons.

According to written sources, the economic life of Saray-Jük's citizens was influenced by the fact that the caravan route went through the city. In this regard, they bred excellent horses and hardy camels. According to ibn Arabshah, an Arabic author of the 15th century, caravans from Khwarezm through Saray-Jük to the Lower Volga Region and to the Crimea travelled for three months 'without any fear and caution'. 'Caravans did not carry any products or food for horses. Neither did they take a guide with themselves due to a multitude of (local) peoples and sufficient security, food and drinks which had people (living there)'. [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 460]. As judged by discovered findings—inscriptions

on dishes, bronze objects, etc.—we can speak of spreading literacy among Saray-Jük's inhabitants.

This Golden Horde city, situated on the cross-roads of the main caravan routes, was involved in the international trade. Active trade was carried out with Eastern countries—China and India, Middle Asia and Iran, Eastern Europe and the Caucasus, Crimea and Western European states.

Ceramics of the jade green colour from China, or celadon, were found among multiple imported items. Stone boilers, peculiar vases, keses and plates made of pure clay and covered with grazed ornament were brought from Khwarezm. Iran and Middle Asia provided necklaces of glass, cornelian and crystal beads, as well as inserted pieces of turquoise for rings. Amphorae filled with wine and oil were imported from Trabzon through the Crimea. Gorgeous glazed bowls and vases made by Saray-Jük craftsmen were in turn exported and adorned other cities of the Golden Horde [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 37; Tasmagambetov, Samashev, 2001, p. 65].

Saray-Jük was one of the most important political and religious-ideological centres of the state, and thus was always in the orbit of the Golden Horde's aristocracy. At the beginning of the 1370s, it was part of the domain of Aibek from the Shiban clan, who also minted his own coins here. In the middle of the 1370s, the city was taken by Urus Khan (1361–1380), an descendent of Orda-Ichen, while at the end of the 1370s it was occupied by another Shibanid, Arabshakh [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 241]. According to numismatic data, a new but short-lived period of construction started at this time. Monumental constructions were erected in the city, according to archaeological data [Samashev, 1998, p. 137–162; Tasmagambetov, Samashev, 2001, p. 66–67].

Tokhtamysh's war with Emir Timur, which devastated Ulus of Jochi, did not touch Saray-Jük [Egorov, 1985, p. 223].

Numismatic materials detected in the ancient town of Saray-Jük are unique and interesting, and are dated to the period from the end of the 13th to the 16th century [Aitova, Sama-

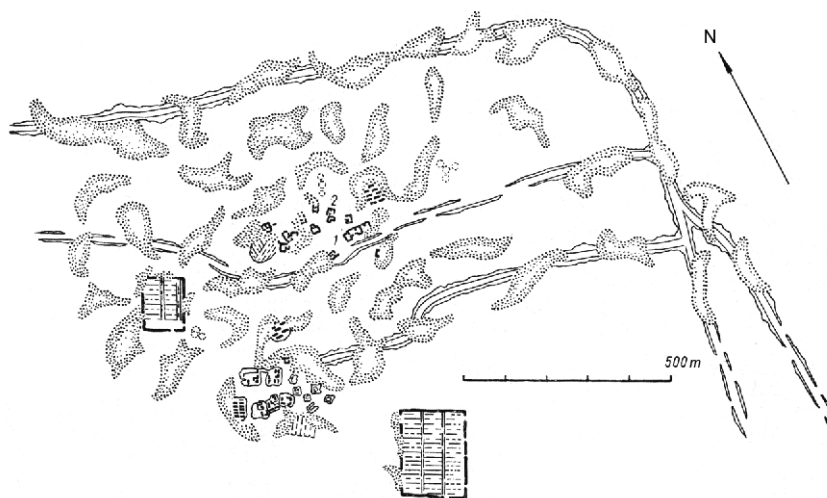
shev, 1998, p. 35–41; Tasmagambetov, Samashev, 2001, p. 68–69; Goncharov, 2000, p. 180–181; Pachkalov, 2003, p. 171; Fedorov-Davydov, 2003]. A great number of Sarai coins of the initial period of Öz Beg's reign were found here. Coins contained the ancient Turkic good wish—'Kutluğ Bolsun'.

During the unrest of the 1360s–80s, the capital's court continued to mint coins with names of the khans struggling for the throne—Khidr, Khair-Bulat, Keldibek, Tulunbek Khanum and others. A great number of Khwarezmian coins also circulated in the city which were notable for their coinage, big weight and decorative images. Unique coins from Hajji Tarkhan, Crimea, Orda al-Muazzam and Sygnak were also discovered.

According to the coin discoveries, Saray-Jük experienced an economic and cultural renaissance between 1310 and 1370. In the times of troubles of the 1360s–80s, monetary circulation of the Golden Horde was supplied by Saray-Jük coins. In its ancient town, even golden coins of the 14th century were discovered.

During the period of Tokhtamysh's reign, the local market was replenished by coins from Sarai, while at the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century, various copper pulis of the coinage of Saray-Jük itself appeared. A multi-petal flower is depicted on one of the local coins, while the reverse side indicates that the coin was minted in Saray-Jük city. Another coin has an animal resembling a lion with a brightly decorated tail on its obverse and a forked tamga on the reverse side.

In the course of the Golden Horde's collapse, a struggle for power and an attempt to revive the bygone power of the state began.

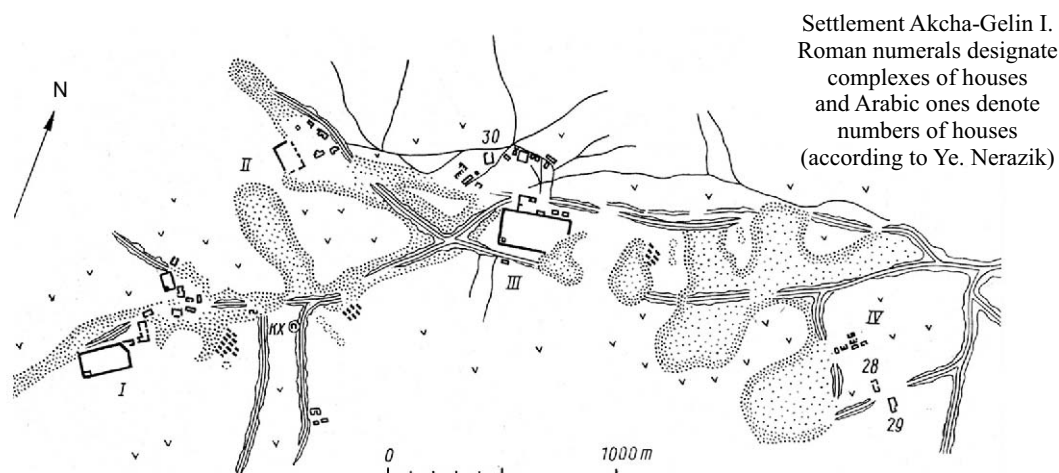


Settlements of Kunya-Uaz I and Kunya-Uaz II (according to Ye. Nerazik)

Among the claimants, there was Urus Khan's grandson Barak who in the 1420s conquered the throne in Sarai and, after losing it, died in internecine feuds. His head brought the winner the position of Saray-Jük's daruga [Klyash-torny, Sultanov, 1992, p. 208–212].

After the 1420s, Saray-Jük gradually became the centre of the Mangyt Yurt, which later turned into an independent state—the Nogai Horde [Trepavlov, 2001; Ovchinnikova, Akhmetzyanov, 2004, p. 281–287].

Currently, the ancient town of Saray-Jük is quickly disappearing and it is first of all caused by the change of the Yaik's course. Therefore, it is extremely important to continue the active archaeological research initiated in 1995, which is continuing to this day by Kazakh scientists with the participation of scientists from Moscow and Astrakhan. In September 1999 a historical-cultural complex was opened in Saray-Jük, which includes the mausoleum 'Khan Orda', an archaeological museum and a mosque. Saray-Jük ancient town was assigned the status of an archaeological-cultural monument of national significance. In the coming years, opening and preserving the main objects of Saray-Jük's protected area are planned. Moreover, the city's improvement, the provision of necessary communications, the creation of tourist infrastructure, and the reconstruction of the ethnic image of the medieval city are imminent.



§ 12. Settlements of Khwarezm

Albert Burkhanov

Ulus of Khwarezm was situated on the southeastern borderline part of the Golden Horde. The consequences of the Mongol invasion of this Middle Asian region were grinding: the country was desolated, the capital Gurganj (Urgench) was foraged and flooded, many cities and settlements perished from fire, while the irrigation system was knocked out of service for a long time [Gulyamov, 1957, p. 165–166; Tolstov, 1958, p. 14–15; Vakturskaya, 1964, p. 110–111]. However, the country started to gradually recover already at the end of the 13th century, but not in all territories [Nerazik, 1976, p. 123–157; Vakturskaya, 1964, p. 110–111; Andrianov, 1969, p. 175].

So far, research does not suggest that the irrigation system of Khwarezm in the latter half of the 13th century was completely restored. But in the first half and the middle of the 14th century, a new boom of the region's economic life is seen, especially in northwestern parts of Khwarezm which became part of Ulus of Jochi.

New archaeological data from northwestern Khwarezm shows that the region's inclusion into Ulus of Jochi contributed to the strengthening of cultural-ethnic connections between its citizens and the population of the Syr Darya basin. In this respect, the history

of the Kongirat tribe, who were fathers of the local Khwarezmian dynasty of Sufi, is of special interest [Fedorov-Davydov, 1958b, p. 93; Vaynberg, 1959, No. 5, p. 104–114].

Ethno-cultural influences from abroad started to appear during the Golden Horde period, such as in distinctive patterns of settlement which had no roots in the local Khwarezm environment, the appearance of dwellings, and some irrigation-farming skills. The instability of the river regime in the basin of the lower Amu Darya is exemplified by such facts as the abundance of chigir installations, a great number of howzes, and traces of dams. Apart from artificial irrigation channels, natural river corridors were also put to use, both manipulated and lengthened. Water rose to high marks in basins and then, when needed, flowed naturally to fields [Andrianov, 1969, p. 182; Nerazik, 1976, p. 124; Burnakova, 2001, p. 84–89].

Rural outskirts started to gradually recover at the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century, as made evident by the appearance of various populated places—villages and settlements. The bulk of populated localities was arranged along irrigation mainlines, stretching in narrow lines reaching 10 km in length [Nerazik, 1976, p. 140].

The findings of archaeological surveys allow us to suggest that in the Golden Horde

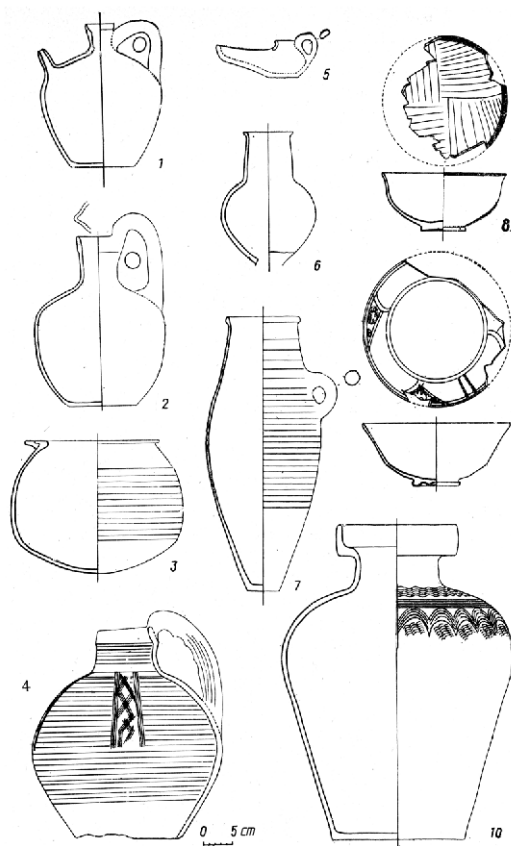
time, a significant number of settlements existed in Ulus of Khwarezm [Ibid., p. 123–157]. At the same time, vast territories were left neglected and uncultivated. They stretched for hundreds of kilometers, as evidenced by Ibn Battuta, who rode for 18 days from Khwarezm to Bukhara and saw 'neither a village, nor a single city' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 314; Mamedov, Muradov, 2000, p. 38–46; Ibragimov, 1988].

The suburbs of the ancient town of Kunya-Uaz were covered with a dense irrigation network, both in ancient times and in the Golden Horde period. However, few settlements of this epoch were preserved. The settlements Kunya-Uaz I and II are located in sands 1,5 km north of the ancient town.

The settlement occupied a small territory and was located at the bottom of a building with massive rammed clay walls. The settlement's houses were one or two-roomed and had yards. This village had no more than 10 houses and was compact: buildings were located 10–30 meters away from each other. Furrows of arable lands stretched immediately after the outermost houses. A cemetery adjoined the village from the east. A vast rectangular territory (100x125 meters) surrounded by an adobe wall was found 150 meters away from the village. Traces of irrigation ditches forming a system of 'beds' were preserved inside. A cemetery was situated nearby.

The remains of large settlements of the 14th century were preserved in the area of the ancient channel 'Shamurat'.

The ruins of the fortress Akcha-Gelin are situated here, on the eastern slopes of Tuz-Gyr. Settlements, divided by small gaps, stretch along the channel and sometimes it is difficult to distinguish one settlement from another. Akcha-Gelin I settlement, which has a vivid dispersed character, extended for 5 km along the southern corridor of the Shamurat. Here, 40 constructions are arranged in compact 'nests'. Smaller 'daughter' groups are seen within them. A peculiar feature of each of them is a vast territory fenced by an adobe wall (occupied by vineyards, horticultural crops or melon fields) with irrigation ditches

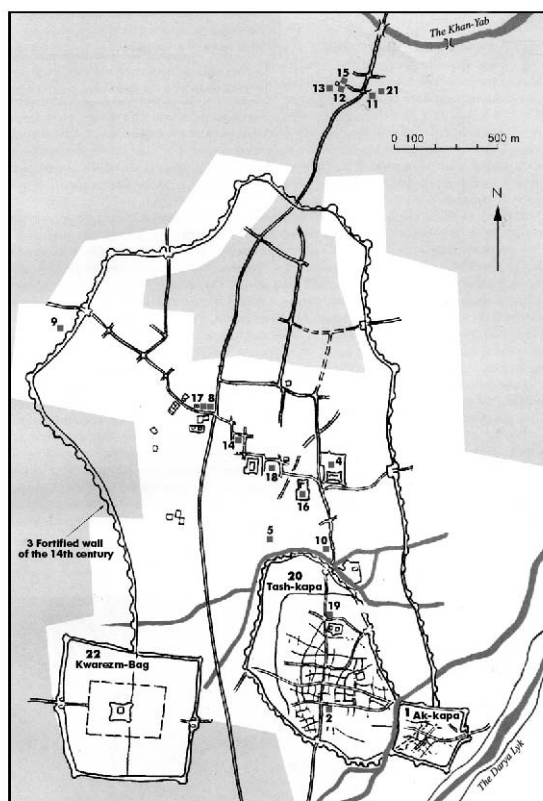


Pottery from settlements of Khwarezm
(according to Ye. Nerazik)

neighbouring it. An inselberg of a small pedimental construction in the form of a small one-room tower was placed in each of its corners. The sizes of the territories are from 300x150 meters to 200x100 meters. The fences of the territories were preserved at a height of 1.5 m.

Inside each 'nest', there was either one house or a group which was part of single house and was usually of a large size. For example, one of houses consisted of 5 rooms and corridors dividing it into two parts. The western one was occupied by storage rooms, while the eastern part was occupied by residential rooms. One of the rooms had its floor elevated for the most part and formed a low adobe sufa with a hearth which was smeared into it made out of old khumcha [a jar] and a rectangular deepening in front of it.

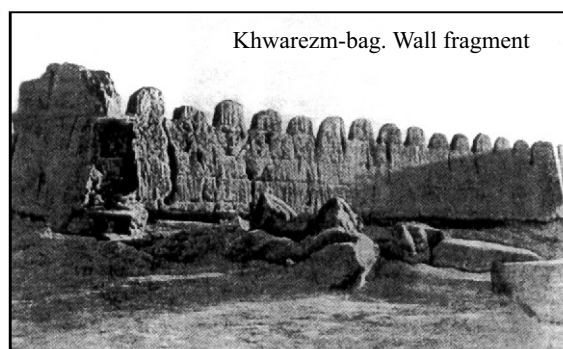
Discoveries show that the settlement's inhabitants used various glazed and unglazed crockery. Pictures were made with red-brown,



Plan of Kunya-Urgench ancient town

brown, green, yellow and rarer—black and white inks upon a yellowish or greenish priming colour, then covered with a colourless glaze. There is also glazed cookware made of a composite white frit material with a white-green picture drawn against a grey dotted background.

Settlements of the rural type were also discovered near Shakhrlık ancient town, located 90 km southwest of the centre of Kunya-Urgench (Turkmenistan) [Nerazik, 1976, p. 138; Durdyev, Khodzhanizayov, 1973; Vakturskaya, 1963, p. 45]. Shakhrlık's square is around 15 hectares and the city had no fortified wall. Traces of pottery, glass-making, copper-smelting and iron production were found at its ruins. As N. Vakturskaya mentions, 'all the surroundings of Shakhrlık up to Ak-kala... in the northwest and to Yarbekirkal in the southeast are paved with ruins of medieval rural settlements and are cut across by a small irrigation system with traces of old fields along it' [Vakturskaya, 1963, p. 45].



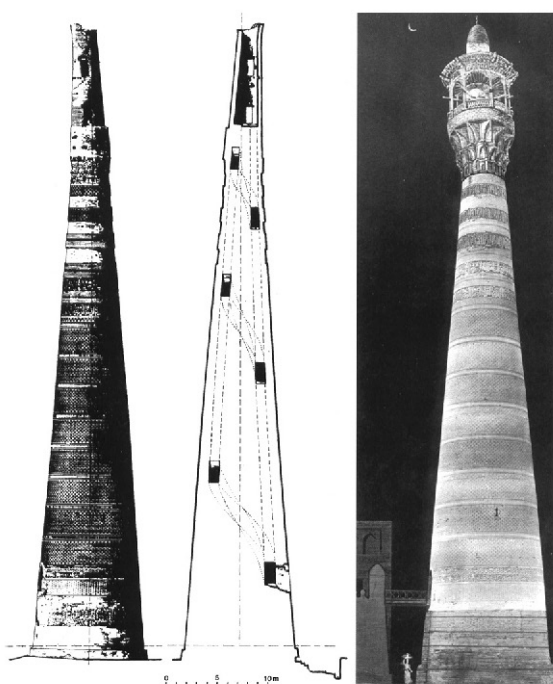
Khwarezm-bag. Wall fragment

Two quadrangular fences—orchid-garden plots (160x160 m, 110x80 m)—were registered not far from Shakhrlık. They are conveniently located near the estuary of the Northern Daudan's duct and a large channel. At the end of the 14th century, the population experienced great difficulties with water and therefore widely used chigir installations.

In Ye. Nerazik's view, settlements in the area of Shakhrlık represented a kind of a 'khutor' or hamlet—a group of buildings gravitating to one or several garden plots fenced with a wall.

In general, 44 constructions were studied in the vicinity of Shakhrlık; the size of most did not exceed 200 square meters. For example, one of the studied buildings consisted of a single residential area, though it was divided into sections, which suggests that living cells had to be isolated. Rooms were usually not connected to each other and were divided by blank walls. They were usually residential and were traditionally furnished: the larger part of the room was occupied by a sufa. Rooms were richly ornamented with alabaster and glazed tiles. Two water reservoirs made of brick were found in one of the rooms. They must have been baths. Several furnaces were discovered in the houses, some of which resembled tandoors. It is vivid that a great number of tandoors is likely related to worship of a saint's mazar [tomb] located nearby and the necessity to bake a large amount of flatbread for pilgrims [Nerazik, 1976, p. 149].

The houses usually contain fragments of hums of a reddish firing with shelf-like rims covered with brown engobe; grey water-bear-



Kunya-Urgench. Minaret of Temür Qutlugh.
Southern facade and section according
to scaling made by A. Vinogradov.
Reconstruction of V. Artemiev is on the right



Kunya-Urgench. Tyurabek-Khanum
Mausoleum.
14th century. General view

ing jars; grey bowls and bowls made of kashin [a white frit material] with a grey-blue-green painting on a light background. Discoveries in settlements mostly include glazed and unglazed ceramics; different jewels and objects are also found.

Golden Horde settlements in the zone of the Darya Lyk were also archaeologically discovered and studied. Among them are the Ak-kala fortress and surrounding settlements which are abundant in the remains of fields and orchards and are surrounded by low adobe fences of a rectangular form, as well as traces of small and large channels. In the 14th century, this territory was well inundated. Besides, along with channels, natural ducts manipulated by people also served as water arteries. Over 60 rammed clay constructions were located on this territory. The settlement's centre was a large house with a farm surrounded by an adobe fence. The remains of other large houses were seen nearby. A small cemetery with the remains of headstones and mazars [a saint's tomb] were discovered within the residential area.

Fragments of glazed and unglazed crockery and other findings were discovered in buildings in the settlement's central part. Around 100 coins dated from the 14th century were found in the settlement and its surroundings. Part of the coinage was made on behalf of Golden Horde khans, mostly, Janibek Khan.

As archaeological research has shown, a dense network of populated localities developed in Ulus of Khwarezm in the 14th century, which allows us to speak of the rapid rise of the region. The irrigation system revived and developed. An important role was played by the domestic and international caravan trade in which Khwarezm merchants themselves took an active part. The local ruler Temür Qutlugh (the Golden Horde governor) and his wife Tyurabek-Khanum also played a large role in the development of the economy and culture, as well as the construction of populated localities and the cult-memorial architecture of Khwarezm and its capital Urgench in the first half of the 14th century. Evidence of this is found in the written sources, as well as extant ruins of architectural objects and ar-



Kunya-Urgench. Tyurabek-Khanum Mausoleum. On the left is a section made according to scaling by A. Vinogradov. On the right is a reconstruction by M. Tuktarov

chaeological findings from Urgench and other Khwarezmian settlements.

The remains of the former capital centre of the city of Urgench are located near the modern velayat centre Kunya-Urgench (Turkmenistan).

The ancient settlement, fortified with a massive wall which covered the Golden Horde city of the 14th century (shakhristan or a citadel) of 430 hectares (according to other data—640 hectares), eclipsed the size of pre-Mongol Urgench and was adorned with beautiful monumental constructions [Yakubovsky, 1930; Vakturskaya, 1958, p. 471; Fedorov-Davydov, 1958a, p. 505–529; Monuments of Turkmenistan's Architecture, 1974, p. 159–2174; Khalimov, 1991; Mamedov, Muradov, 2000; 1998, p. 31–32]. The date of the city's foundation remains controversial [Vakturskaya, 1958, p. 468; Monuments of Turkmenistan's Architecture, 1974, p. 166–167; Khalimov, 1991, p. 7–9; Armachuk, 1998; Yusupov, 1993; Mamedov, Muradov, 2000, p. 12–16]. During the reign of the Khwarezm-shahs, the city was called Urgench (Gurgench, Gurganj, Jurjaniya). In the period of Ulus of Jochi, its name is known as 'Khowarizm' according to Khwarezmian coins. Ibn Battuta who visited the city, called it 'Khwarezm', while Russian chroniclers called it 'Ornach' [Collection of

Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 308; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, p. 57, 67; Medieval Written Sources About Old Urgench, 2000].

Despite the catastrophe of 1221 caused by the Mongol invasion, the extremely convenient location of Urgench allowed the city to recover, and already at the end of the 13th century it regained its economic and cultural significance in the system of large trade cities of Middle Asia. In the 14th century, Urgench, according to Ibn Battuta, was 'one of the largest, most significant and beautiful cities, rich with glorious bazaars, spacious streets, multiple constructions and select beauties'. He mentions a number of large buildings in Urgench which include the madrasah built by Temür Qutlugh, a cathedral mosque and Tyurabek-Khanum's khanqah, a khanqah near sheikh Najmuddin Kubra's grave, a hospital, a palace which has 'a wooden coloured dome, walls decorated with multicoloured cloths and a ceiling adorned with gilded silk' [Medieval Written Sources About Old Urgench, 2000, p. 29–30], etc. In A. Lkubovsky's opinion, for Urgench, the period of Temür Qutlugh's reign became 'the most brilliant time in its history' [Lkubovsky, 1930, p. 18].

Golden-Horde period Urgench provides us with several architectural constructions of

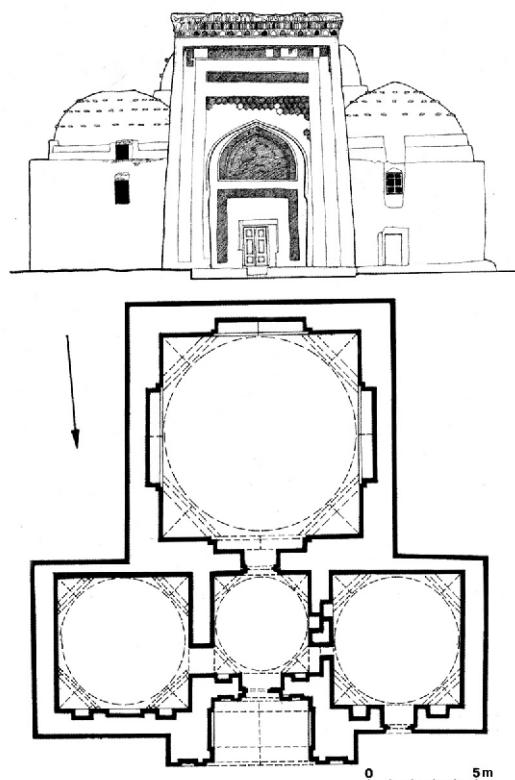
the cult-memorial and fortification type, as well as objects discovered during the course of archaeological research in the ancient town, which are preserved until today on the territory of Kunya-Urgench.

Urgench's fortification wall relates to these constructions. It is a powerful fortification surrounding the Golden Horde citadel (shakhristan) of the 14th century, which is 430 (640) hectares in size. The wall was preserved in the form of a rampart 10 km long (in some parts it is sectioned by agricultural lands). The best preserved part was the 2 km-long eastern rampart.

The majority of Urgench's monuments are located within the ancient town surrounded by a wall, with a towering minaret located in the centre of the ancient town. The wall itself was almost completely destroyed after Timur conquered the city in 1388. After the destruction, the city's territory was demonstratively sown with barley. However, three years later, one quarter was restored on the orders of the Samarkand conqueror; it existed in the 15–17th centuries [Fedorov-Davydov, 1958a, p. 505–528; Egorov, 1985, p. 126].

Khwarezm-Bag is a rectangular fortress on the southwestern outskirts of Urgench (400x500 meters), surrounded by a tall rampart and divided into two halves by a wall, on the middle of which a large hill is located. In S. Tolstov's opinion, this could have been a suburban castle of rulers from the Golden Horde period [Tolstov, 1958].

Jami-Mosque's minaret is one of Urgench's main sights. A brick inscription on its surface relates it to the names of Temür Qutlugh, the ruler of Golden Horde Khwarezm, and Öz Beg, Ulus of Jochi's sultan. The inscription on the minaret fulfilled in the Kufic script says the following: 'Ordered by his serene Highness, the king of two worlds, whom Allah has favoured with His mercy and opened him the gates of the truth, he is the mighty king, the ruler of the Arabs and Ajams, the brilliance of the earthly world and faith, the salvation of Islam and Muslims, Temür Qutlugh, the son of great emir Najm-ad-Dawal-va-d-Din, let Allah continue the rise of Islam through his patronizing nature, and thus the construction

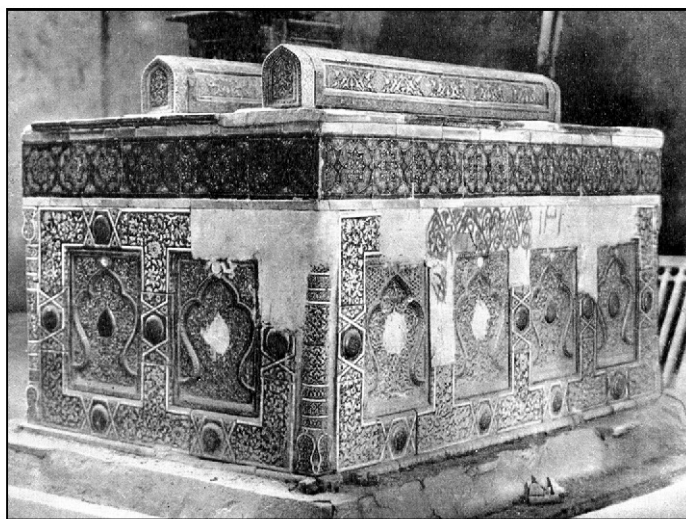


Kunya-Urgench. Mausoleum of Najmuddīn-e Kubrā. The northern facade and plan (according to I. Notkin)

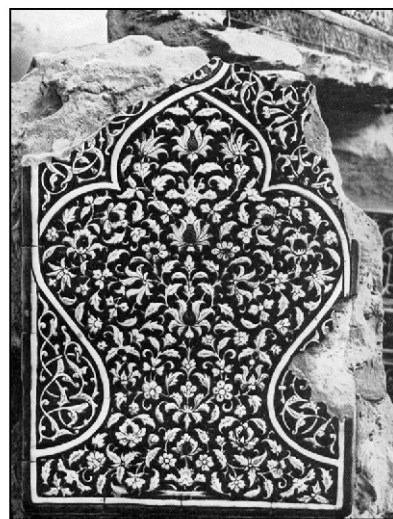
was erected in the days of the rule of mighty sultan Öz Beg Khan, let Allah prolong his power' [Yakubovsky, 1930, p. 36; Khalimov, 1991, p. 38–40]. Following A. Yakubovsky, researchers date the date of its erection to the 1320s–1330s [Yakubovsky, 1930, p. 36; Monuments of Turkmenistan's Architecture, 1974, p. 191–194; Khalimov, 1991, p. 31–91; Mamedov, Muradov, 2000, p. 58–65].

The minaret represents a conical column 59.9 meters high from the level of the present-day pavement. During the reconstruction, its original height reached 62 meters. It is considered that this minaret belonged to a cathedral mosque which Arabic traveler Ibn Battuta related to the name of Tyuranbek-Khanum, the wife of ruler Temür Qutlugh.

The ornamental ring-like layout of polished bricks (30x30x5cm) beautifully emphasizes the height of the construction. On the minaret's top, nests left after wooden beams are preserved. A lantern used to be placed on the beams, which opened in all directions and



Kunya-Urgench. Mausoleum of Najmuddīn-e Kubrā.
Gravestone. Photo from 1938



Kunya-Urgench. Mausoleum
of Najmuddīn-e Kubrā. 14th century.
Tile fragments from the gravestone
surface (according to I. Notkin)

was topped by a decorative cornice. From this lantern, a muezzin used to call to prayer.

144 steps lead to the minaret's top in the internal spiral staircase. The staircase begins near the entrance, at a height of around 7 meters from the ground level, which was possibly equal to the level of the mosque's flat roof.

The conical surface of the minaret (the diameter of its bottom is around 11 meters and it is 4 meters at the lantern level) is vertically sectioned into 17 wide belts of ornamental masonry made of double bricks, divided in a checkerboard pattern by figures carved into vertical brick 'bows'. The belts are divided by rings of vertically placed bricks highlighted by a 'ligature' of a narrow brick ornament. In some upper belts, the 'bows' are covered by blue glaze.

At the entrance level, the minaret is encircled by a wide Kufic relief inscription made of polished brick. On its top, the minaret is also edged by three belts of poorly preserved inscriptions. After restoration works, this text was restored. It reproduces ayat 255 of the Quran's second surah. The first belt says: 'In the name of God, merciful and compassionate! There is no God but Him, living and omnipresent. Neither slumber nor sleep may overcome Him. Everything in heaven and on earth is at

His mercy. Who... ' The second belt: '... can stand before Him without His will. He knows what is before them and behind them. They grasp His wisdom in the degree. He allows. His throne is vast... '. Then, the third belt is reconstructed in the following way: '... of earth and heavens. The Almighty and All-powerful is right' [Mamedov, Muradov, 2000, p. 61–62].

400 meters northwest of Temür Qutlugh's minaret, the **mausoleum of Turabek-Khanum** is situated. It is the most famous monument in Kunya-Urgench, combining an elegance, monumentality, a unique space-planning composition and gorgeous decor.

Despite the attempt in recent years to reconsider the date of construction, the majority of researchers continue to think that the mausoleum was constructed during the reign of Temür Qutlugh, his wife or soon after them, that is, in the second quarter of the 14th century [Monuments of Turkmenistan's Architecture, 1974, p. 191; Khalimov, 1991, p. 42–43; Armachuk, 2001, p. 188–210; Mamedov, Muradov, 2000, p. 51–58]. This fact is also proved by Ibn Battuta's historical records. In his description of Urgench in the 1330s, he mentioned Turabek-Khanum's and Najmuddīn-e Kubrā's khanqahs. It is possible that the above mentioned constructions spurred the travel-

er's special interest, because he named them along with the Jami-Mosque and madrasah. Buildings in Kunya-Urgench related to their names have been preserved until today. Therefore, we may observe the grandiose building of Turabek-Khanum's mausoleum exactly as the khanqah that Ibn Battuta described. As a consequence, this building could have been adapted for the burial of Turabek-Khanum herself to become the dynastic tomb of Khwarezm's Sufids.

These thoughts are proved by the building's composition, which is absolutely unusual for Middle Asian architecture, especially—its three-part plan built along the main axis. Behind the tall and deep portal there is a small dome room with entrances into a small hujra (to the left), to the spiral staircase (to the right) and to a broad six-corner hall with a size of around 100 square meters (straight). Afterwards, a small annex (which is destroyed today) used to stand on the same axis behind the hall. Between 1960 and 1960, a crypt with burials was opened in the main hall, which is evidence that the building bore the functions of a mausoleum. Although a combination of the mausoleum itself with a memorial hall, a ziyarat-khana, can be found across the Islamic world, such a three-chambered mausoleum with an accurate axis arrangement is unique in the history of Middle Asian architecture.

The building's inner part is constructed in the form of a hexagonal prism, with deep arch ogival niches and window openings embedded into its verges. On the outside, deep niches are located on a dodecagon of the main volume. On the southern side, a tall and very proportionate portal is located. A constructive gallery is made in its upper part which provides its spatial stability.

This building used to be topped by a high blue pavilion which rose upon a high drum decorated with mosaic hexagons in an accurate terracotta framing. The pavilion broke and left only a small fragment on the eastern side after itself which is supported by the extant fragment of the cornice ornamented with splendid tiled stalactites.

The mausoleum's visible outer dome with remains of brick ribs aimed at supporting the

pavilion is protective. The dome's inner surface bears a precious decoration in the form of a continuous mosaic piece of fine work. Stalactite and arched canvases of twelve- and twenty four-hedrons create a logically constructive and decorative transition from the hexagonal prism of the base to the rim of the pointed dome.

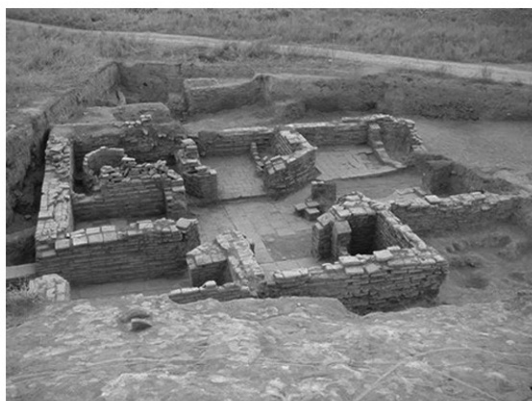
The mosaics of stalactites, domes and panels at the drum's edges were preserved better than the inferior mosaic decoration. Polished brick of natural pinkish-yellow colour is skillfully used for laying out the form-defining lines—corners and verges of walls, the portal, and dividing strips of mosaic frames.

Today only fragments of mosaic bands are preserved from the ornamental decoration of walls and the portal. But still, the construction did not lose its splendour and artistic impact. The composition of the mosaic dome of 12 meters in diameter is marvelous: the basis of the ornament constitutes a plaiting pattern of nine- and five-pointed stars combining in varieties and decreasing in size towards the dome's zenith.

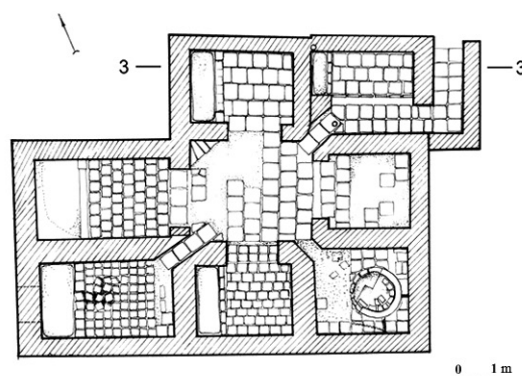
The dome's centre is shown as a precious core in the form of a lush twelve-petal flower painted inside of a twenty four pointed radial star. Blue, white, turquoise, black, green, yellow, red and brown colours with gold create an incomparable mosaic painting in the dome.

Thanks to the pattern's subtlety and general blue background, the colour variety creates a polychromatic harmony and gives integrity both to the surface of the dome and to the under-the-dome drum which is cut by twelve lancet windows.

Great significance is attached to this mausoleum and a lot is done today for its restoration and preservation because this construction of the Golden Horde's Urgench is the highest art achievement of craftsmen from Khwarezm's famous decorative school. Later, foremen and craftsmen, whom Tamerlane had brought from Urgench, expressed their artistic skills in building architectural objects in Mawarannahr and Khorasan in the 15th century. But Yuranbek-Khanum's mausoleum is the primary example in which builders with great skill and ability combined a constructive form



Antonovka ancient town. Photograph
of a wealthy man's estate



Antonovka ancient town.
Plan of a wealthy man's estate

with a rich decoration without violating the structure's tectonics.

The khanqah of Najmuddin Kubra consists of four dome rooms: an antechamber, two meeting rooms and a guruhana [a vaulted room or a tomb]. A voluminous composition responds to the character of planning. The composition is highlighted by a harmonic pishtak of the main facade with slightly inclined pylons and an ogive, as well as with a stalactite cornice. The surface of the whole pishtak was paneled with majolica tiles, the bulk of which are forever lost, but preserved elements include an inscription in the Diwani script and, specifically, floral elements which are characteristic for local architectural ceramics.

The mausoleum contains unique headstones. According to a legend, one was set above the ashes of a preacher, the other in the form of a high (approx. 2 m) four-sided prism is the burial place of his head.

The inscription on the portal mentioning Temür Qutlugh's name and Ibn Battuta's evidence allow us to date the mausoleum-khanqah to the third decade of the 14th century [Yakubovsky, 1930, p. 60–61]. Sultan Ali's mausoleum is interesting first of all in connection with Najmuddīn-e Kubrā's tomb.

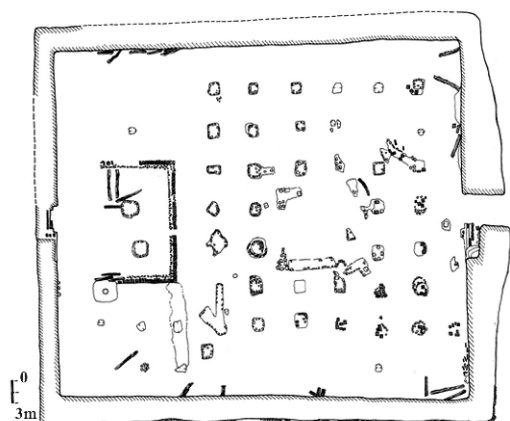
Several constructions at Urgench may be considered close to this object in character and chronology. Among them are: Pir Jar Wali's mausoleum (14–16th centuries) 15 km west of Najmuddīn-e Kubrā's khanqah; Ibn Hajib's two-chambered mausoleum (the 14th centu-

ry) with a summer mosque and madrasah's hujras which were built later; Ali ar-Ramitani al-Bukhari's mausoleum (14–16th centuries) located south of Temür Qutlugh's minaret; Sayyid Ahmad's two-chambered mausoleum (14–16th centuries) situated between this minaret and Tyurabek-Khanum's castle [Mamedov, Muradov, 1998, p. 31; Khalimov, 1991, p. 66–67, 83–89]. All of them represent a simplified type of a portal-dome tomb which was also widespread in other Khwarezm cities, as well as regions of Jochid Ulus and Middle Asia.

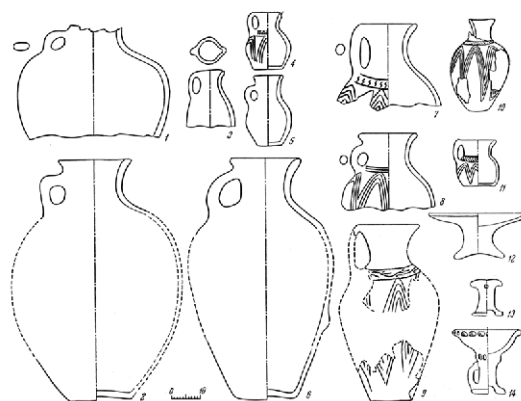
In the course of archaeological works carried out on Urgench's territory, some objects of the Golden Horde epoch were discovered which shed light on Ulus of Khwarezm's economy and cultural life.

The historical significance of Khwarezm monuments is great because they represented the samples which made a huge impact upon the culture and first of all, upon the architecture and ceramic production of the Timurid empire, mostly in the field of decoration. It is most likely that Khwarezm gave birth to the type of gantry structures which became traditional for Middle Asian architectonics beginning with the Golden Horde period.

The uniqueness and originality of Urgench's buildings, their exclusive technical quality and huge artistic effect allow us to name them among the best monuments of the architectonics of Turkic peoples and Islamic culture.



Antonovka ancient town.
Plan of a mosque



Ceramics from the ancient towns of Tok-kala
and Kuyuk-kala

§ 13. Cities of the Lower Syr Darya

Karl Baipakov

The development of the medieval urban culture of southern Kazakhstan reached its golden age in the 11–12th centuries but was interrupted by the conquests of Tatar-Mongol troops. The cities on the Syr Darya River were conquered one by one, including: Sygnak, Uzgend, Barchynlygkent (Barchkent), Ashnas and Jend [Bartoldt, 1963, I, p. 481–484; Petrushevsky, 1977, p. 123]. The list of cities invaded and ruined by the Mongols in southern Kazakhstan is short. However, archaeological research on medieval ancient towns suggests that in reality the number of devastated cities and settlements was much greater. The population was dramatically reduced: part was physically destroyed, others were brought to Mongolia, and many died of hunger and epidemics. Traditional economic connections between cities and the nomadic steppe, which had also been severely impacted in the course of the invasion, were disrupted.

Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, who crossed these lands a quarter of a century later, wrote of the destroyed cities, ruined fortresses and ravaged villages [Travels, 1957, p. 127].

All the conquered territories were divided between Chinggis Khan's elder sons, as a result of which southern Kazakhstan and Semirechye appeared to be politically fragmented. There were no accurate borders between the uluses

and from time to time the Chagataids spread their domains into the lower reaches of Syr Darya, while the Jochids widened their possessions at the expense of cities in the Middle Syr Darya [Bartoldt, 1963, II, p. 59–61].

Two tendencies towards the conquered sedentary and urban population were seen among Mongol khans and aristocracy. Some of them sought state decentralization, stood against sedentism and were ready to endlessly rob citizens. Others, together with the main part of the local nobility, merchant class and clergy, aimed at establishing a strong power, protecting citizens and sedentary inhabitants of oases from arbitrary levies and foraging, thus making their intense exploitation possible. The latter idea was supported by Möngke Khan and the merchant-ruler Masud Bek. Möngke Khan canceled non-normative levies and taxes, brought the poll tax under regulation and decreed the coinage of golden dinars [Davidovich, 1972, p. 33–36]. In 1269, a kurultai was held on the banks of the Talas River, at which princes were obliged to limit fixed tributes collected from the sedentary population and urban citizens, avoid robbery, and leave the arable lands in peace [Bartoldt, 1963, II, p. 69].

Masud Bek's reform of 1271 provided the state with a silver coin and created premises for the development of urban life and monetary

trade [Davidovich, 1972, p. 96–114, 141–151]. Further economic development was contributed to by the monetary reform of Kebek Khan in 1321.

The gradual economic recovery of cities was accompanied by the strengthening of the economic and political position of the local Turkic aristocratic elite. Using the fact that the masses were dissatisfied with the Mongolyoke, the Turkic feudal nobility in the uluses of Jochi and Chagatai fought for establishing their own political power. As a result, at the end of the 1350s, the Chagatai state broke into several domains. Control over areas of the Middle Syr Darya was taken by Ulus of Jochi's khans, while Semirechye became part of Moghulistan, formed on the territory of south-eastern Kazakhstan [Pishchulina, 1977, p. 33–40].

In the 1370s, a war began between the khans of the Kok Horde and Timur. In the course of the feudal wars, the first to suffer were cities and sedentary people, who were pillaged and robbed. In 1387–1388, Tokhtamysh sent troops to Mawarannahr which, after uniting with troops of Moghulistan's emir Kamar al-Din, passed through Sygnak, besieged Sawran, and pillaged the surroundings of Sayram, Yasi, Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara. The response of Tamerlane and his raids deep into Dasht-i Kipchak in turn led to the plundering of the Kok Horde's population.

A struggle for the Syr Darya cities broke out again after Timur's death. In spring 1405, Otrar was conquered by sheikh Nur al-Din, who kept it for four years. Afterwards, the city was occupied by Khalil Sultan. In 1410, Mongol troops under the command of Shah Jahan besieged Sayram, Karasaman and Otrar.

In the 1420s, the scramble for the Syr Darya cities was now led by Ulugh Beg and Barak, and only help from the side of Shahrukh retained the former's control over the Syr Darya region. By the mid 15th century, Turkestan's cities became subordinate to the nomadic Uzbeks of Abu-l-Khair [Istoriya Kazaxstana, 1997, 2, p. 96–130].

The middle of the 13th century marked a revival of the urban life southern Kazakhstan. Cities were restored, economic ties between districts were revived, a number of cities were

involved into the orbit of international trade and diplomatic connections. Written sources of that period mention cities located on the Syr Darya River: Sayram, Otrar, Zernuk, Sawran, Yasi, Sygnak, Suzak, Syutkent and Jend. The itinerary of the Armenian king Hethum I, who in 1256 came through southern Kazakhstan, includes the names of Pergant (Barkent), Sukhulkhan (Sugulkent), Urosokhan (Urosogan), Kaikant (Kumkent), Khuzak (Suzak), Sygnak, Kharchuk (Karachuk), Asan (Yasi), Sawri (Suri), Otrar, Zurnukh (Zernuk) [Gandzak, 1976, p. 224]. Undoubtedly, the revival of the caravan route, which went along the northern hills of Karatau, contributed to the rise of these cities.

Evidence from archaeological research shows that in the mid-latter half of the 13th century, life was continued and renewed in such ancient towns as Sayram, Karaspan, Otrar, Turkestan, Sawran, Sygnak, Syutkent, Kaugan-ata, Mairam-tobe, Ak-Kurgan, Uzgend, Asanas, Jend and Yangikent. However, the pace of restoration of the urban centres was not equal everywhere.

Sawran and Sygnak, which had been centres of Ulus of Jochi's Kok Horde, rose fairly quickly.

Undoubtedly, the rise of the economy and urban culture was spurred by the fact that at the beginning of the 14th century, the south of Kazakhstan became part of the Kok Horde. Seeking the restoration of economic ties between nomads and the sedentary population, its rulers made Sygnak its capital. In that period, especially during Ilbasan Khan's reign, intensive development was carried out in Sygnak, Sawran, Otrar and Barchkent [Istoriya Kazaxstana, 1997, 2, p. 194].

Stabilization of the political environment during the reigns of the khans Sasy Buka, Ilbasan, Mubarak and Chimtay contributed to the cities' economic growth. This is seen in layers of the 14th century which were preserved almost in all of the ancient towns identified with respective Golden Horde cities.

In southern Kazakhstan, massifs of urban development from the 13th century to the first half of the 15th century cut arterial streets which connected the city gates. Block streets with

dead ends, around which the quarter's houses grouped, extended from the gates. Cities also had squares faced by the facades of mosques. The suburban area was occupied by craftsmen's constructions and citizens' estates with orchids and melon gardens. All agricultural settlements were bound to channels [Akishev, Baipakov, Erzakovich, 1987]. At the time, large cities included Sayram, Yasi, Otrar, Sygnak and Sawran, Jend and Kumkent.

Excavations of Otrar and Turkistan provide an idea of cities' buildings, urban dwellings, public and cult constructions as well as fortifications. Cities were densely built up with quarters. The quarter of the 13–

14th centuries in the southwestern part of Otrar's shakhristan or citadel occupied a territory of 1500 square meters and included a street 32 meters long and 2–2.5 meters wide. All 9 houses of the quarter faced the inner-quarter street and a small dead end in the quarter's northern part. It is noteworthy that quarters of the 13th century do not repeat the planning of urban quarters of earlier times. City planning was completely changed and only arterial streets of the former time were preserved. However, buildings of a later period, from the 14th to the first half of the 15th centuries, mostly inherit the planning of quarters from the 'Mongol' time. Only the arrangement of houses within these quarters was changed. Otrar's rabad [a trade-production suburb which was adjacent to a shakhristan] was characterized, according to excavations, by sparse development. Houses and workshops of potters, brick-makers and blacksmiths were located here.

New types of urban dwellings appeared from the latter half of the 13th century to the first half of the 14th century. Two- or three-roomed houses with a yard located on the same axis belong to the first type.

The second includes dwellings consisting of four rooms arranged on intersecting axes. It is a cruciform or four-part scheme, where a house has a sub-square planning, while pantries are located left and right of the iwan, yard or living room with a tandoor.

There are several variants of this scheme. Such a room may have a larger number of

rooms than four, five or six. Houses were from 40 to 60 square meters.

Houses consisting of two and more sections refer to the third type. Each section consists of two or three rooms, one of which is always residential. Such houses could have up to 15 rooms, while their size could reach 200 square meters.

Significant changes were seen in the interior design of dwellings. A narrow sufa placed along walls of L- and U-shapes was substituted by a sufa occupying the larger part of the room. A small area in front of the tandoor was usually paved with bricks and defined the floor level. Remains of a scaffold smeared into the wall, a log, a brick pavement and a stone slab, which were found in the room's centre along the sufa's edge, are evidence of the fact the roof was supported by one column installed in the centre. Thus, a four-column covering, spread in former times, disappeared. No fireplaces installed into walls of that time were found, but there were still rectangular fenced fireplaces of an open type. The tandoor now bore functions of a universal hearth. It served as a means of heating and a furnace for cooking and baking. Tandoors were characterized by the appearance of a chimney, a 'kan', installed into the sufa and extended along the shortest section of the house's wall, where it connected to the vertical well through which smoke came out.

There is an essential difference between the chimneys of Otrar tandoors and classical kans. Channels of the former were always made extremely short and in most cases never exceeded 1.5–2 meters. The primary task of such chimneys was to release smoke, while classical kans of Golden Horde cities installed along the building's perimeter were made with the purpose of keeping smoke under the sufa as long as possible in order to heat the building.

The type of heating through a universal tandoor with a chimney and an increased size of the sufa—which was widespread among Ulus of Jochi's urban dwellings—was a novelty. This phenomenon is evidence of common processes happening in the development of the society and ethno-cultural connections between regions.

The new city wall in Otrar was built only at the end of the 13–beginning of the 14th century.

Excessive taxes, road levies, and different kinds of obligations exhausted the settled population. No wonder one of Mengu Khan's decrees said the following: 'Violence and oppression reached the highest point, besides, farmers are especially exhausted by various kinds of severities and the burden of emergency taxes so that the benefits they received did not equate with half of the levies (in the form of duties)' [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 141].

Therefore, a collapse of the sedentary culture in Semirechye began immediately after the Mongol invasions and, if large cities which were centres of the transit trade and craft production seemed unharmed in the mid 13th century, the agricultural areas which fueled them

were devastated, which in turn led to the deaths of the cities [Baipakov, 1978, p. 8–10].

Thus we may suggest that from the 13th century to the first half of the 15th century, urban culture revived in southern Kazakhstan after the Mongol conquests, while the latter half of the 13th century marks the rise of urban life, international trade, crafts and agriculture.

Among large cities, we can name Sayram, Otrar, Yasi, Sawran, Syganak, Suzak, Kumkent and Jend. In Zhetysu (Semirechye), a downturn of the sedentary and urban culture started, although no demolition or destruction happened at the end of the 13th century. The number of cities in the Talas and Chuy Valleys sharply decreases, urban life degrades in the 14th century, while the number of cities shrinks and by the mid–15th century they are desolated and turned into settlements.

CHAPTER 2

Economy, Crafts and Trade

§ 1. Cattle-breeding and the System of Nomadism

Iskander Izmaylov, Leonard Nedashkovsky

For a long time, cattle-breeding was one of the most important economic bases of the Golden Horde state. This economic-cultural type of nomadic and semi-nomadic cattle-breeding not only kept its potential after the state's collapse, but even developed and strengthened. The socio-political significance of cattle-breeding is proved, *inter alia*, by the fact that the residences of the tribes, including Ulus of Jochi's supreme aristocracy, which formed the Tatar army, were located in the steppes.

The population's involvement in cattle breeding and processing of livestock products was first of all related to the ecological conditions of the environment. Vast territories of Northern Eurasia which were part of the Ulus of Jochi were located in an arid area that was severe for human life. It was located on the edge of the steppes which gradually turned into deserts and semi-deserts in the south—hot in the summer and cold in the winter. Steppes and semi-deserts differ in seasonal and daily temperature contrasts with strong overheating of the earth in the summer and a sharp cooling in the winter, with a large diurnal variation between day and night temperatures (up to 30 degrees C in the summer). As a rule, rainfall on the plains does not exceed 200 mm per year, and in the desert it is less than 100 mm. The northern steppe zone belongs to the temperate climatic zone (with a summer maximum of rainfall) and the southern territory is subtropical. The Lower Volga Region and the Aral Sea Region can be said to combine two different climates: their summer is hot and dry, while winter is cool with a sufficient amount of rainfall. Severe winters (with low temperatures and strong winds) occur

in the northern border of Eurasia's steppe zone, forcing cattle-breeders to drive herds of sheep and horses southwards. Moisture in the desert falls very unevenly. Dry years are not rare (they happen every 3 or 4 years) and in some years they occur even more often, which turns the steppe into a semi-desert [Mordkovich et al., 1997]. This was particularly highlighted by contemporaries. Thus, al-Ayni informed that in 1302–1303, 'a murrain, drought and costliness came to Tokhta's lands due to the fact that they (the inhabitants) sowed for 3 years in a row and nothing grew, and all their cattle died' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 513].

At the same time, this is a region with a mighty mountain system stretching across the continent, including the Ural mountains, the spurs of the Southern Urals, the northern part of the Tien Shan, the western ridges of the Altai and the Tarbagatai. There are also fairly high uplands in the Eastern Caspian Sea Region—the Ustyurt Plateau. The Caucasian Mountains covers a steppe zone in the south between the Black and Caspian Seas. Differences between plains and mountains (and foothills) are especially significant in the soil covering. In the mountains, desert plants grow up to 1000 meters above sea level; sagebrush and grass steppes are located higher (up to 2400 meters); they are interspersed with mountain meadows and rocky tops. Fescue and feather grass-fescue steppes are spread in the Southern Urals and the Irtysh River Region. These steppes are used at middle altitudes and in lowlands as spring pastures. The vegetation covering of deserts mostly consists of shrubs, subshrubs



Farriery. Mongolian Veterinary Manuscript.
18th century

and herbs. Arrays of ridge and hilly sands are suitable for grazing sheep and camels during winter-time or even all year round. In the arid lowland, the vegetation is suitable for grazing cattle in autumn, winter and early spring.

The natural conditions made human lives peculiar, dictating ways of economic management. Thus, regular seasonal migrations in the meridional direction parallel to the flow of large rivers were characteristic of cattle-breeders of Northern Eurasia. In summer, nomads moved along river basins northwards in search for optimal living conditions, to set up summer camps ['yaylau'] which were situated in steppe and forest-steppe areas [of the Dnieper River Region, the Middle Volga and Trans-Volga Regions, the Cis-Kama Region, the South Ural and the Irtysh River Region], and in autumn they chose places for winter camps moving along the same route [to the Steppe Crimea and the North Caucasus, the Lower Volga Region, Mangyshlak Peninsula, the Aral Sea Region and Balkhash Lake Region]. At the same time, groups of foothill cattle-breeders made vertical

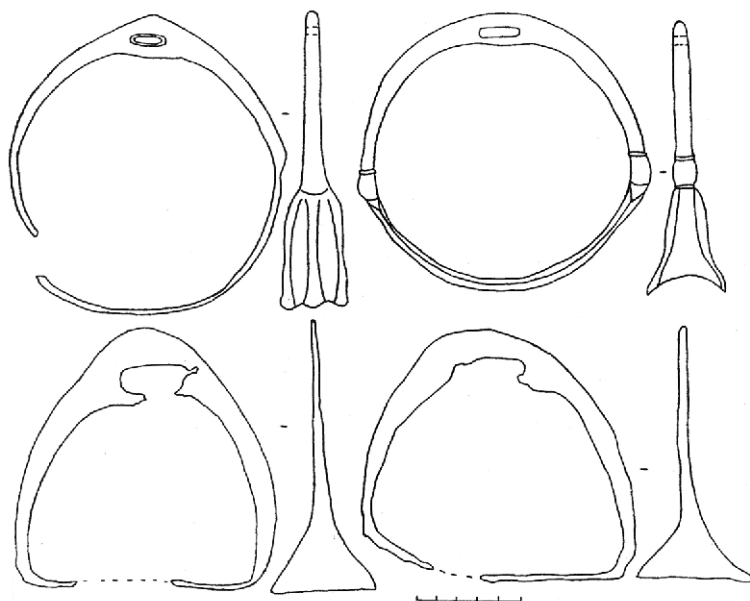
migrations, in winter sheltering cattle in deep mountain valleys and in summer, ascending to high-mountain pastures.

The system of nomadism in Golden Horde times was strictly regulated by the khan's power. All territories and first of all pastures and steppes were distributed within the state in accordance with its military-administrative and clan divisions. Every superior officer ordered their subordinates to nomadise in certain territories and along certain routes. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine recounts: 'No one is allowed to stay in some country unless the emperor orders so. However, he himself decides where leaders must stay. Leaders order where a thousand-squad commander stays, while the latter orders the same to centurions and centurions to foremen' [Travels, 1957, p. 45]. William of Rubruck who passed through the lands of Ulus of Jochi in the middle of the 13th century wrote: 'They [that is, Mongolian khans.—*I. I., L. N.*] divided Scythia between themselves which stretches from the Danube to the sunrise, and each leader knows the limits of his pastures judging by the amount of people he has under his command. He also knows where he must graze his herd in the winter, summer, spring and autumn. It is in winter when they descend to the south, to warmer countries. In summer they ascend northwards, to colder ones. In winter they graze herds in places lacking water but convenient for pastures—when there is snow, because snow replaces water' [Ibid., p. 91]. According to a tradition which has been preserved since the 11–12th centuries, Turkic-Tatar nomads occupying the steppes of the Trans-Volga and the Southern Urals and Southern Siberia also made seasonal migrations. All of them used the Bugulminsk Plateau and the Southern Ural for summer pastures, while in winter they nomadised with their multiple herds to the low reaches of the Syr Daria, Volga and Aral Sea Region. This way of nomadism was preserved among the cattle-breeding population of the Trans-Volga and South Ural steppes until the 18th century. The 14th century author al-Umari managed to keep extremely important and unique information on this system of living in the medieval epoch. In his description of Ulus of Jochi he indicated: 'Kipchak khans spent winter in Sarai, while

their summer pastures, just as those of the Turan kings, were located near the Ural mountains' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 243]. Undoubtedly, the Arabic historian means the medieval nomads of Asiatic Steppes under the traditional term 'Turan'.

In full compliance with the ecological conditions of Ulus of Jochi's different steppe areas, inhabitants generally bred sheep and horses, and in some lands abundant in foodstuff, bovine cattle and goats, while in deserts and semi-dried areas, they bred camels. This is proved by written sources. Thus, in his narrative about the Mongols, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine noted that 'they have cattle in great amounts: camels, bulls, sheep, goats and horses. Such a large number of pack animals they have cannot be found in the whole world, while they have neither pigs, nor other animals at all' [Travels, 1957, p. 28]. The Italian merchant and diplomat Giosafat Barbaro who visited the Azov Sea Region in the 15th century exclaimed in surprise describing the multiplicity of cattle: 'What can I say about the great and even abysmal number of animals in this horde? Would anyone believe me?' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 149]. The same is mentioned by Egyptian ambassadors who took a trip across Ulus of Jochi from Sudak to Sarai. They crossed steppes of the Volga-Don interfluvium in 20 days, 'across a plain occupied by tents, sheep and herds' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 192].

Horse breeding in the steppes was of a military significance: every warrior was to have several horses with himself when marching off. According to the Arabic historian and geographer al-Umari, every warrior had to take 'thirty heads of sheep and five heads of horses' with himself [Ibid., p. 402]. If we keep in mind that the army constituted 250 thousand warriors,



Stirrups. Iron, Ukek. 13–14th centuries.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan
(according to I. Izmaylov, L. Nedashkovsky)

the army's horse herd reached 750 thousand horses and 7.5 million sheep. At the same time, this giant herd did not exhaust Ulus of Jochi's horse resources. Tens and hundreds of Tatar knights participated in other campaigns and wars which evidence the great amount of cattle bred in the steppes of Dasht-i Kipchak and first of all, the steeds. Ibn Battuta provided a curious fact, recounting that he bought a wonderful bay for 35 silver dinars [Ibid., p. 312].

Apart from the military role, horses found a wide application in various household needs, in particular—in coachman service and the transportation of people and goods. Bulls and camels were also used as beasts of burden. Thus, William of Rubruck amusingly described a large cart with a yurt [nomadic tent] which was dragged by 22 bulls at once—'11 in a row along the cart's width and 11 more—in front of them' [Travels, 1957, p. 91]. It is clear that yurts of a lesser size were drawn by smaller animals in a smaller amount. Ibn Battuta wrote, for instance, that his araba cart was pulled by one horse, and at the time of encampment, 'the horses, camels and oxes were unharnessed and released to graze freely during the night and day' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 127].

Meat, milk and dairy products were the main and traditional food of Ulus of Jochi's population due to the great amount of cattle and the ethnographic peculiarities of the nomadic population's national cuisine—which was also characteristic of nomads of Northern Eurasia in general. For example, al-Umari wrote that meat food was spread among the Tatars

and about a tradition of presenting meat as a gift among them: 'Their nutrition includes their own animals: horses, cows and sheep. ... Those living in the steppes neither sell nor buy meat. When an animal starts to wither in one family or another, be it a horse, a cow, or a sheep, the host slaughters it, cooks and eats a part of it together with his family members and presents its [another part] to his neighbours. In a similar way, when his neighbours have a poor sheep, they slaughter it and present a part of it to those who had made a gift to them. For this reason, meat [never] lacks in their families. This [custom] became so firm in their houses, as if presenting meat as a gift is an obligatory provision' [Ibid., p. 230–231].

In summer time, nomads mostly consumed various dairy products [storing butter, dried curd and cheese, as well as jerked meat for the winter], and ate meat products in winter time [Travels, 1957, p. 95–96]. Apart from it, they made kumiss from horse milk—a traditional beverage of the steppe nomads. Nomads paid tribute with cattle and kumiss [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 39–40].

Cattle-breeding was developed not only in the nomads' economy which was its basis, but also among the sedentary population who applied a pasture-stall type of grazing. As we may judge by osteological data, beef, mutton and horse meat absolutely prevailed in the nutrition of the Lower Volga Region's population in the Golden Horde time. Apart from the bone remains of cows, bulls, oxes, goats and horses, Golden Horde settlements on the Lower Volga also contained bones of camels, pigs, dogs,



Hand-mill and tine points. Bulgar. 13–14th centuries.
Bulgarian State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve

cats, domestic chickens and ducks. Small ruminants were slaughtered in the age between 2 months and 3 years and older, bovine cattle—between 5 months and 6 years and older, horses—from 1 to 12 years and pigs—from 1–2 years and older. Cattle were bred not only for meat, but also to receive milk, wool and skins. Bulls and oxes served for cargo transportation [along with camels and horses] and for tillage [Petrenko, 1988, p. 258–259; Tsalkin, 1967, p. 117, 129].

The Golden Horde exported cattle in great amounts. Thus, a huge number of horses for household purposes was brought to India. Ibn Battuta who wrote about exporting horses from Ulus of Jochi to Indian lands described a steppe zone of the Golden Horde state: 'There is a huge amount of horses in this land and they cost a trifle... They [Turks] eat them; in their lands, they are as abundant as sheep in our territories, and even more. One Turk may have [several] thousand of them. One of the rituals carried out by Turks-horse breeders inhabiting this area [is] that they place a piece of felt, a span long, into the araba carts used by their wives. This piece is then bound to a thin stick, a cubit long, located in the cart's corner; one [such] piece means the host possesses a thousand horses. I saw that some of them had 10 pieces and others—even more [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 286]. Gio-safat Barbaro also gives a detailed account of the cattle trade: 'There are horse traders among this people; they bring horses out of the horde and drive them to different places... I happened

to come across merchants during my journey who drove such a number of horses that they covered the whole space of steppes... The second type of animals which this people breed is beautiful big bulls, even more, in such an amount that enough are left for Italian slaughterhouses. They are driven to Poland, while a part of them is directed to Transylvania through Wallachia; they are also brought to Germany and from there—to Italy... The third type of animals they keep is tall shaggy Bactri-

an camels. They are driven to Persia and sold there for 25 ducats each' [Barbaro and Con-
tarini, 1971, p. 149]. Nomads supplied large and small cattle in the mass into neighbouring sedentary regions, for example, into the Middle Volga Region [Petrenko, 1988, p. 258, 260, 271] and to Ruthenia where cattle was of a smaller number—a medium size of large horned livestock of the Golden Horde was on average 10 cm taller than the cattle bred on the territory of Rus' [Tsalkin, 1967, p. 120].

§ 2. Agriculture and village crafts

Leonard Nedashkovsky

Traditionally, historians have described Ulus of Jochi as a nomadic state with poorly developed agriculture. However, this view appears to be wrong in the light of new archaeological data.

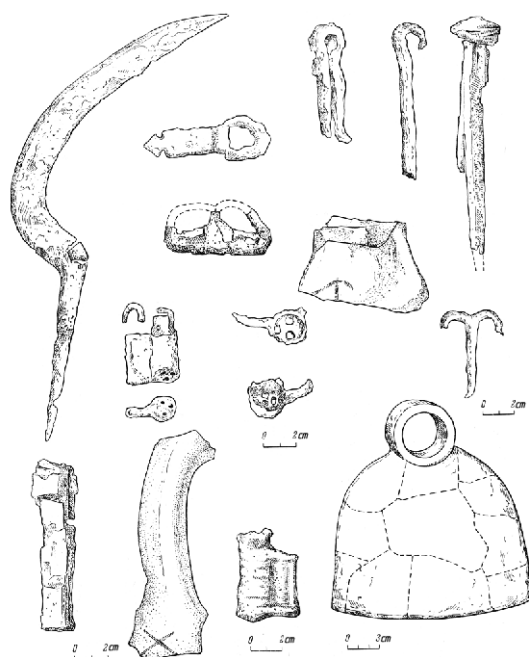
The Golden Horde included such old agricultural regions as Bulgar, Khwarezm, the Crimea and the North Caucasus along with the nomadic steppes.

Common wheat, spelt wheat, club wheat, millet, barley [of hullless and hulled forms, as well as a phialine one], oats, rye, peas, vetch, lentil, cucumbers, apples, lint and hemp were found in the Golden Horde layer of Bulgar [Krasnov, 1987, p. 218]. Moreover, during excavations in Selitrennoe, the seeds of grapes and watermelons were discovered [Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 231].

L. Nedashkovsky was the first who during his excavations between 2001 and 2003 carried out a flotation of the cultural layer and the filling of examined constructions of Golden Horde landmarks located in the settlements of Bagaevskoe, Kolotov Buerak, Khmelevskoe I and Shiroky Buerak—all in the Saratov District of Saratov Oblast. 39 samples were extracted from the lower non-excavated horizon of the cultural layer and the filling of constructions in Shiroky Buerak settlement; 66—from Bagaevskoe ancient settlement, 17 samples were taken from Kolotov Buerak, while 6 more were extracted from pre-inland layers of excavation III in the Khmelevskoe I ancient settlement [the analysis was fulfilled in E. Lebedeva's laboratory of

natural methods of the Institute of Archaeology RAS]. The fact that millet (53.4% of all crop remnants) prevailed over rye (20.1%), wheat (19.6%), barley (5.9%), oats (0.7%) and pea (0.3%) taken together is not a coincidence. We registered millet seeds in Khmelevskoe I ancient settlement in the filling of a hole of 2 excavation I-1999 which had represented a household facility of a complex 8-shape; the hole's eastern part where the seeds were found was the deepest and possibly served as a bell-shaped cellar with a stepwise descent into it.

Medieval authors inform us that millet was cultivated in the Golden Horde. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and William of Rubruck pointed out in the middle of the 13th century the fact that millet was used in food in the Mongol Empire (mentioning only rice and barley among other crops which served for making beverages) [Travels, 1957, p. 36, 95, 124, 138, 146, 148, 154; The Journey of William of Rubruck, 1900, p. 10, 62, 68, 132, 166, 173, 183, 186]. Millet ('tari'), oats ('ous'), wheat ('coptaluc'), spelt wheat ('suulu'), barley ('arpa'), rice ('tuturgan', 'bri[ng]'), pea ('brizac', 'noghuc') and lentil ('maruimac') are mentioned in the Polovtsian part of the dictionary 'Codex Cumanicus' (which was originally written in 1303 based on the materials of the end of the 13th century) compiled for Italians visiting Ulus of Jochi [Codex Cumanicus, 1981, p. 130–131; Drimba, 2000, p. 109]. 'Vassaf's History' accounts a sacket of millet sent by Tokhta Khan to Hulaguid ilkhān



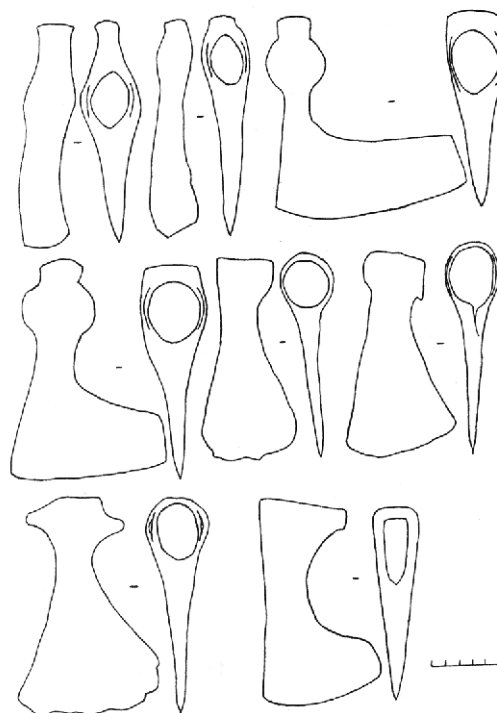
Gazan in 702 AH (1302/1303) as a symbol of the numerical strength of the Golden Horde's army [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 83]. Al-Umari in his geographical work described farming in the Golden Horde this way: 'They have a small amount of crops, the least of all are wheat and barley, while no beans are found at all. Most often they seed millet, they eat it and their food is usually a product of millet' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 230]. According to al-Umari idem, wheat, barley, millet of two sorts—he speaks of pearl millet [or dokhn] and 'javers [a sort of millet] which is similar to the trefoil grain and lentil—were sold at Sarai's bazaars [Ibid., p. 242]. Giosafat Barbaro also mentioned that the Horde people used millet in food and for sacrifices; apart from it, he only spoke of wheat and oats used for feeding horses [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 142, 146, 149–150]. Ambrogio Contarini who crossed the Lower Volga Region in 1476 already mentioned only rice and crackers cooked of 'a fairly good wheat flour', as well as onion and garlic [Ibid., p. 221, 224].

William of Rubruck mentioned vineyards and wine in the North-Eastern Caucasus [Jones, 1957, p. 186; The Journey of William of Rubruck, 1900, p. 262]. 'Codex Cumanicus' contains the names of an orange ['nainč', 'nouma'], a lemon ['limon'], a peach ['saftalu'], a pomegranate ['nardan'], an apricot ['mismis'], a plum ['eric'], a fig ['ingir'], grapes ['xuxun'], large-fruited muscadine grapes ['churu xuxun'], a cherry ['chiras'], a date ['ghorma'], a cucumber ['chear'], a melon ['coun'], a turnip ['salgan', 'samuc'], a cabbage ['laghan'], a beetroot ['čagundur'], a pumpkin ['cabuc'], an onion ['sorgan', 'youa'], a garlic ['sarmisac'], a spinach ['yspanac'], a parsley ['mangdan'], a lettuce ['marul'], a dill ['raxiana'], a pear ['armut', 'chertme'] and an apple ['alma'] in the Cuman varian [Codex Cumanicus, 1981, p. 125–127; Drimba, 2000, p. 106–107]. Al-Umari provided curious information about fruits, nuts, vegetables and a melon when telling about the Golden Horde: 'Various trees and different fruits [grow] there: grapes, pomegranates, membrillos, apples, pears, apricots, peaches and nuts. There is a fruit which in the Kipchak language is called 'batenk' ['badendzhan?'] [that is, 'baklazhan' or 'aubergine'.—L. N.], which resembles a wine berry... As for the melon, it is consumed [?] there in large amounts and especially the yellow sort. They enjoy it and store it throughout [the whole]

year. It is extremely sweet and has a pleasant taste, while they say a lot about its abundance and cheapness. Some make a juice and boil a halavah [sweetness] out of it. In their cities, they grow multiple vegetables, such as a rutabaga, a turnip, cabbage and the like' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 233–234]. Ibn Battuta, who personally visited Khwarezm, excitedly described Khwarezmian water-melons: 'There is not a single melon in the world that would be similar to those cultivated in Khwarezm, neither in the East, nor in the West... Its skin is green, while its core is red. It [the melon] is extremely sweet and at the same time, it is hard. Its surprising features [lie] in the fact that it is cut, then dried in the sun and placed in baskets... and brought from Khwarezm to the remotest lands of India and China. Among all the dried fruits, none is better than these [melons]' [Ibid., p. 313]. Vineyards, orchids, mills and farms in the surroundings of Crimean Sudak, as well as barn duties and payment for threshing floors are described in the tarkhan yarliq of Temür Qutlugh dated 1398 [Radlov, 1889, p. 21, 33].

The dictionary of 'Codex Cumanicus' also contains the name of a plough ['saban'], as well as a number of words and phrases related to its use and structure: a plougher ['sabanci'], to plough ['saban surarmen', 'saban surdum', 'saban sur'], a ploughshare ['saban temir'], arable land ['tarlov', 'saban ieri'] [Codex Cumanicus, 1981, p. 8, 90, 180; Drimba, 2000, p. 40, 87, 127]. The Egyptian historian Rukn al-Din Baibars [died in 1325] also mentioned a sokha or an ard, in its description of the conflict between Tokhta and Nogai [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 110].

The plough had a heavy iron symmetrical [or with a right-sided asymmetry] share and a colter [Krasnov, 1987, p. 213–214; Savchenkova, 1996, p. 8–10]. The sokha in the Golden Horde period, judging by extant materials, was two-forked and supplied with asymmetrical shares and a politsa (an instrument for casting off dirt) [Krasnov, 1987, p. 211–213; Savchenkova, 1996, p. 10–11]. Hoes were also used for tillage, while sickles and small scythes were needed for harvesting [Savchenkova, 1996, p. 11–12].



Axes. Ukek. 13–14th centuries. National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan

Interesting information about agriculture in the steppe zone of the Golden Horde was provided in 'Travels to Tana' written by Giosafat Barbaro, who lived between 1436 and 1452 in Tana, a Venetian colony in the Don estuary:

'Around the new moon in February a call is issued across the horde that anyone who wants to sow should prepare everything necessary, because the sowing will take place at the new moon in March in such-and-such a place, and everyone will set out on such-and-such a day. Afterwards, those who plan to sow themselves or who want to charge somebody with this duty, load their carts with seeds, take the animals they need and, together with their wives and children or with a part of the family, set out for the appointed place, which is as a rule a two-day journey from where the horde was camped at the moment the call to sow was made. They plow and sow and live there until they finish what they have come for. Then they return to the horde.

The khan treats his horde as a mother treats her children during a walk: keeping an eye on them. That's why he rides around these sowing places now here, now there, never going (away from his people) farther than a four-day journey.

This continues until the corn ripens. When it has ripened, he doesn't go there with his horde, but sends there only those who have sowed and those who are willing to buy the wheat. They go with their carts, oxen and camels and other things they need, as they do in their village.

The earth there is fertile and brings a fifty-fold yield of wheat, which is as high as Paduan wheat, and a hundredfold yield of millet. Sometimes the harvest is so abundant that they leave it in the steppe' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 150].

Judging by the quotation above, a fallow farming system prevailed in the steppe zone, while in the Middle Volga Region, 'a random sowing of crops with an absence of any rotation and a two-field rotation of crops together with fallow soil' was prominent [Krasnov, 1987, p. 223].

Bone remnants of wild animals were found at Golden Horde sites: hare, mottled polecat, fox, wolf, bear, badger, boar, beaver, marten, squirrel, hamster, elk, red deer, reindeer, roe, kulan, saiga, aurochs (?), eared seals, turtles, and birds (grey goose, grouse, partridge, bustard, seagull) which proves, along with written sources, the auxiliary role of hunting in the population's economy. However, the ratio of wild mammals' bones found in the settlements, if they were present at all, was insignificant. Judging by the amount of meat which may be extracted from one unit of different animals, beef, mutton and horse meat prevailed in the nutrition of the Lower Volga Region's population in the Golden Horde time. Marco Polo provided information about hunting ermines, sables, squirrels, black-brown foxes and marmots in the eastern part of the Jochid state [The Book of Marco Polo, 1956, p. 225–226; The Book of Ser Marco Polo, 1903, II, p. 481]. 'They hunt very well mostly using bows',—Giosafat Barbaro says about Ulus of Jochi's population [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 142]. Furs (of sables, ermines, martens, weasels, foxes, lynx, squirrels, hares, beavers, otters, groundhogs, polar bears) which was mostly imported from northern areas was one of the most important export articles of the Golden Horde [Ibid., p. 51, 57–58, 66, 217; Travels, 1957, p. 88; Emanov, 1995, p. 23–28, 34, 64, 80, 84, 97, 147, 149; Karpov, 1990, p. 152–154;

1991, p. 191; 2000, p. 183; Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 297–298; II Libro Dei Conti, 1956, p. 386; Pegolotti, 1936, p. 24, 150; The Journey of William of Rubruck, 1900, p. 44].

According to the tradition established by the Yasa, battue hunting [see: (Travels, 1957, p. 99; The Journey of William of Rubruck, 1900, p. 71)] was a peculiar school of military training and somewhat of military maneuvers. Hunting was one of the traditional entertainments of the Jochid aristocracy. The yarliqs of Mengu-Timur of 1267, Berdibek of 1357, Tyulyak of 1379 and Temür Qutlugh of 1398 mention falconers and leopard-keepers [Grigoriev, 1990, p. 64, 74, 82–84, 102; Radlov, 1889, p. 21, 25; Yarliqs, 1955, p. 465, 467, 469]. Hunting for falcons, merlins and golden eagles (?) is mentioned by William of Rubruck [Travels, 1957, p. 98, note 59]. Russian chronicles of 1283 tell that Golden Horde falconers bred swans [Priselkov, 1950, p. 340–341; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 7, p. 177; 25, p. 154–155; 28, p. 62, 222]. Tokhta's ambassadors in 702 AH [1302/1303] presented Ilkhan Gazan hunting falcons, skins of 'Kirghiz squirrels, Karluk weasels [fennecs], Slavic ermines and Bulgar sables' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 325–326, 438]. Falcons are mentioned among gifts presented by Öz Beg Khan's embassy [717 AH or 1317/1318] to the Egyptian sultan [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 325–326, 438] Öz Beg sent merlins to China's great khan of the Yuan dynasty [Cathay, 1866, p. 238]. Janibek's ambassadors who arrived in Egypt in Sha'ban 758 AH [20 July–18 August 1357] presented gifts which included furs of sables and wild birds [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 441]. On 30 January 1385 Tokhtamysh's embassy to the Egyptian sultan presented him 7 falcons [Ibid.]. Hunting with falcons and merlins, as well as hunting deer, geese and goldfinches are described by Giosafat Barbaro [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 147–148].

The development of the fishing trade on large and small rivers is indicated by finds of fishing hooks, boat braces, plummets, as well as bone remains and fish scales, discovered at Golden

Horde sites. Judging by the types of plummets and hooks, they were familiar with the use of dragnets (both small and large) and stationary nets (both seine nets and multi-wall nets), trawl lines and fishing rods (including live-bait fishing). Dragnet fishing was much more popular than the use of stationary nets [Nedashkovsky, 2001]. In Golden Horde settlements one can find the bones of sturgeons, hausens, starred sturgeons, sterlets, pikes, pike-perches, catfish and carps. At some sites, the amount of bones is very significant, and the consumption of fish had a material impact on nutrition of the local populace. Sun-dried and salted fish (including sturgeons and sturgeon balyks) as well as caviar were exported from the Golden Horde by Italian merchants [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 50–52, 57–58; Emanov, 1995, p. 79, 100–102, 104, 122–124, 146, 149; Karpov, 2000, p. 183; Ustav, 1863, p. 803; Shrayner, 1981, p. 218; *Il libro dei conti*, 1956, p. 416, 676, 701; Pegolotti, 1936, p. 24, 102, 380]. William of Rubruck speaks of the purchase of dried sturgeons, breams 'and other fish in innumerable quantities' by Constantinople merchants [that is, obviously Italian ones, since at the time the city was the capital of the Latin Empire] [Travels, 1957, p. 88] near the embouchure of the Don, the inhabitants of whose banks are described by the traveler as having great amounts of dried fish [Ibid., p. 109; The journey of William of Rubruck, 1900, p. 97]. Johann Schiltberger characterizes Azak as a town 'on the bank of the Don that abounds with fish, taken away on large ships and galleys to Venice, Genoa and the Archipelago islands' [Schiltberger, 1984, p. 44–45]. Giosafat Barbaro, when speaking of the Volga and the Caspian Sea, states that 'in the river and in the sea there are fish beyond count' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 157].

Contarini's narration speaks of the fishing trade [involving sturgeons and starred stur-

geons] and seals in the area of the Caspian Sea [Ibid., p. 216, 218].

Salt production was tightly connected to the procurement of fish. The existence of such trade in the Golden Horde and salt exports to Rus' are confirmed by the reports of Barbaro, Contarini [Ibid., p. 157, 219] and William of Rubruck while the latter also speaks of significant proceeds to the Khan's treasury from control over salt making [Travels, 1957, p. 90–91, 107; The journey of William Rubruck, 1900, p. 52, 92]. On the 1459 map of the cosmographer Fra Mauro, a mountain near the Ural River is accompanied by an inscription 'the salt mountain' [*Il mappamondo di Fra Mauro*, 1956, p. 56, XXXIII].

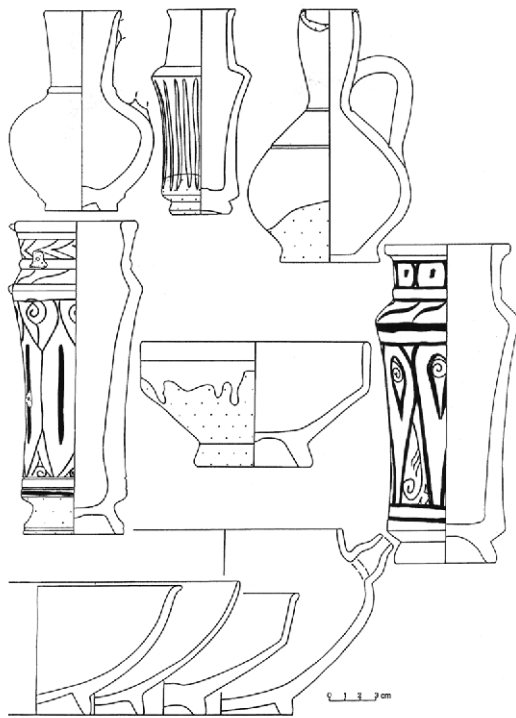
The beekeeping trade was also of certain importance. Honey and wax were exported by the Jochid Ulus, and honey, herbs, roots were collected and used as food by the general populace [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 51–52, 57, 66, 142, 153, 220; Travels, 1957, p. 95; Emanov, 1995, p. 32–33, 79, 84, 95–97, 104, 111, 128–129, 147, 149; Karpov, 1990, p. 131; 1991, p. 195, 210; Collection of Works Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 234; Pegolotti, 1936, p. 24, 43, 150; The journey of William of Rubruck, 1900, p. 62]. The 'Codex Cumanicus' contains the names for a nut ['cox'], hazelnut ['catlauc'], almond ['badam'], pistachio ['pistac'], chestnut ['castana'], rue ['sadaf'], mint ['gischic'] and sage ['salg'] in the Polovtsy's region [Codex Cumanicus, 1981, p. 125–126; Drimba, 2000, p. 106]. They could also be collected. Herbs were also collected for medicinal purposes, for example, the flower heads of wormwood were exported from the Black Sea and Azov Sea Regions to Western Europe and the Middle East [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 147, note 69; Emanov, 1995, p. 84, 119; Pegolotti, 1936, p. 69, 138, 429–430].

§ 3. Urban crafts

Svetlana Valiulina, Leonard Nedashkovsky

Certain historians have expressed their opinion concerning the insignificant degree of development of Golden Horde crafts [Saraf-

galiev, 1960, p. 76–78]. However, even as early as in the 15th century, we have the following report of Giosafat Barbaro on the Golden Horde



Tableware. Ukek. 13–14th centuries
(according to L. Nedashkovsky)

army: 'Their army has craftsmen—weavers, blacksmiths, armorers and others, and in general all the necessary trades are represented' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 147].

The uniqueness of products of Golden Horde crafts is such that it allows for the differentiation of them from products of manufacturing centers of other medieval states.

Craftsmen in cities of Ulus of Jochi lived in dedicated quarters and estate-based crafts were also well-developed.

Among all the types of crafts developed in the Golden Horde, pottery is worth special mention. Unglazed, red-clay crockery is the definitive material for monuments of the Golden Horde circle. 'The unglazed ceramics are characterized by greater standardization, the definition of shapes and simplicity of ornaments, mainly amounting to linear and wavy ornaments' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1981, p. 235]. For household purposes, ceramic goods of a wide range of shapes and dimensions were used, including cauldrons, pots, jugs, bowls, cups, plates, basins, flasks, 'holes' ['tagora'], amphorae, large and small storage vessels,

spheric cones, money boxes, tuvaks [sunaks], lids, lamps, candlesticks, devices for installing and relocating lamps, digirs, whistles, rattles and other toys, roof tiles, water pipes [kuburs], vessels in the shape of a blunted cone, fishing plummets, spindle whorls, balls, vessels with a net, stoppers, disks with holes, potter's wheels and 'non-spillable' jugs [see (Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 7–199)]. As a rule, they did not contain any artistic decorations or complex ornaments, but were characterized by high technical properties. Also, pressed to shape gray-clay pottery was used. The typical properties of this pottery, manufactured in various Golden Horde regions—Azak, Volga Region, Majar, Khwarezm, Eastern Crimea [Kaffa, Sudak, Solkhat] and South-Western Crimea, were discovered by I. Volkov [Volkov, 1992, p. 4–12, 20–21].

Pottery kilns for unglazed pottery-ware have been discovered at the Vodyanskoye, Selitrennoe, Tsarevskoe [Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 6–7], Bolgarskoye, Narovchatskoye and Uvekskoye archaeological sites, as well as in other settlements of the Volga Region (Bolshoy Shikhan, Zubovka, Krasniy Yar, Lapas, Russkiy Urmat, Sukhorechenskoye, Tatarskaya Bashmakovka, Sharenii Bugor, etc.) and provincial regions of Ulus of Jochi. At the Selitrennoe archaeological site, the complex of pottery kilns and supplementary structures 'comprised a large craft workshop like a "karkhan" that occupied the whole block' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1981, p. 232]. Numerous finds of objects relating to the manufacture of ceramics have also been made, such as furnace refractors (including clay supports) and burnishers.

A peculiar phenomenon of the culture of the Golden Horde was the production of glazed ceramics. This artistic craft has for a long time been of particular interest for researchers. Currently, the complete characteristics are presented and strict classification has been developed for Golden Horde glazed pottery, based on a technological principle, the composition of the paste and the nature of the glaze [Bulatov, 1968; 1976; Skorobogatova, 1983; Fedorov-Davydov, 1976; 1994; Fedorow-Dawydow, 1972; Fedorov-Davudov, 1984].

The problems of dating individual varieties of glazed ceramics, determining the volume and dynamics of the arrival of imported products, their influence on the Golden Horde ceramic manufacture are still relevant [Koval, 2003, p. 58].

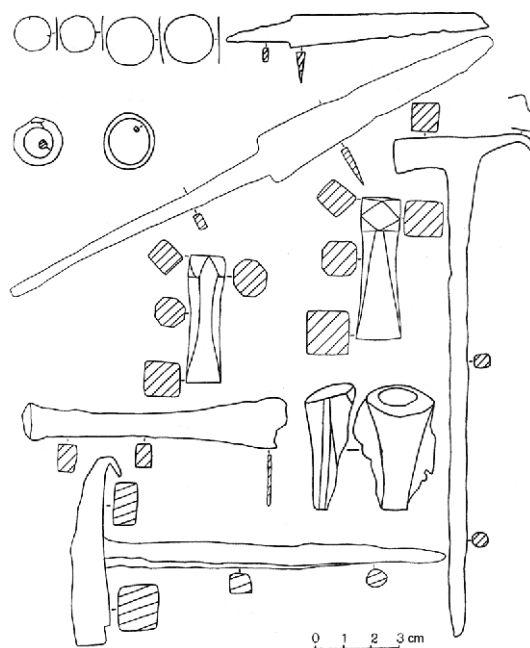
Golden Horde glazed ceramics are also studied as an artistic craft—an integral part of the art of the Golden Horde and a very informative historical source.

As G. Fedorov-Davydov remarked, it expressed 'those artistic phenomena that were related to the tumultuous epoch of the foundation and development of the Mongol states. It served well to demonstrate the syncretism and mixed nature of Golden Horde urban culture. Glazed ceramics were the most wide-spread artistic product, reflecting social psychology and tastes and having a significant impact on them, filling markets and homes. Those were the products of a well-developed craft, equipped with every technical achievement of Middle Eastern pottery' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 78].

Under the influence of leading medieval artistic pottery schools—Middle Eastern, Middle Asian, Transcaucasian, Byzantine and Far Eastern—a distinctive style and unique nature of glazed ceramics formed in the Golden Horde.

According to the composition of the base, Golden Horde ceramics can be divided into Kashan ceramics (earthenware) and red-clay ceramics. Golden Horde potters demonstrated great skill when using various technical and artistic devices for decorating their products. Kashan ceramics were decorated with an underglaze polychromatic painting with a relief, an underglaze polychromatic painting without a relief, an underglaze black painting and turquoise glaze, an underglaze cobalt painting, an underglaze black-turquoise-blue painting and delicate decorations, turquoise and ultramarine glaze and relief and overglaze painting. Red-clay glazed ceramics were decorated using two methods: underglaze painting using engobe and engraving, and reserve (sgraffito).

Multiple colorful ornamental compositions of Golden Horde glazed ceramics comprised a limited number of elements. It has also been noted that the shape and decorative features of most of the vessels correspond to each other.

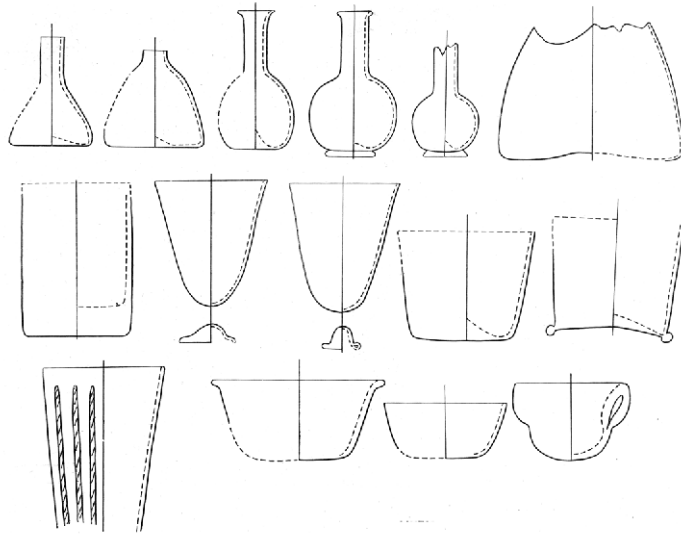


Labour instruments. Ukek. 13–14th centuries
(according to L. Nedashkovsky)

Where the shape is concerned, Golden Horde glazed crockery can be divided into the following sub-groups: bowls, plates, pots, pot-like vessels with a conical spout or with a spout and fluted additions—'gulyabdan', jugs, bottles, apothecary vessels (albarello), lamps, flagons, ink stands, etc.

Smithcraft and iron-making was also well-developed. The commencement of production of cast iron in Europe is related directly to Golden Horde craftsmen. Structures related to iron processing are known not only in towns (Bolgarskoye, Tsarevskoye and Vodyanskoye archaeological sites) but also in many rural settlements of the Golden Horde period. A wide range of technologies was known to the Golden Horde—goods were manufactured not only from bloomery iron, but also from raw and whole steel, pack metal; hammer welding techniques were also used along with techniques of welding a steel plate in the base of the blade, end, side and V-shaped welding a steel plate onto the blade, cementation, tempering and copper bonding.

The range of blacksmiths' products was extremely large: colters, ploughshares, openers, politsas, mattoks, ketmens, sickles, scythes,



Glass articles. Volga Region. 13–14th centuries
(according to N. Busyatskaya)

axes, adzes, chisels, knives, scissors, augers, cutting irons, driftpins, awls, needles, pincers, kochedyks, skillet handles, devices for cattle branding, fishing hooks, snaffle bits, stirrups, rings for the tackle, saddle ornaments, ice-walking pins, fire strikers, chain armor, plate armor, helmets, arrowheads, spearheads and dart tips, sabers, maces, morning stars, daggers, quiver hooks, buckles, syulgams, onlays, hash marks, badges, cartridges, belt tips, bucket bails, candlesticks, rushlight holders, boxes, chains, wire, wedges, nails, brackets, cramp irons, latches, handles, door onlays, locks and keys. Cast iron was used to cast cauldrons, chalices and hubs for cart axles [Ryazanov, 1997].

Non-ferrous metallurgy was also highly developed—numerous casting moulds, melting pots, ladles for metal, jeweler's anvils and hammers, chisels, locksmithing scissors, matrices, production waste, substandard products have been discovered. Waste from the bronze-making industry have been found not only in towns [Tsarevskoe and Vodyanskoye archaeological sites] but also in rural settlements of the Golden Horde. The Tsarevskoe archaeological site offered the opportunity to study not only a bronze-casting shop but also a jeweler's store. Jeweler's facilities have also been examined in Old Orhei and Cheboksary. A goldsmith Shahidulla is mentioned in the text on a 1317 tombstone found in Archaeological Site.

Products of non-ferrous metal processing are represented by a large number of various types of goods, including buckles, hairpieces, onlays, belt rings, belt tips and distributors, badges, cartridges, pendants, medallions, jingles, bells (a large bronze bell was also found at the Tsarevskoe archaeological site), buttons, clasps, hat tops, beads, chains, temple rings, earrings, kolts, ear picks, pincers, rings for bracing a bow, bracelets, hair pins, syulgams, mirrors, ilt-akhans, mace tips, cauldrons, basins, dippers, chalices, ewers, lids, phials, mortars, pes-

tles, spoons, lanterns, lamps, pen cases, ink stands, kalams [writing sticks], fasteners for horse hobbles, wheels for pulleys, spindle whorls, thimbles, needles, cups for scales, weights, sealing weights, saber guards, sleeves and facings of knives, fire steel handles, facings for whetstones, door handles, bindings, wire, decorative nails, locks and keys.

The Golden Horde jewelers used silver and gold to produce chalices, goblets, dipper (including those attached to belts), plates, trays, ball-shaped vessels, spoons, parts of belt sets, tops of hats, charms, phylacteries, paizas, buttons, beads, earrings, rings, bracelets, hair pins, hair clasps, chains, combs and cases for them, wafers, nails, foil, wire, medallions, pendants and badges. The famous Monomakh's Cap—the Moscow Grand Prince's and later tsar's ceremonial headwear—is the product of toreutics experts of the European portion of Ulus Jochi of the late 13–early 14th centuries (the cross and fur trim were added to the cap at a later date) [Kramarovskiy, 2001]. The techniques of granulation and filigree were widely used in jeweler's art.

Glass-making was another artistic craft exclusive to the urban environment. Glass ornaments, tableware and window glass were known in all Golden Horde towns [Busyatskaya, p. 38–72; Poluboyarinova, 1988; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 170–174]. The main

argument in favor of the proprietary glass-making production is the availability of workshops. At present, workshops for the production of glass ornaments—beads, bracelets, rings—have been discovered at the Selitrennoe archaeological site [Galkin, 1984] and in Bulgar [Poluboyarinova, 2006]. Possibly, glass goods were also manufactured in Solkhat [Kramarovsky, 1998, p. 123].

Ornaments, predominantly beads, are the most common finds among glass goods [Busyatskaya, 1976, p. 39; Poluboyarinova, 1988, p. 213; Valliulina, Nedashkovsky, 2005, p. 256–260].

Beads found at Golden Horde sites were produced by winding a glass cord around a rod, as the beads were mostly spherical, zoned, ring-shaped, biconical, bitrapezoidal and cylindrical, and they could be monochromatic or polychromatic [mosaic, dotted, with a spiral-wavy decor]. Pendants had particularly original and decorative shapes, dimensions and ornaments.

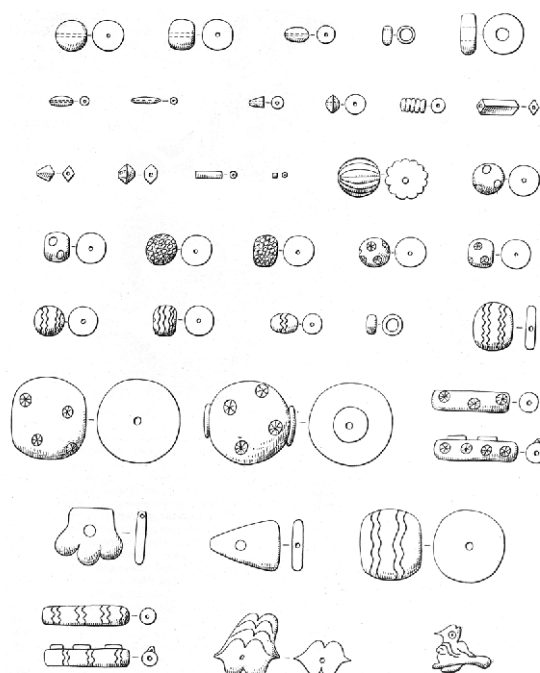
Rings, bracelets and ring inserts have been discovered in smaller numbers. Out of all the Golden Horde towns, the most glass rings have been found in Bulgar [Poluboyarinova, 1988, p. 193; 2006].

Glass tableware is most frequently discovered in materials from the Selitrennoe, Tsarevskoe and Bolgar Archaeological Site, Azak, as well as Crimean sites, and has a general Eastern appearance and is not really varied. The main classes of such goods are glasses, phials with spherical and conical bodies, ewers, basin-like vessels of various sizes, tuvaks and lamps.

The discovery of window disks are mostly attributed to the ruins of monumental facilities only in large centers of the Golden Horde.

Most of the tableware and window glass products were made from colorless glass with bluish, greenish or yellowish tint, while goods made from light and dark blue and yellow glass are more rare [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 172].

When producing tableware and window disks, the main method used was free blowing, and sometimes, blowing in a mould was used, and some vessels were decorated with attached strings, strips and drops of glass.



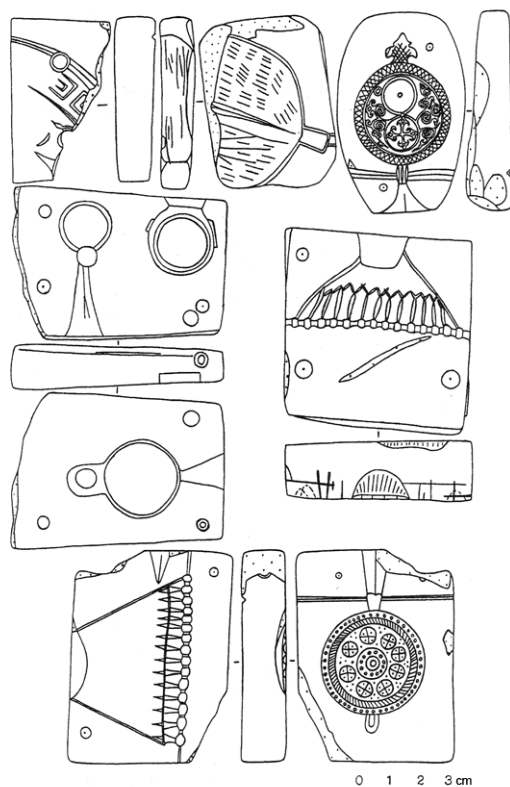
Glass beads. Volga Region. 13–14th centuries
(according to N. Busyatskaya)

The chemical composition of the Golden Horde glass has not been sufficiently studied. It is obvious that different regional manufacturing centers formed a part of the same artisanal tradition and used their own chemical composition in accordance with the character of the raw materials in each geo- and biochemical province.

The greatest number of Golden Horde glass products is attributed to the chemical lass of sodium, alkaline glass—in the analytical sample from Ukek and its surrounding area its share reaches 77% [Valiullina, Nedashkovsky, 2005, p. 263]. According to the raw materials used, this class can be divided into two types: sodium-calcium-magnesium-aluminum-alumina glass and sodium-potassium-calcium-magnesium-aluminum-lead-alumina glass [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 170].

The principal colorants were iron, copper and lead compounds. Nontransparent glass was dampened using stannic oxide. Black beads, pendant beads, rings were colored by iron sulfide [Naumov, 1973, p. 225].

N. Busyatskaya remarked upon the closeness of the chemical compositions of Golden Horde glass and Middle Asian glass. She believed that this had been caused by the use of



Casting moulds for jewelry casting. Ukek.
13–14th centuries (according to L. Nedashkovsky)

common recipes of the working mass, similar sources of raw materials, and the participation of Middle Asian craftsmen in the work of glass-making workshops of the Golden Horde as well as master glass-makers from the Near East [Busyatskaya, 1976, p. 65].

Products of stone-cutting are widely represented in materials of Golden Horde sources. However, there are few survey works on this type of manufacturing [Poluboyarinova, 1991; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 179–180].

Currently, traces of workshops for processing semi-precious and ornamental stones and the production of ornaments from them are being found in large centers of the Golden Horde (Bolgarskoye, Selitrennoe and Tsarevskoe archaeological sites) [Poluboyarinova, 1991, p. 111; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 179–180]. The ornaments—beads, pendants, insets, rings, as well as parts of belt sets, seals, chess sets—were made from rock crystal, carnelian, opal, coral, turquoise, alexandrite, jade, mother of pearl, nephrite, amethyst, amber.

The manufacturing complexes of stone cutters of other specialties are as of yet unknown. The initial stage of the production cycle, the production of construction units, tombstones, millstones and other stone products, is represented by the remnants of ancient mines on the right bank of the Volga, opposite Bulgar. There, in the opinion of R. Shrifullin, the stone and gypsum necessary for the construction of Bulgar structures were stockpiled. 'Large slabs of pink and red sandstone for building stoves and under-floor chimneys were also broken out there' [Sharifullin, 1999, p. 49].

The range of stone products from Golden Horde sites, apart from jewelry, the details of belt fixtures and seals, comprises millstones, whetstones, spindle whorls [mostly shale ones and sometimes slate ones], slate crosses and icons, known in Bulgar and the Lower Volga capitals [Poluboyarinova, 1978, p. 60], construction stone and architectural elements [Aydarov, 2001, p. 8–11].

Millstones and whetstones are probably the most frequent finds. Whetstones are sometimes large and were used for sharpening knives, sickles, scythes. Miniature grinding stones with a groove and a hole drilled for suspending them on a cord served as sharpening needles and for setting razors, small knives and jeweler's tools.

Casting moulds of Golden Horde Bulgar as well as those of other centers were mostly made of limestone, slate and fragments of pot stone vessels manufactured in Northern Khorasan and Khwarezm [Polyakova, 1996, p. 161; Poluboyarinova, 2004, p. 316–323].

Touchstones used by jewelers and alchemists to determine the purity of gold since high antiquity, in pre-Mongol monuments of Eastern Europe mostly originated from the Western shore of the Caspian Sea [Valiulina, 1998, p. 90]. Obviously, the same source supplied touchstones to craft centers of the Golden Horde [Fedorov-Davydov, 1984, p. 95, fig. 8, 9; Valiulina, 2004, p. 161, fig. 6, 21].

One of the most obvious indications of the high level of stone cutting is the architectural decor of primarily religious structures, and the tombstones known in Crimea and the Middle Volga Region, as well as headstones of a strictly regulated, canonical shape: a stela in the shape

of a flat parallelepiped with a Quranic formula or a carved rosette in the tympan. Sometimes monuments with a semi-circular top are can be found [Mukhametchin, 2001, p. 100].

The raw materials, assortment, nature and volume of the finished goods of stone cutters make it possible to judge the development of this industry in the Golden Horde and they also reflect its international connections.

Certain categories of stone products, such as vessels [Poluboyarinova, 2004, p. 316–323], slate spindle whorls, crosses and icons [Poluboyarinova, 1978, p. 69], chess sets, and touchstones were imported. Jewelry—beads, pendants, rings, inserts, as well as seals, belt plates—were both imported and produced locally from imported raw materials. Undoubtedly, whetstones, most casting moulds [Poluboyarinova, 1993, p. 28, fig. 7.1; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 179], millstones, construction stones, architectural decor and tombstones were produced locally.

The bone-carving craft had reached a high level of development, using a number of technologies, including the processing of products on a mechanical lathe and their polishing. Bone-cutting shops were discovered at the Tsarevskoe, Selitrennoe and Bolgar Archaeological Site.

Bone was used to manufacture belt buckles, onlays, tabs, badges, cartridges [Valiullina,

2000, p. 280, fig. 7.1], buttons, beads, rings, charms, writing sticks, chess sets, checkers sets, game pieces for playing dibs, dice pieces, piercing pieces, bast shoe weaving tools, combs, ear picks, spoons, scales, needle cases, whip handles, bodkin handles, handles, sleeves and butt plates for knives, onlays for saddles, fastenings for horse hobbles, rings for bracing a bow, whistling onlays on the stems of iron arrowheads, bone arrowheads for hunting, bow elements and ornamented, decorative facings of quivers (that were frequently painted in different colors).

Leather was used to produce bags, purses, pouches, casings, charms, bow coverings, quivers, belts, wide trousers, boots, headgear, cases for mirrors and needle cases. Saddles were also covered with leather.

Fabric was used to sew clothing and headgear, to produce belts, purses, cases for mirrors. Felt was also used.

Wood-processing crafts are also worth mentioning. Due to the bad state of preservation of wood at Golden Horde sites, archaeologists have discovered only some types of the products of wood carvers who used turning lathes in their work, such as saddles, quivers, bows, arrow shafts, sheaths, whip, knife and bodkin handles, bases for bork hats, needle cases, charms, boxes, cups, bowls and plates, kobyz (a sting musical instrument), combs and spoons.

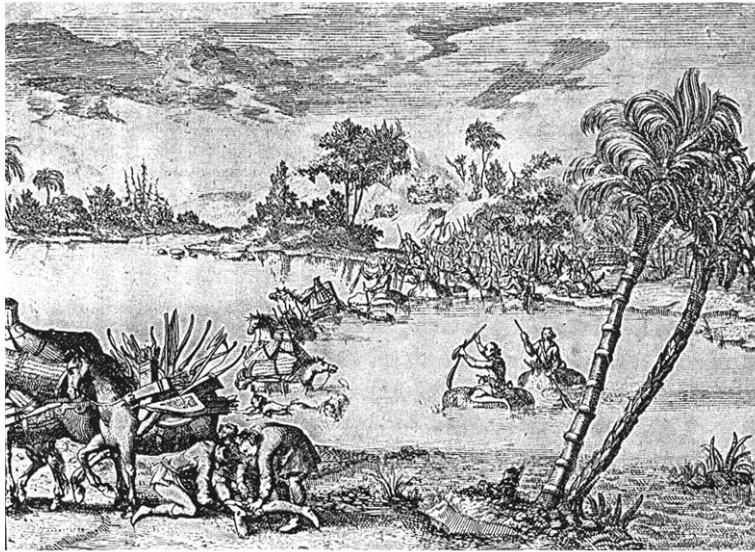
§ 4. International and domestic trade

Leonard Nedashkovsky

In the 13th century, as a result of the conquests of Chinggis Khan and his successors, the principal portion of Eurasia was included into the Mongol Empire. The Northwestern part of this enormous territory was governed by the descendants of Jochi. The state of the Jochids stretched from the Danube in the West to the Ob basin in the East, and from Khwarezm and the North Caucasus in the South to the Cis-Kama Region in the North. In the latter half of the 13–14th centuries, the main trading routes connecting Western European countries with Eastern Asia [sometimes also called The Great

Silk Road] shifted north and passed through the territory of the Golden Horde. This was due to the Europeans' loss of the old trading routes passing through the Near East after the utter defeat of the Crusaders in Palestine in the 12–13th centuries, as well as in relation to the continuous wars of the Iranian House of Hulaqu with the Egyptian Mamluks.

Ulus of Jochi was one of the largest Medieval states existing in the latter half of the 13th to the second quarter of the 15th centuries. This state was, in particular, characterized by a high level of development of coin circulation,



Ways Tatars cross rivers.

Engraving for the first edition of the book by W. Rubruk. 1735.

including small-scale retail trade. During the Golden Horde period, towns and crafts flourished thanks to the protection of the Khan's power. The same can be said about trade.

The nomenclature of bureaucrats of Ulus of Jochi included positions related to the management of trade: weighers, tutkauly (toll-gate masters collecting road travelling fees), mail masters (yamshchiks), stage masters, carriers (ladeyshchiks), bridge holders, and bazarde turkhany (bazaar attendants) [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 95–100].

The trading connections of the Middle and Lower Volga Regions, that is, regions comprising the economic and political center of Ulus of Jochi, the amalgamation of all trading routes of the state, were particularly important. The Lower Volga Region was the domain of the Golden Horde khans and their headquarters travelled there. Also, the very Volga trade route was a major artery both for the Golden Horde itself and for Ancient Rus' connections with the East.

Practically all the trading connections that had existed in Eastern Europe during the pre-Mongol period remained in place during its reign. However, there was a great difference between Volga trade in pre-Mongol times and that during the Golden Horde, namely, during the Golden Horde period, the Volga Region

found itself in the center of an enormous state, inside of which it was easier to trade than with the numerous minor states surrounded by nomadic hordes. This difference became the reason for an unprecedented boom in trade connections in the Volga Region during this time. Golden Horde khans and aristocrats promoted the trade that brought them large profits. There were also merchant associations that arranged large-scale caravan trade.

In the 1240s, the Golden Horde began to overcome the effects of Mongol

massacres and destroyed towns were being restored, and the conquerers relied on them when establishing their power. The Volga Region became the political and economic center of the Jochid state and remained such until its disintegration. At the same time, the recovery of expansive trade connections, damaged by the Mongol invasion, began to occur. For example, the famous traveler and papal legate Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, who in 1246–1247 passed through the territory of Ulus of Jochi, mentioned Western European merchants who arrived to Kiev from Constantinople 'through the land of the Tatars' [Voyages, 1957, p. 82]. Those were merchants from Genoa, Venice, Acra, Pisa and possibly other cities.

According to Juwayni, Batu Khan himself took steps to restore trade connections: 'Merchants from [various] countries brought him numerous goods and all this, whatever it was, he took and gave a price exceeding its value by several times for each item' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 22].

On rivers, special settlements were created, whose residents were obligated to transport ambassadors and merchants from one bank to the other. William of Rubruck, who passed through the territory of the Golden Horde in 1253–1254, spoke of these settlements. Two

of these settlements, inhabited by Russians, were located in the upper and lower reaches of the Don [Journeys, 1957, p. 109–110], and one, settled by Russians and Muslims—on the Volga [Ibid., p. 118]. Residents of these settlements had 'a privilege granted by Batu, namely, they had no obligations to do anything but to transport those leaving or arriving' [Ibid., p. 109], that is, they were exempted from all taxes and duties. Moreover, they were granted the right to collect a large fee from merchants [Ibid.]. Possibly, Batu offered all these benefits to the residents of the settlements in order to restore trade connections as soon as possible, in particular, by arranging organized river crossings of large rivers.

The appearance of three settlements on the Don and the Volga indicates the creation of a new trade route across the steppes. They provided services to merchant caravans. This route went from the West to the town of Sarai—the new capital of Ulus of Jochi, which had been founded by the Jochids on the Lower Volga.

It was first mentioned by William of Rubruck who visited Sarai in the autumn of 1254 [Ibid., p. 185]. Starting from 1240–1250, the Golden Horde khans started actively to build towns in the Volga Region. In particular, Rubruck mentioned the construction of a new settlement with a church on the right bank of the Volga by Sartaq, the son of Batu [Ibid.].

Along with the newly-founded towns, Mongols actively used the old towns that had been most influential during the entire latter half of the 13th century. However, the new towns founded by the Jochids themselves on the lower Volga gradually started to play an increasingly important role.

Along with the restoration of old trade links from the 1240s to the first half of the 1260s, brand new areas of trade were in the making in the Volga Region.

As early as in the middle of the 13th century, the towns on the shores of the Black Sea in Crimea (Sudak, later Kaffa, etc.) became more significant in regard to the Volga Region's trade relationships with Sinop, Constantinople, Trebizond, and, via them, with Mediterranean ports. Among the goods shipped by sea from Sudak, Rubruck mentioned 'ermine, squirrels

and other precious furs' as well as 'cotton fabrics, flannel, silk materials and aromatic roots' [Ibid., p. 89]. The first group of these products was transported from the North, the second—from Middle Asia and, possibly, China. In any case, it is unlikely that all these goods, which were the main items of trade even during the pre-Mongol period, would be shipped to Sudak avoiding the Volga Region or without the active participation of the local merchants.

During the rule of Berke Khan (1257/58–1266), new trade and diplomatic relations were established between the Golden Horde and Mamluk Egypt [Zakirov, 1966]. This not only resulted in the creation of a military alliance (from 1262) of the Jochids and Egyptian sultans opposing the state of Hulagu, but also in the improvement of trade links between the two countries. It is worth noting that the Golden Horde traded with Egypt even while negotiations were being conducted between Baybars and Berke, as the Egyptian sultan sent one of his letters to Berke Khan from Cairo in the presence of Alanian merchants [Collection of Works Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 55].

In 1240–1260, the Volga Region's traditional trade links with Middle Asia and Transcaucasia began to be restored (though contacts with the latter area were made difficult during the period of conflicts between Berke and Ilkhan Hulagu). Along with the revival of old links, new ones also arose during this time, for example, through Crimea to the towns of Asia Minor and Constantinople, giving access to the Mediterranean Sea.

During the rule of Khan Mengü-Timur, towns became ever stronger, especially those in the Lower Volga area. This is indicated by numerous finds of coins minted by the khan both at major and at peripheral archaeological sites in the region.

The khan authorities' development of trade also promoted the development of trade links of the Volga Region. Even then, it was a central point where trade routes from all over the vast Ulus of Jochi met.

Sometime between 1266 and 1270, Novgorod merchants gained the right 'to visit Suzdal lands without restriction, as permit-



Pieces of cloth from the condottiere of Cangrande's (Verona) tomb, who died in 1329.

ted by the tsar's charter' [Charters of Veliky Novgorod and Pskov, 1949, p. 13], that is, in a yarliq by Mengü-Timur that has not survived, but a mention of which was recorded in the charter of the treaty of Novgorod with Grand Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich.

In 1266–1272, Mengü-Timur sent a special yarliq with a message to Yaroslav Yaroslavich, the Grand Prince of Vladimir. In that yarliq, the Jochid khan invoked Yaroslav to 'grant German guests access to his volost' [Ibid., p. 57], possibly to facilitate their onward journey to the central lands of Ulus of Jochi. Such a provision for the safety of 'German guests'—in this case, Riga merchants—from the Baltic States region through the lands of Novgorod and Vladimir-Suzdal to the Middle and Lower Volga Regions was intended to intensify trade between the Volga Region and The Baltic and Western Europe.

Immediately after the Golden Horde's war with Iran in 664 AH (1265/1266), trade relations between Ulus of Jochi and the Hulaguid

state were restored, and 'caravans from both sides started to travel back and forth again' [Collection of Works Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 76]. The Golden Horde's trade with Hulaguid Iran became more safe after the Caucasus campaign of Mengü-Timur in 1277/1278 when he finally subjugated the Alans as well as some other highland people.

During the rule of Mengü-Timur (1266–1280), the Genoese established themselves in Kaffa; in 1274—in Sudak; and in the late 13th to early 14th century, in Tana. In 1289, the Genoese established a consul in Kaffa [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 63].

The early 14th century saw an intensification of policies to expand trade in Ulus of Jochi. One significant event was Khan Tokhta's monetary reform in 710 AH (1310/1311) that ensured a further blossoming of Ulus of Jochi's economy. This was a truly grandiose reform that was supposed to unify the coinage system of the entire vast Golden Horde State. For this purpose, all coins of previous issues were prohibited, and a new, silver coin was put into circulation. It had a set weight that remained unchanged until the late 1360s, and was uniform across the entire Ulus of Jochi.

The heyday of the Golden Horde was directly related to the rule of Khans Öz Beg (1312–1342) and Janibek (1342–1357). Active urban construction was carried out during the period. Öz Beg continued the tradition of the khan's patronage of trade in Ulus of Jochi, foreign trade in particular. That, combined with the internal unity of the state, led to an unprecedented boom in the Golden Horde's trade and its economy in general during the rule of Khan Öz Beg.

The towns of the Lower Volga played an increasingly prominent role in the Volga Region's foreign trade links in the first half of the 14th century, even though the significance of the other Volga centres, mainly Bulgar, remained unchanged.

This period saw a rapid growth in the importance of towns, both politically and from a trade and craft perspective. The role of the Lower Volga towns became particularly important, even though the rise of urban life was

witnessed also in Volga Bulgaria, Khwarezm and the lower reaches of the Syr Darya.

Even in the early 14th century there were trade links between the Volga Region and India, confirmed by stories of goods (swords, flax and linen cloth) brought from Rus' to India in the works of authors from the first half of the 14th century—Amir Husrau and al-Umari [Zakhoder, 1955, p. 17; Limonov, 1961, p. 59]. Egyptian merchants reached as far as Bulgar on their travels (they traded with more distant North-Western lands via Bulgarian merchants) [Collection of Works Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 235, 240].

Apart from the trade with Egypt, Iran and India, in the early years of Öz Beg's rule trade with the West also developed—mostly though the cities of Kaffa and Azak located at the mouth of the Don. There were Italian colonies in these settlements: in 1322, the first Venetian consul appeared in Tana [Grigoryevs, 2002, p. 10].

The scale of trade by Italian merchants in the Golden Horde during the rule of Tokhta and Öz Beg was reported by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, who in his treatise 'The Practice of Commerce' (completed in 1340–1342, based on real journeys the author had made for business purposes, starting in 1310) described the trade route from Azak (Tana) to China. This route was described by Pegolotti in minute detail and very thoroughly: he travelled from Tana to Hajji Tarkhan on wagons drawn by oxen or on carts drawn by horses or camels, from there he went upstream by ship on the Volga to Sarai, then by land or water to Saray-Jük, then by land to Urgench, Otrar, and then to Almalyk and China [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 158–159; Pegolotti, 1936].

Ulus of Jochi became an intermediary in the trade between Western Europe and China, but the trade itself had become much greater in scale, as can be seen from the very fact that guidelines were compiled for merchants travelling from Tana to China through the Lower Volga towns, which at the time were major trading and craft hubs as well as being cultural and religious centres of the Golden Horde.

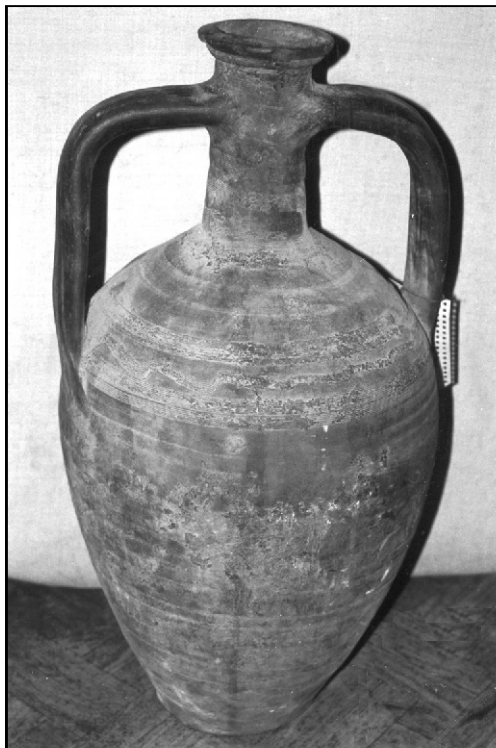
The rise of foreign trade in the Golden Horde, and the Volga Region's integral role in

the early 1330s, was vividly depicted by Ibn Battuta (1304–1377). According to him, Kiram (that is, Crimea and Solkhat), 'a large and beautiful town' [Collection of Works Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 280], Sudak, whose harbour was 'one of the largest and best harbours' [Ibid., p. 303], and especially Kaffa, having 'a wonderful harbour' with numerous ships [Ibid., p. 280] played leading roles in Ulus of Jochi's foreign trade. In Ibn Battuta's view, the principal portion of the population of Kaffa comprised the Genoese who had their own 'emir', that is, consul [Ibid.].

Ibn Battuta describes Majar, 'a large city, (one) of the best Turkic cities', as one of the major foreign trade centres [Ibid., p. 287]. In this city's market, Ibn Battuta met a Jewish man who had arrived from 'the Andalucian (Andalussian) Lands' [Ibid., p. 288], that is, from Spain, who had reached Majar by way of Constantinople and Transcaucasia in just four months. This may be an indication of the existence of close trade relations between the Volga Region and lands as distant as Spain. Lower Volga archaeological sites sometimes produce fragments of 14th century Spanish lustrous pottery [Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 207].

There was another route from Azak to the Volga Region towns that was frequently used by traders—the river route. It involved travelling upstream on the Don and dragging vessels over to the Volga in the vicinity of modern-day Volgograd. It is probable that the town of Beljamen was located on this skid road during the Golden Horde period. On the Pizzigani brothers' map, the description 'bazaar' was added to the name of Beljamen, unlike other towns.

Ibn Battuta also left interesting materials regarding trade with 'the country of darkness', that is, the people of the north. The Arab traveler could not help being interested in this trade since it provided the Golden Horde merchants with most of their furs, one of their primary exports. Bulgar was the centre of Ulus of Jochi's trade with 'the country of darkness'. From there, the merchants used dog-drawn carts to travel to the north. According to Ibn Battuta, once the merchants arrived there, a primitive, 'speechless' exchange would take place, where they received 'sable, squirrel and ermine' furs in



Two-handed jug. Ukek. 13–14th centuries.
State Historical Museum

return for their goods (probably hunting equipment and ornaments) [Collection of Works Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 297].

In his travels in the Golden Horde, Ibn Battuta also visited the town of Hajji Tarkhan in the lower reaches of the Volga. According to the traveler, 'this is one of the best towns, with large bazaars' [Ibid., p. 301]. Ibn Battuta also provides fascinating information about how, when the Volga froze in winter, the locals, on the orders of the khan, put several thousand cartloads of straw on the ice. In such a way, the Volga and its tributaries were turned into fairly direct and convenient caravan roads, which were 'used to travel on carts on distances of up to three days' journey' [Ibid.]. The importance of this winter road is also indicated by its use in early spring when some caravans sank and perished [Ibid.]. It is possible that the organised movements of caravans on the ice of the Volga, as described by Ibn Battuta, were even more typical in the Middle and Lower Volga upstream of Hajji Tarkhan, where the ice was stronger due to the harsher climactic conditions.

On his way from the Lower Volga Region to Constantinople, Ibn Battuta visited the Volga town of Ukek. This was a town 'of medium size but beautifully built, with many fine attributes and strong frosts' [Ibid., p. 302–303].

Ibn Battuta tells us that silver ingots—sau-mas (that is, sommas), 'used to sell and buy (goods) in this land'—were brought from Rus' to Ukek [Ibid., p. 303].

Ibn Battuta was immensely impressed by the city of Sarai—the capital of the Golden Horde. With regard to foreigners in Sarai, the traveler writes that Byzantines and natives of the Near East lived in the city. In particular, he mentions: 'Each people lives separately in their district; their bazaars are also there. The merchants and foreigners from both Iraqs, from Egypt and Syria and other places live in (a special) area, where a wall guards the merchants' property' [Ibid., p. 306]. Ibn Battuta is in fact referring to genuine trade colonies in Sarai, whose operation during Öz Beg's reign indicates that the Lower Volga Region's foreign trade links were highly developed at this time.

After a 10-day horseback ride from Sarai, Ibn Battuta and his companions arrived at Saray-Jük. Nearby, they crossed over to the left bank of the Ural River on a bridge made of boats. From there, in carts drawn by camels, they followed the ancient caravan route to Khwarezm (Urgench), where all the principal trade routes from the Golden Horde to India and China met. 'This is one of the largest, most influential and most beautiful Turkic cities, rich in glorious bazaars, spacious streets, numerous edifices, select amenities' [Ibid., p. 308]—this is how the Arab traveler characterized Khwarezm.

According to Ibn Battuta's information, the export of horses from the Kipchak steppe to the Indian lands was of huge importance. Ibn Battuta wrote the following about the steppes of Ulus of Jochi: 'There are great numbers of horses there, and they cost very little' [Ibid., p. 286]. According to him, the horses were moved from the Golden Horde to India in enormous caravans—in herds numbering around 6 [Ibid.].

The monetary reform of 725 AH (1325/1326) in India and the start of its exporting of gold,

on the one hand, as well as the significant reduction in customs duties by the Delhi sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325–1351), on the other, caused a boom in the development of trade links between India and Ulus of Jochi, in particular with its central Volga lands.

Ibn Battuta also confirms the increase of trade volumes, in particular horseflesh, of Ulus of Jochi with India after the reforms of Muhammad bin Tughluq. This trade, according to Ibn Battuta, brought large profits to merchants [Ibid., p. 287].

Fur animal skins (sable, ermine), mostly purchased by Bulgarian merchants from the people of the north or brought from Rus', were also transported to India from the Golden Horde. The fur trade, as well as the horse trade, was a profitable business. According to Ibn Battuta, an ermine coat cost 1000 dinars in India [Ibid., p. 298]. This was a considerable amount even when compared to the high prices paid for Golden Horde horses—even the best of those cost about 500 dinars in India [Ibid., p. 287], half as much.

Ibn Battuta does not say what goods were brought from India to the Golden Horde. However, it is arguable that the Golden Horde merchants received, in particular, gold in the form of coins in exchange for horses and furs, and that the gold was later sold in Ulus of Jochi towns, primarily in the Volga Region.

It was profitable to bring gold from India to Ulus of Jochi because it was valued above silver in the European part of the Golden Horde State [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 65–66].

A large number of gold Indian coin discoveries have been made in the Volga basin—both isolated finds and as part of treasure troves [Ibid., p. 62]. Most of the Indian coins found on Golden Horde land have been discovered in the Volga Region. A silver coin minted by the Delhi sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq dating back to 722 AH was found at the Tsarevskoe archaeological site [Lebedev, Klovov, 2005, p. 58, 60, fig. 1.9]; the other Indian coins from the Volga Region are made of gold. Near Astrakhan three coins minted by Delhi sultans who reigned before Muhammad bin Tughluq were also found at the Suvar archaeological site [Bykov, 1969, p. 79; Fasmer, 1927, p. 45, 50–52]. As early as



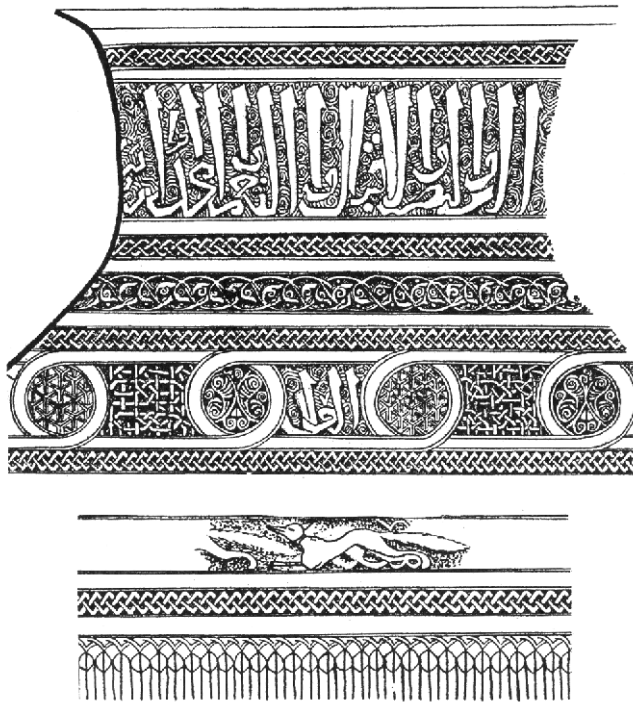
Pieces of glazed ceramics with underglaze ornamentation in the sgraffito technique. Ukek. 13–14th centuries. NM RT

in 1849, during excavations at the Tsarevskoe archaeological site, A. Tereshchenko discovered a treasure trove consisting of eight gold dinars from the Tughluq dynasty [Grigoryev, 1850, p. 336–351; Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 62]. The most recent coin in the trove was minted by Firuz Shah (1351–1388).

In 1884, near the Bolgar Archaeological Site in the vicinity of Tenishevo Village, seven Indian gold coins were found on the bank of the Volga [Fasmer, 1927, p. 50], also seemingly comprising a single trove. The most recent coin is dated 742 AH (1341/1342) which means it was hidden during the rule of Janibek. In 1893, in the same place, four more gold Indian coins minted by Muhammad bin Tughluq were discovered [Ibid., p. 51]. Similar coins were also found in 1924 near the village of Danaurovka on the territory of a Golden Horde town called Juketau [Ibid.].

Via the Volga Region, Delhi gold coins also reached the former Perm Guberniya, the North Caucasus, Crimea and the Prut River basin [Bykov, 1969, p. 78, 80; Nudelman, 1975, p. 99; Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 62].

Apart from coins, India was the source of unprocessed ivory found among the materials at the Selitrennoe archaeological site as well as



Iranian bronze pitcher. Bulgar. 14th century
Bolgarskoye Historical and Architectural Reserve
(according to V. Baranov)

cowry shells and corals from the shores of the Indian Ocean. A filigree bone plate depicting an elephant and a monkey was discovered at the Tsarevskoe archaeological site is possibly of Indian origin [Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 215].

Talcochlorite vessels (mostly cauldrons) and sulfur clay ceramics were bought from Khwarezm to the Volga Region, reaching as far west as Dniester and Azak. Tableware from the Volga Region can in turn be found in Khwarezm and Ustyurt [Volkov, 1992, p. 13–14, Table 2. 17; Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 210–213, 221, Tables 105–106]. Khwarezmian coins were in circulation in the Volga towns of the Golden Horde.

Silk and porcelain (encountered, in particular, in material found at the Bolgarskoye and Tsarevskoe archaeological sites) were brought from China, as were bronze mirrors and nephrite goods. The Selitrennoe archaeological site fragments of Chinese porcelain and even 14-century Korean celadon have been found [Poluboyarinova, 1991, p. 108–109; 2003, No. 2, p. 155–164; Fedorov-Davydov, Bulatov, 1989, p. 204].

The existence of well-developed trade links between Golden Horde towns and Western Europe, and the familiarity of its population with the geography of the Volga Region, are demonstrated by the European maps of Angelino Dulcert (1339), Francesco and Domenico Pizzigano (1367), the Catalan Atlas (1375), Mecia de Viladestes (1413), and Fra Mauro (1459), which show numerous 14th century Volga Region towns.

Fish of the sturgeon species [Emanov, 1995, p. 122; Pegolotti, 1936, p. 380], caviar, furs and salt were brought from the Volga Region to the Black Sea Region, then to the Mediterranean and Italy. Volga Kashi pottery, red-clay glazed, unglazed and stamped ceramics arrived at Azak, Crimea and the Northern Black Sea Region [Volkov, 1992, p. 13–14, Tables 2, 18–19; Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 210]. Venetian and Genoese merchants from the latter half of 13th

century to the 14th century traded in the Lower Volga Region and then further East, reaching India and China [Emanov, 1995, p. 95–96; Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 205–206, 213]. They brought expensive Eastern silk fabrics to Italy.

Among the finds from the Lower and Middle Volga Regions are fragments of Trapezond, Trillian, Crimean, Azak amphorae and amphora-shaped jugs, which shows that the Golden Horde imported wine and oil. Fragments of what are presumed to be Cretan pithoi, glazed crockery from the Black Sea Region, have also been found [Bulatov, 1969, p. 54, 57–59, Fig. 2.1, 3,2.5; Volkov, 2001a, p. 20, 22; Koval, 2003, p. 62, 66, fig. 2,4; Nedashkovsky, 2000, p. 98–99, 102–106, 120–121, Fig. 27,6, 28,2–6,9; Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 208; Nedashkovsky, 2004, p. 56, 59–60, 69–73, 233–234, 238–239, 244, 249–250, fig. 68–69, 74, 75,6, 81,2–6,9, 86, 88]. The Uvek archaeological site produced a Western European bone statuette in the shape of a resting lion, while a bronze frame or vessel handle of Mediterranean origin was found at the Vodyanskoye archaeological site [Fedorov-Davydov, 2001,

p. 207]. In the 13–15th centuries, bronze water vessels were transported through the Volga Region from Western Europe to Siberia, while a French-made bronze statuette of a knight was brought to Kazakhstan [Ibid.]. A 14th century Venetian ducat was found near Astrakhan [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 62], and in 1863, a gold florin dating from the latter half of the 13th century or 14th century was discovered in Bulgar. The Karatun trove contained a Trapezund coin and a Prague grosz [Ibid., p. 96–97].

The Volga Region also had connections with Byzantium. This was confirmed by the discovery of a copper Byzantine coin dating back to the rule of emperors Andronikos II Palaiologos and Michael IX Palaiologos (1294–1340) at the Bolgar Archaeological Site, and of an *iperperon* of Andronikos II (1282–1332) in the village of Samosdelka in Astrakhan Oblast [Goncharov, 2003, p. 240; Fedorov-Davydov, 1987; p. 179, 202]. Certain types of glass bracelets were also brought to the Volga Region from Byzantium. At the Vodyanskoye archaeological site, a copper coin was found dating from the reign of Trapezund Emperor, Michael II (1341–1349) [Lebedev, Klovkov, 2005, p. 59–60, fig. 1,13].

Egypt was the most common destination for slaves who were transported out of the Golden Horde. A famous Arab author al-Umari (1301–1349) recorded the arrival of slaves from Ulus Jochi. He stated that most of the slaves that were transported out of the Golden Horde were children of nomadic steppe herdsman, sold into slavery by their parents 'to pay their debts (taxes)' [Collection of Works Relating to the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 235]. Egyptian merchants themselves bought children as slaves from the Ulus of Jochi population. One of them, al-Kerbelaï, 'reached Akcharkerman and the Bulgarian country' for this very purpose [Ibid.], and then told al-Umari about what he had seen.

Transparent glass lamps with multi-coloured enamel paintings as well as other glass vessels and certain types of Kashin ceramics were brought from the Near East to the Middle and Lower Volga Regions. It is possible that the marble candlestick with Arabic inscriptions discovered at the Tsarevskoe archaeological site originated in Egypt [Busyatskaya,

1972, No. 2, p. 85, 90; 1976, p. 53–54, fig. 2, Table 8; Koval, 2003, p. 59–60, 67–68, fig. 1,1, 4,4; Poluboyarinova, 1988, p. 207–211, fig. 91–95; Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 209–210; Fedorov-Davydov, Vayner, Muhamadiev, 1970, p. 168, Table 7,1–4]. At one of the burial sites near the village of Komsomolskiy in the Krasnoyarsk area of Astrakhan Region, a Cairo dinar minted by the Mamluk Egyptian sultan, al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Din Baibars al-Bunduqdari (1260–1277) [Pavlenko, 2001, p. 75–76; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 35; 2003, p. 62], and the Selitrennoe archaeological site produced a Damascus dinar dating from the Mamluk dynasty of 771 AH [Lebedev, Klovkov, 2005, p. 57, 59–61, fig. 1,2]. Artisanal brass vessels with silver and gold inserts were brought to the Middle and Lower Volga Regions from the Near and Middle East.

The scale of the trade between the Golden Horde Volga Region and Iran is indicated by finds of Kashi pottery at the Bolgar Archaeological Site, and of fragments of Iranian Minai ceramics and vessels with luster painting in the Lower Volga Region. Red-clay glazed ceramics were brought to the Volga Region from Transcaucasia [Koval, 2003, p. 67–68, fig. 4,3; Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 214–216, Table 107, 3–4].

Finds made in the Volga Region of coins from southern states (predominantly, Hulaguid, Jalairid and Timurid coinage) dating back to the 13–15th century are also of interest as they are indicative of close trade relations with the Golden Horde [Singatullina, 2002, p. 166–167; Fedorov-Davydov, Vayner, Muhamadiev, 1970, p. 136; Yanina, 1970, p. 208, No. 67–68]. Archaeological finds of similar coins are known to have been made in the Lower Volga towns [Lebedev, Klovkov, 2001, p. 41, 50, fig. 3, 189–190; 2004, p. 30, 46, 52, 60, fig. 6.6, 14,57].

The respective coins have been found in large numbers and as part of treasure troves of Jochid coins discovered in the Middle and Lower Volga Regions. Hulaguid, Jalairid and Timurid coins have been discovered in large troves that can be attributed to a merchant's capital.

In Transcaucasia, in its turn, there have been finds of both silver and copper coins dating

from the time of the Jochid khans, Öz Beg to Kildibek, that were minted in the Volga Region [Fedorov-Davydov, 1963, p. 212, No. 590–593]. Silver coins minted in the Golden Horde are also found in Transcaucasian treasure troves [Fedorov-Davydov, 1960, p. 166, No. 181–183; 2003; p. 103, 111, No. 180a, 257b].

Hulaguid and Jalairid coin finds (in particular copper coins that were not valuable for their metal) are indicative of the wide trade links between this region of the Golden Horde and Iran. These connections remained despite regular military conflicts. Even Rashid al-Din in several of his letters spoke of Russian goods (fabrics) and of squirrel and sable coats and furs brought to Hulaguid Iran [Poluboyarinova, 1978, p. 47; Rashid al-Din, 1971, p. 55, 125–132, 233–234, 236–238, 240, 280, 287–289, 292, 415], undoubtedly through the territory of Ulus of Jochi. Ibn Battuta speaks of the sable collars on the clothing of merchants from 'Persia and both Iraqs' [Collection of Works Relating to the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 298]. A Persian historian, Hamdallah al-Qazwini, in 1340 even speaks of ships that came to the island of Nim Murdan (Mazanderan) from Rus' along the Volga and down the Caspian Sea [Poluboyarinova, 1978, p. 45; Rashid al-Din, 1971, p. 55].

Trade between the north-eastern regions of Rus' and the East took place along the Volga Trade Route. Ibn Abd al-Zahir (qadi Muhammad ad-Din Abu-l-Fadl Abdallah, the son of abd az-Zahir), the secretary of the Egyptian sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Din Baibars I al-Bunduqdari (1260–1277) who died in 1293, in his composition 'The Visible Garden in the Life Story of al-Malik az-Zahir' wrote about the Volga in relation to the arrival of the Mamluk sultan's ambassadors to the Golden Horde Khan Berke in the Lower Volga Region in 1263: 'The vessels of the Russians (travel) along it' [Collection of Works Relating to the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 63]. Salt was also exported to Rus' along the Volga. Barbaro, who lived in Tana from 1436 to 1452, describes this: 'Annually, people from Moscow sail in their vessels to Astrakhan for salt' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 157]. The Russian merchants had been charged a fee, as Giosafat Barbaro states: 'It

must have been about twenty five years since the Russians paid a toll for their journey (along the Volga) to the Tatar khan' [Ibid., p. 158].

Khwarezm stone cauldrons, glass rings, glass and Kashin beads, unglazed, glazed and stamped Golden Horde pottery, found during the excavations of many Russian towns from Novgorod to Beloozero, were brought to Rus' in large quantities [Golubeva, 1973, p. 168, 186–188, fig. 61,1–3, 66,3,5–6,13; Dubynin, 1956, 65, p. 127; Koval, 1995, p. 170–171, fig. 1,1; 1997, p. 153–166, fig. 1,4–5,12–13, 2,1–8; 2003, p. 61, 63; Medvedev, 1963, p. 271–274, 276–286; Mongayt, 1948, p. 70–73; 1961, p. 324–326, fig. 146; Poluboyarinova, 1978, p. 48; 1993, p. 106–107; Rybina, 1978, p. 50–51; Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 220]. The Riga Book of Debts of 1286–1352 mentions 'double Bulgarian pieces' of wax [Limonov, 1961, p. 63]. Cornelian stone, rock crystal and lazurite [Rybina, 1978, p. 52; Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 221], Iranian, Syrian, Middle Asian and Transcaucasian glazed ceramics [Koval, 1997, p. 156–157, fig. 1,6–11; 2003, p. 59–60; Kolyzin, 2001, p. 100–101, fig. 40,3], Chinese celadons [Koval, 1997, p. 158–159, fig. 2,9; Poluboyarinova, 2003, p. 157, 163; Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, p. 220], Near Eastern glass tableware [Busyatskaya, 1972, p. 85; Kolyzin, 2001, p. 98–99, fig. 37,2–3; Stolyarova, 1997, p. 104–105, fig. 8,1] were brought to Rus' through the Middle and Lower Volga Regions. The Novgorod birch-bark charter No. 125 written at the turn of the 14–15th centuries includes a phrase: 'buy me some good cotton fabric', mentioning the cotton fabric known as 'zenden' ('zandanichi'), named after the village of Zandana (Zendene) near Bukhara [Artsikhovskiy, 1969, p. 281]. Boxwood from the Caucasus and cowry shells from the shores of the Indian Ocean were traded along the entire length of the Volga and beyond, even as far as Novgorod [Rybina, 1978, p. 45, 49].

Golden Horde coin troves have been discovered around Moscow and Nizhny Novgorod. Occasionally, they also have links with the merchant class [Volkov, 2005, p. 63; Kolyzin, 2001, p. 106, 156, 160–161, 179, 210–213, fig. 52,3, 53–54; Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 47, 88–89, 106–107, 113, No. 95d, 97b, 208b,

214b, 217a, 312a–312b]. Also, isolated finds of Jochid dirhams and puls have been made on the territory of the former Moscow, Tver and Suzdal-Nizhny Novgorod Principalities [Volkov, 2005, p. 64–65; Fedorov-Davydov, 1963, p. 203–204, No. 479–480, 488–493].

Starting from late 14th century, when minting of coins recommenced in Rus', Russian money frequently made up part (from 0.1% to 13.4%) of Golden Horde coin troves in the Middle and Lower Volga Regions. Judging by the sizes of the troves containing the Russian coins, they are likely to be the savings of merchants who conducted trade in Rus' [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 56, 95–99, 105, No. 151a, 152g–152d, 202e]. In 2001–2002, at the Selitrennoe archaeological site, a trove was discovered containing over three thousand silver coins hidden in a fragment of a Golden Horde red-clay water pipe, stoppered by a piece of fabric. The identifiable coins were predominantly minted by the Suzdal-Nizhny Novgorod Principality. Apart from them, the treasure contained 13 coins dating from the reign of the Grand Prince of Moscow, Vasily II Vasilyevich, five 15-century Golden Horde dirhams, including some dating from the reigns of khans Timur, Ghiyas al-Din and Ulug-Muhammad, and two coin blanks [Trostyansky, 2004, p. 237–268].

There was a decline in foreign trade relations of the Volga Region during the reign of Janibek, as of the Golden Horde as a whole.

In 1343, the conflict between Ulus of Jochi and the Italians took place in Tana. Military operations and the loss of Tana immediately brought about 'in Byzantium a shortage of grain and salt fish, and in Italy prices for spices and silk doubled' [Tikhomirov, 1961, p. 15]. The conflict was resolved in 1347, first with Genoa and then with Venice, which was confirmed by the *yarliq* granted 26 December 1347 [Grigorievs 2002, p. 79–121]. The wars between Venice and Genoa, 1350–1355 and 1376–1381, also had a negative impact on the trade of the Italian maritime republics with Ulus of Jochi.

A major blow to the Golden Horde economy, including its trade, was dealt by an enormous plague that came from the East. In 1347, the plague raged among the Golden Horde troops

besieging Kaffa. The plague quickly spread from Ulus of Jochi to Western Europe thanks to well-established trade routes.

An especially significant blow to Volga trade, as well as to the cities of the Central and Lower Volga, was caused by the Golden Horde internecine feud in the 1360–1370.

During the period of the internecine feud, merchants' property was looted repeatedly. There is also evidence of murder and robbery of Russian merchants in the Volga Region by the order of Khan Arabshah (in 1378) [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11–12, p. 28; Poluboyarinova, 1978, p. 45]. Merchants often had to hide their savings, burying their treasures, but afterwards they were not always able to recover them due to the constantly shifting political and military situation.

Slaves—prisoners of war who were captured more and more during internecine wars—were exported from Tana and Kaffa into Italy [Fedorov-Davydov 2001, p. 223]. However, soon Italian merchants realized that the Golden Horde, torn apart by strife, would not be a reliable trading partner. The Venetians, realizing the low profitability and high risk of trading in Tana, began looking for other ways to trade with the East. Thus, in 1364 and 1367, Venice concluded trade agreements with the Trebizond Empire, through which ties with the Jalairid State were forged [Karpov, 1981, p. 62–64]. The Venetians' actions show that trade with the Golden Horde was becoming less and less profitable for them.

At the initial stage of the Toktamysh reign, unification of monetary reform took place, which was designed to recreate a single monetary circulation in all of the Ulus of Jochi and significantly undermined by internecine wars. However, the reform of 782 AH (1380/1381) had not created a unity of monetary circulation throughout the entire Golden Horde [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 16–17, 54]. 'Silver, to a greater extent than before, is leaving the urban sphere of trade and the local money circulation into the sphere of transit trade and merchant capital. Hoards of this time are mainly in the river ways—above all, in the Volga, the Dnieper, and along the Oka' [Ibid., p. 54].

Nevertheless, even in 1393, in a *yarliq* letter to the Polish king Jagiello, Toktamys̄h calls for the development of trade relations between Poland and the Golden Horde and for the resumption of journeys by Polish State merchants across Ulus of Jochi, 'Let thy merchant cooperatives travel as before' [Radloff, 1889, III, p. 6].

However, at the end of the Toktamys̄h reign, major Golden Horde towns, which were the main centres of international and domestic trade, declined or even completely ceased to exist because of Timur's campaigns on Ulus of Jochi. In 1388, Timur razed Urgench to the ground, and in 1395–1396, Volga Region towns such as Sarai al-Jadid, Hajji Tarkhan, Beljamen, Ukek, as well as Azak, Majar and others suffered terrible destruction.

The main trade routes between East and West finally shifted to the south and ceased to pass through the territory of Ulus of Jochi. Gio-

safat Barbaro colourfully describes it, talking of Hajji Tarhan: 'Now it's an almost ruined town, but in the past it was a large and famous city. In fact, before Tamerlane destroyed it, all the spices and silk went to Astrakhan, and from Astrakhan to Tana (now they go to Syria). Only from Venice to Tana did they send six or seven large galleys to pick up those spices and silk. And in those days neither the Venetians nor the representatives of other overseas nations traded in Syria' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 157].

However, the trade in Sarai even in the 15th century brought considerable income to foreign merchants. A report of Shams al-Din Muhammad has been preserved, a Shiraz merchant who sold out his goods in Sarai and bought Chinese raw silk, silk damask, skinner's satin, European cloth and Russian canvas there, in 1438 [Zakhoder, 1955, p. 14–19].

§ 5. Trade between the Ulus of Jochi and the countries of the Mediterranean

Uli Schamiloglu

The territory of the Ulus of Jochi—especially Crimea, the northern Black sea coast, and the lands along the Volga River—has always played a very important role in the transregional trade of Eurasia. This area was in constant overland contact with neighbouring regions. However, historically, the most important feature of the economies of all medieval states in this region was the Black Sea trade. If we consider the Golden Horde from the standpoint of the region's history, we should expect that the Black Sea trade was probably the most important feature of the Ulus of Jochi economy. In fact, this is confirmed by studies of the Italian trade in the Black Sea Region in this period (general works of the Black Sea trade at this time, see: [Heyd, 1959; Bratianu, 1929; Thieret, 1959; Skrzinskaja, 1968, p. 3–45; Lane, 1973; Berindei, Veinstein, 1976, p. 110–201; Balard, 1978; Abu-Lughod, 1991; Karpov, 1990. Skrzinskaya, 2000]. An impressive number of academic publications on this subject shows that the Black Sea trade route was undoubtedly

the most important trade artery of the Golden Horde, linking its territory to the Mediterranean world in the 13th and 14th centuries.

However, the traditional historiography has ignored the important role of the Black Sea trade in the economic and commercial history of the Golden Horde. It overlooked the important role of this region, which since ancient times had been comprehensively represented in the documents. As a result, the historiography devoted to Ulus of Jochi ignores what was one of the most important articles of the Golden Horde economy, namely the large volume of its agricultural exports (including wheat). The reason for this is that the traditional historiography approached the Golden Horde with the a priori assumption that the main sphere of this nomadic state activity was the extraction of resources from settled states (especially Rus') through taxation, etc. (See: [Roublev, 1970, p. 29–64]). It therefore did not take into account the agricultural surplus of the areas that formed part of the core territories of the Golden Horde and

the settled agricultural population that created them. Even those works that refer to the Italian colonies on the Black Sea do not consider them in connection with the economy of Ulus of Jochi. However, the level of commerce was so high that the Black Sea trade represented a significant part of the Italian maritime republics' trade in this period. The goods imported by them from their colonies in the Golden Horde territories were actually the exports of the Golden Horde. This approach gives a completely new perspective on the Ulus of Jochi economy.

As we know, before the Mongol conquest, not only nomads inhabited the territory of the future Golden Horde. At the beginning of the 13th century, numerous towns flourished as commercial centres of Western Eurasia. These commercial hubs in Bulgar, the Lower Volga and Crimea and other places linked Western Eurasia with other centres in Central Asia and beyond it as far as China, representing a network of trade routes, usually known today as the Great Silk Road.

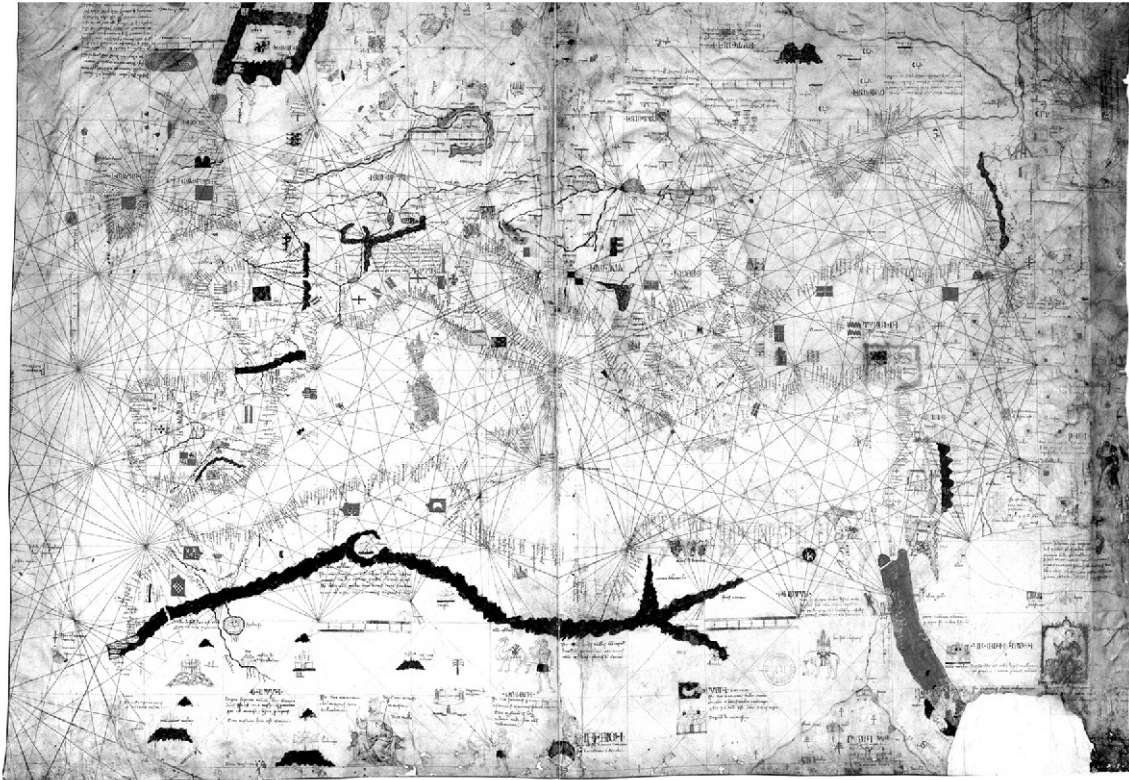
On the eve of the Mongol invasions, there was a considerable Italian presence in the trade with Western Eurasia through the Black Sea, a region which the Kipchaks controlled. Ibn al-Athir wrote that Sudak was an important city of Kipchaks, through which they received their goods from vessels filled with clothes sold for girls; slaves, furs and other goods from their land [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 26].

Mongol campaigns beginning in the 1220s leading to the formation of the Ulus of Jochi, probably meant the temporary interruption of commercial activities in Western Eurasia, since all the towns attacked during campaigns of conquest, were the largest trading centres. However, commercial activity expanded rapidly as soon as the Chinggisids had firmly established their control over Eastern Europe in the late 1230s. Shortly after the formation of the Golden Horde, foreign merchants visited its various centres and centres of adjacent territories subordinated to it, and not just Soldaia in Crimea, where the Venetians were present already in 1206. There was nothing unusual in this: merchants travelled across western Eur-

asia in earlier centuries—long before the Polo brothers made trans-European trade known in the West.

Reports from Latin travellers who came into Jochid lands along the same routes as merchants are an important source on the routes taken by those who took part in the lively trade between the Golden Horde and other countries. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine [John of Plano Carpini], who was returning through Kiev in 1247, mentioned merchants from Bratislava who accompanied him on the road. He also noted that upon his return there were merchants from Poland and Austria. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine names merchants from Constantinople on their way to Rus' through the Golden Horde whom he met in Kiev, including Michael the Genoese, Manuel the Venetian, James Reverius from Acra and Nicholas Pisani [Mission to Asia, 1955/1980, p. 71]. This is clear evidence of the Genoese and Venetian merchants' presence in Kiev in 1247, only a few years after its alleged destruction. Obviously, they had arrived in the Golden Horde in the same year or before by the Black Sea, which once again confirms the argument that in the 13th century Italian merchants could travel about their business in the Pontic Region, despite the lack of concessions or trading posts (see also: [Balard, 1978, p. 28–29, n. 44]). Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's mention of the merchants from Bratislava, Poland and Austria whom he saw in Kiev, points to the importance of trade with Eastern Europe, on which topic the sources are sparse (on western trade, see also: [Allsen, 1989, p. 83–126, especially p. 84]).

A more specific description of this route can be found in William of Rubruck, who sailed from Sinopolis (present-day Sinop) along the Black Sea coast of Anatolia, and arrived on 21 May 1253 in the region of Gazaria, as he called Crimea [Mission to Asia, 1955/1980, p. 89–93]. First, he went to Soldaia (Sudak), although he does not mention whether he met with some Venetians there at the time. According to William of Rubruck, all the merchants coming from Anatolia and wanting to go north go through Soldaia, as do merchants undertaking such a journey in the opposite direction. In the 14th century, Ibn Battuta traveled the same



Map by Angelino Dulcert, 1339

route from Sinop (Sanub) to Kerch (Karsh), then to Kaffa, Kiram, Sugdak (Sudak), and then to Azaq [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 279–288]. William of Rubruck explains that Cumans had previously lived in the steppe part of Crimea and forced Crimean towns to pay tribute to them. But at that time Mongolian prefects were in Soldaia (a term that Giovanni da Pian del Carpine [John of Plano Carpini] uses to translate the word *bastaki*, that is, the Golden Horde title *baskak*) [Mission to Asia, 1955/1980, p. 40], although they had already left for the court of Batu, taking with them the tribute from Soldaia. Even in this case, if the deputies of the *baskaki* were there for William of Rubruck to report his desire to visit Sartaq, who he believed was a Christian, and they were offered a cart with oxen or packhorses for transporting cargo. Obviously, at that time it was standard procedure for merchants wishing to travel from Crimea.

William of Rubruck also describes the salt springs of Crimea, from which salt could be ex-

tracted. He explains that Batu and Sartaq had a large income from these salt sources, obtaining two lengths of cotton at a price of 1/2 hyperpera for each cartload of salt, and that many ships came for it by sea and paid much more than was the practice. Matrica was situated to the east of Soldaia across the Kerch Straits leading to the Azov Sea (former Tmutarakan). Heavy ships could not enter the Sea of Azov, but the lighter ships going to Matrica reached the mouth of the Tanais, that is, the Don River, for the purchase of large numbers of sturgeon, bream and other species of dried fish [Ibid., p. 96]. We can assume, although travellers note that the rivers are full of fish [Ibid., p. 5, 210], that the rulers of Ulus of Jochi were probably happy to encourage exports of this food [Ibid., p. 114].

The scholarship includes a number of very high-level works on the Italian trade on the Black Sea in the 13–14th centuries. For this reason, consideration of Italian commercial activities in the Black Sea Region is a prerequisite for a deeper understanding of the economic history of the Golden Horde.

Usually, historians attach great importance to imports of luxury goods [Martin, 1978, p. 401–422; *Treasure of the Land of Darkness*, 1986; Allsen, 1989, p. 111–112, 122]. However, the Pontic Region to the north of Crimea, the Black Sea coast from Crimea to the mouth of the Prut and the Danube Rivers and the forest-steppe zone of Western Eurasia also served also as a granary for different states [Bratianu, 1929, p. 15–41].

Three Italian maritime states dominated trade in the agricultural products on the Black Sea, shipping grain, salt, dried fish and many other food products and commodities not only to Byzantium, but also to Italy. At first glance, this may seem impractical, but the costs of water transport over long distances were actually much smaller than of overland transport from neighbouring areas (on the development of the Venetian marine technology, see: [Lane, 1973]; the main observations of the relative costs for land transportation, see: [Bulliet, 1975]). Venice became a leading centre of grain distribution in Northern Italy; but, as it itself produced a small amount of grain, this supply was largely made from Romania (a broad geographic term including Crete, Greece and all the Black Sea). In fact, it is believed that from the 13th century the entire apparatus of the Venetian state was involved in the management, protection and exploitation of their colonies in Byzantium, Egypt and the Black Sea Region [Nicol, 1988, p. 284].

On 13 March 1261, just a few months before a new conquest of Constantinople, Michael VIII Palaiologos concluded an agreement with Genoa that prohibited all enemies of Genoa from entering the Black Sea, except for the Pisans. As a result, between 1260 and 1270 (according to one translation—in 1266), the Genoese founded a trading post in Kaffa—Crimea, which henceforth was to serve as a centre of Genoese commercial activities in the Black Sea [Balard, 1978, p. 41, 114–118]. Although the Venetians from that time lost their monopoly on the Black Sea, by 1265 they were able to conclude an agreement, confirmed in 1268 and renewed in 1277, again giving them the right to trade in the Black Sea [Nicol, 1988 p. 200]. This new agreement allowed the es-

tablishing of trading posts on the Black Sea in the field of their choice, with the result that the Venetians had established or restored their shops in Soldaia, Tana (Azak) and Trapezund [Skržinskaja, 1968 Lane, 1973, p. 76, 80, 127; Chrysostomides, 1970, p. 267–329; Nystazopoulou Pélékidis, 1973, p. 541–582, especially p. 552–553]. It is assumed that after 1267 Genoese merchants first began to remain in Soldaia, but after 1268, they faced competition from the Venetians there. This was the reason that between 1270 and 1275 the Genoese sought and received permission to establish themselves in the Bay of Theodosia; the first mention of the Kaffa consul was dated 1281 [Balard, 1978, p. 117–118]. It is clear that commercial rivalry in the Black Sea became a source of several confrontations between Genoa and Venice [Lane, 1973, p. 72 et seq., 127], fueled by constant attempts of Constantinople to 'balance' the Italian maritime republics with each other, and over the course of the 13–14th centuries this rivalry only intensified.

One of the reasons that wheat and possibly other cereals had become a particularly important product for northern Italians during the 13th and 14th centuries was the relative onset of cooling. It led to many cases of grain shortage because of fields flooding and other phenomena, provoking years of increased cost of grain, and often to starvation (especially at the end of 13–beginning of the 14th century). In response, the northern Italian states pursued a policy to support grain imports and restrict exports [Peyer, 1950]. There were two main areas that produced grain and that interested the Italians. One was Byzantine Thrace, which after the loss of Egypt, Constantinople was seriously dependent on as its main granary. Indeed, a poor harvest in Thrace could lead to famine in Constantinople. Another region of interest was the Black Sea basin. Demand in Venice served as an incentive for Venetian Black Sea grain procurement. It is believed that direct Venetian inclusion in the Black Sea grain trade began during the famine in 1268; the importance of this trade was probably recognized in the agreement between Byzantium and Venice, in 1277, giving the latter the right to duty-free transportation of Black Sea grain through its territory [Chrysostomides,

1970, p. 316]. The Genoese also visited various regions of the Black Sea from Varna and Kilia to the North along the coast to Kaffa and Tama. Wheat, imported from Thrace, considered the best in the whole of Romania, was valued higher than wheat brought from Crimea. In the 14th century, wheat delivered through Kaffa was considered the best throughout the Black Sea, although grain purchase depended on the goodwill of the Solkhat Tatars. There were also other areas scattered around the Black and Azov seas and which were distinguished by their good quality wheat crop [Balard, 1978, p. 752–754]. Byzantine control and other obstacles to exports from the Byzantine territories continued to make the grain brought from the Black Sea ports even more desirable, especially when the agreement in 1304 had suspended Genoa's exports from Byzantium, but gave to Genoa the right to export through Constantinople all the grain produced outside Byzantium. Ultimately, the loss of the Thracian and Anatolian wheat left Byzantium dominated by the Genoese, who began to control its Black Sea export [Chrysostomides, 1970, p. 316–317; Balard, 1978, p. 754–756].

Italian sources dealing with maritime states provide information on the Black Sea trade which is unusually detailed for the Golden Horde itself due to thousands of preserved documents.

There was an entire fleet of heavily laden vessels, which mostly carried wheat from the East to Genoa (breaks in the trade caused famine in the city) in the last two decades of the 14th century. In 1384, 31,919 mines from Romania, 31,344 mines from Kaffa, and 3,710 mines from Anatolia made up 77% of known Genoese imports. Thus, Kaffa supplied 36% of Genoa's crop import that year (which naturally does not apply to the crops exported to Venice). One of the reasons why this complicated international trade was possible is that it was still cheaper to buy crops after harvest in Gazaria (probably in Crimea and in the adjacent area), when sent by sea, than to purchase it near Venice or Genoa for land transport. When the cost of sea transport dwindled in the late 14th century, the initial crop procurement price made a higher percentage of the ultimate cost, which

ultimately caused price fluctuations [Balard, 1978, p. 765–768].

Genoa also imported a wide range of other products from the Black Sea. Beginning in the late 13th century, it became common for Genoese people to visit fish markets in the mouth of the Kuban River in April or May and to purchase sturgeons and other fishes caught by local (Greek and Tatar) fishermen in Tana from July to August Balletto, 1976, p. 10–27; Balard, 1978, p. 706–707]. Salt as an essential food preservative was another key Italian commodity [Lane, 1973, p. 57]. Sources report at least 400 saline lakes, including the historically famous Lake Saki, to have existed between Kaffa and Tana. Genoese people participated in the trade, along with Alans and Armenians, in Kaffa and Solkhat. They also profited greatly from reselling salt bought in the north and transported by the Black Sea on markets like Trapezund [Balard, 1978, p. 708–711]. From the 1270s, Mediterranean markets imported spices from the Black Sea. Kaffa became engaged in the trade in 1284 and continued to be part of it for the rest of the entire 14th century, except for the last two decades [Ibid., p. 719–723]. The trade in silk [Ibid., p. 723–733], wax [Ibid., p. 734–737], leather [Ibid., p. 737–738], fur [Ibid., p. 738–741], cotton [Ibid., p. 741–742], mastic [Ibid., p. 742–749], metal and mineral [Ibid., p. 769–784] was also important. Scholars assume that the production of cotton, which was a very valuable commodity, spread to the territory of the Ulus of Jochi during the rule of the Chinggisids [Mazzaoui, 1981, p. 23].

Human beings were another valuable 'commodity' on the Black Sea market [Verlinden, 1950, p. 1–25; 1977; Balard, 1978, p. 785–833]. Quite naturally, slaves could not have been exported from the Black Sea without a demand for them across the Near East, the Mediterranean, and West Europe. The trade began far earlier than the founding of the Golden Horde and might have lasted for a long time after it was dissolved [Verlinden, 1977, II, p. 978–998]. From 1270–1275, a large number of Circassian, Abkhazian, Bulgarian, Turkic, Lazian, Hungarian, Russian, Cuman, and Tatar people were transported to Alexandria and Liguria, while in the last quarter of the 13th

century Genoa controlled all of the Oriental slave trade [Balard, 1978, p. 785]. The slave trade affected a large number of diverse ethnic groups until the mid-14th century. However, Tatars became predominant after 1350 [Ibid., p. 788]. Slaves from the Pontic Steppe, mostly aged 14 to 25, made up 40% of the total Genoese human trade, the Russian percentage being as small as 1/5 until 1350. The Cumans (Kipchaks) became numerous from 1300–1320. However, the last mention of a Cuman slave is dated 1354. Circassians (or Zikhian people) were nearly as numerous as Russians and Cumans; but their percentage increased after 1350. Some slaves belonged to other Caucasian ethnic groups, including the Lezgins and the Alans.

Most of Oriental slaves in the 14th century were Tatar. According to surviving reports, 90.9% slaves exported from the Pontic Region from 1351 to 1380 and 80% of those exported from 1381 to 1408, out of approximately 900 people, were Tatar. It was not until 1453, when Mehmet II conquered Constantinople, that a recession took place in the trade. Though it is usually unclear to what ethnic groups the term 'Tatars' applied in that period, we at least know their names because most of them had non-Western names until 1350. Even after 1350, only 10% had Christian names, which probably indicates baptism after sale. Male slaves had such names as Tabogar, Aspertius, Smerlionius, and Yacomasiu, while women, who made 65.4% of all slaves, were named Cotralo, Cocolo, Ars Hatom, Karahoza, Meliha, Kali, Bahirigni, Taktabei, Kologoz, Korgatan, Jiborra, Beliha, Hita, Bihaka, Jaireta, and Toktomis. Being very numerous, Pontic slaves made 80.9% of all slaves reported from 1300 to 1408 [Balard, 1978, p. 794–796]. It is rather counter-intuitive that slaves from the territory of the Ulus of Jochi (and the adjacent slave-supplying territories) were brought to Spain (Catalonia, Aragon, and Mallorca) [Verlinden, 1977, I, p. 334–350], France [Ibid., p. 765–781, 783–785], Venice [Verlinden, 1977, II, p. 566–642, 650–651], all across Italy [Ibid., p. 220–227] and the Mediterranean world. In fact, they were so numerous in some regions that, according to an estimate for 1381, 4–10% of the Genoese

population were slaves, many of which had been brought from the Black Sea [Balard, 1978, p. 817]. Slaves were mostly exported from the Black Sea by vessels arriving from Tana. Such vessels could carry 3 slaves per crew member until 1381 and 4 slaves per crew member after 1381. Thus, a 400-ton vessel with a crew of 50 members could carry 200 slaves. Vessels of such size were evidently crop- and slave-laden in Tana [Lane, 1973, p. 133; see speculations on the vessel: p. 122–126].

It is critically important to find out what role the Ulus of Jochi played in the trade and what effects it had on the Golden Horde. We can assume that the Jochids initially wanted to get control over luxury trade. As the state grew stronger, the governments obtained control over the country's resources to produce luxury goods and increase the production of goods to be traded for imported luxury articles. It is no wonder that the infrastructure of the Golden Horde was initially arranged in a way to support governmental trade. By understanding this we can explore some additional aspects of the influence that the Black Sea trade had on the Golden Horde.

The Latin travellers, just like earlier Arab geographers, do not shed light directly on the crop trade in the period between the 1240s and 1250s, though there is evidence that it was not interrupted. In particular, Venetian sources confirm this by mentioning fleet activities in the Black Sea in 1206 and 1232. It is therefore beyond doubt that crops were exported, even though there are no direct indications of it.

It is harder to obtain information about Batu Khan's agricultural policy because there are no direct descriptions. As for the period when the Mongol Empire was being established, we can only assume that there was none.

If we analyse some instances that Latin travellers provide in this context, they provide an insight into the issue. According to Giovanni da Pian del Carpine [John of Plano Carpini], who travelled through the Golden Horde in the 1240s, peasants kept their crops in the barns of their master, who allowed them to sow them and left them enough food to make a more or less decent living [Mission to Asia, 1955/1980, p. 42]. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine [John of

Plano Carpini] adds in another place that they could hide their crops (that is, wheat) out of fear of attack [Ibid., p. 48]. Taken together, the two statements can indicate that wheat was actually an agricultural product which was at least of certain interest for the Mongol rulers, who were probably involved in controlling agricultural production. William of Rubruck confirmed it by reporting that large owners had villages in the south that supplied them with millet and flour for the winter [Ibid., p. 100]. Thus, it can be assumed that the government of the Ulus of Jochi were interested in crop supplies in the period between the 1240s and 1250s and probably controlled them, at least in some part of the Golden Horde if not across the state. It is not clear, however, whether the crops were meant for domestic consumption or export.

The military campaigns of the 1260s can also be viewed as additional indirect evidence of the Golden Horde's commercial policy because the Caucasian wars between the Jochids and the Ilkhans had a number of economic causes. The struggle largely focus on controlling Derbent as an important duty collection centre. We should also remember that it was a period when crop exports were beginning to increase and that the west of the North Caucasian Region was a major crop-producing area [Ibid.]. Other campaigns must have been directly connected with control over crop-producing regions. The Golden Horde's campaigns which would otherwise have been pointless include the raids against Danube Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland in the 1280s, those against Adrionople in 1319 and Thrace in 1324, and other East European invasions in the 1330s. The campaigns, especially those against rich agricultural countries along the western shore of the Black Sea, the mouth of the Danube, and down up to Thrace, were not merely pointless attacks at sedentary settlements. They should rather be viewed as attempts at bringing major crop-producing areas under the control of the governmentally supported trade of the Golden Horde.

There might have been a connection between the campaigns and climatic changes which could have had an adverse effect on wheat production in the Golden Horde, defi-

nately causing the demand for wheat to grow in certain parts of Europe. We should not forget that 1315–1322 was a period of great famine in South England [Appleby, 1980, p. 643–663]. Probably the khans of the Ulus of Jochi just wanted to increase crop production under their control to meet the growing demand. However, it is also possible that the crop-producing areas of the Golden Horde were affected by the reduced rainfall after 1280, followed by a moderate restitution during the first two decades of the 14th century and another reduction in 1320, followed by another restitution in the late 14th century, causing crop yields to dwindle in the southern territories of the wheat-growing Jochid areas.

The nature of the relations between the Golden Horde and Italian merchants deserves more than a passing mention. Importantly, the Italians could only establish colonies along the northern Black Sea shore subject to a permission by the Golden Horde's rulers.

Valuable evidence of the relations between the Italian commercial centres and the elite of the Golden Horde is contained in the records of meetings of the Venetian Senate, the earliest of which are dated 1329 [see: Thieret, 1958–1961, I, p. 5–17]. Concerning the late period of Öz Beg Khan's rule, we know the Senate to have resolved to send two ambassadors to the khan's court in 1341 and his death to have raised difficulties for the trade centre of Tana [Ibid., p. 120, 138]. Following the Tana trouble, Venetians were prohibited from trading in the Golden Horde; as a response, they decided to send an embassy to Janibek Khan (January–February 1344; 28 April 1344; 26 January 1345) [Ibid., p. 162, 169, 175]. However, they decided that it was no use negotiating with them, so the Venetian ambassadors in Tana were ordered to return by 1 April 1346 [Ibid., p. 185]. Yet, the Senate canceled its earlier prohibition of trade in Janibek's domain, dated February 1344, on 24 April 1347. Venetian merchants were allowed, at least for a limited period, to purchase wheat in Janibek's land because of a critical need for it [Ibid., p. 196]. Besides, the Senate resolved on 19 June 1347 to send two ambassadors to remind Janibek how beneficial trade

relations with Venice would be and ask him to reintroduce, if possible, earlier trade privileges [Ibid., p. 201, 203]. On 28 August 1350, the Senate approved an order under which the consul of Tana was to send a good mediator to Janibek and his mother's court and inform the Venetian merchants who were still staying in Kaffa that they were to reside under the territorial protection of the Venetian community [Ibid., p. 247].

Additional documents suggest that the khan had only a limited influence on the actual daily decision-making on trade centres. On 28 July 1355, a Venetian messenger was ordered to introduce himself to the ruler of Soldaia, Ramadanov (Ramadan) and purchase a factory provided that Venetians would have to pay not more than 3 centanarios instead of 5 (in Tana). Besides, the ambassador was instructed to arrive at Janibek's court to explain the conditions of their peace with Genoa. The Venetians were expected to express eagerness to restore their trade relations after a three-year break and ask Janibek to ensure favourable terms for them and ask Ramadan of Soldaia to set free two merchants who were kept under arrest there [Ibid., p. 273]. On 7 July 1356, the Senate ordered a galley captain in Romania to head for Provato, Crimea, and inquire about the local terms, because the Senate had just found out that it was not in Soldaia but in Provato where Ramadan had granted them a concession [Ibid., p. 299]. On 22 March 1358, the Senate resolved to send two ambassadors to Janibek once again to recover the former licences [Ibid., p. 324–325].

An analysis of the relations between Genoa and the Golden Horde [Vasiliev, 1936, p. 177–188], established by the ruler of Solkhat (Cherkes in 1380, Ilyas Qutlubuga in 1381), acting in his own name and on behalf of the khan, confirms that the local nobility controlled the colonies in the late 13th and throughout the 14th century. The fact that the agreements of the 1380s enabled Genoa to control large Crimean territories suggests that the Golden Horde had been weakened considerably by that time. The period was that of the Time of Troubles in the Golden Horde, caused by the Black Death and an internecine war.

It is beyond doubt that crops, especially wheat, was the principal and probably most important export commodity produced in the Golden Horde. Others included fur and the less impressive, but no less valuable, cotton and salt. It can be assumed that the trade was largely continuous from the pre-Mongol period to the 14–15th century.

In turn, the Ulus of Jochi imported wine, weapons, tools, other articles, as well as French and Italian textile. Galleys heading to Romania were reported to have delayed their departure until those from Flanders, carrying textile (fabrics) and amber, arrived [Nystazopoulou Pélékidis, 1973, p. 559]. Following merchants' advice, William of Rubruck took along fruit, Muscat wine, and top quality biscuits from Constantinople [Mission to Asia, 1955/1980, p. 92]. He also reported travellers from the north to bring squirrel, ermine, and other valuable fur types, while those going to the north carried cotton materials, silk, and spices [Ibid., p. 90].

CHAPTER 3

Monetary Circulation and Financial System

Alfira Singatullina

The money, money making, and monetary circulation of the Ulus of Jochi have been studied extensively for over two centuries. Works by Ch. Fren, P. Savelyev, V. Grigoryev, A. Likhachyov, A. Markov, S. Yanina, G. Fedorov-Davydov, A. Muhamadiev, and many other scholars have yielded many important findings. This issue cannot be studied without the information and conclusions provided by the scholars concerning the four periods of monetary circulation, marked by three all-state monetary reforms, metrological data on the areas of circulation and spreading of dirhams and puls, general and local money making customs, coin designs, coinage cities, imitations, typology, etc. It is reasonable to refer to the findings of the key works by G. Fedorov-Davydov [1960; 1961; 1963; 1965; 1987; 2003].

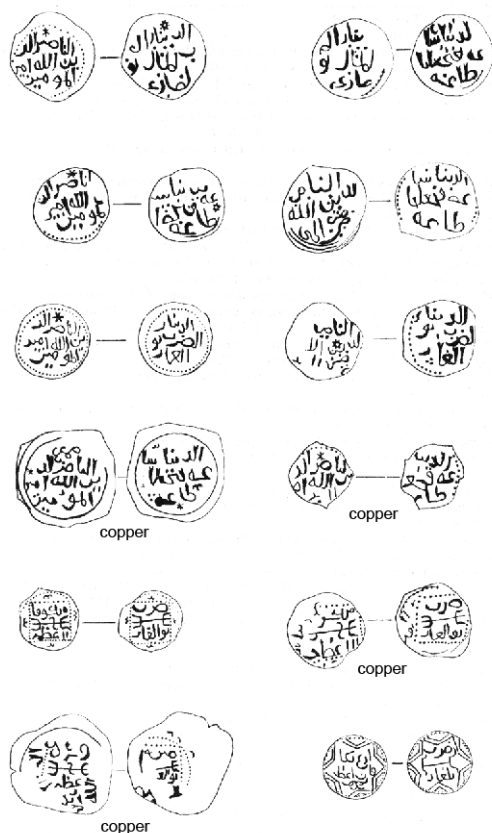
First Period (mid–13th century to the reform of 1310)

The city of **Bulgar** was rebuilt soon after the Mongol invasion of 1236. It became not only the first Jochid capital but the first and, for some time, only mint of the Ulus of Jochi. As it was 200 years before, coinage began here. However, unlike the few name-bearing Bulgarian dirhams of the 10th century, the first Jochid coins do not bear the names of the first rulers of the Ulus, Batu or Berke. The mysterious silver and copper coins reading *al-Nasir li-Din Allah*, specifying Bulgar as the mint, are often discovered in the territory of the former Volga Bulgaria, especially at the Bolgar Archaeological Site, but are hardly present in other regions. The absence of dates and the Chinggisid tamga on them, as well as their bearing the name of Caliph al-Nasir (1180–1225), caused two opposing opinions on the coins to appear back in the early 19th century.

Scholars who believe the undated coins bearing the name of al-Nasir to be of pre-Mongol origin attribute them to the Bulgar court of the early 13th century, judging by the caliph's life period (Ch. Fraehn, P. Savelyev, A. Likhachyov, A. Muhamadiev). The other theory is that Caliph al-Nasir's name is no dating element, the coins being Jochid (Ch. Fraehn, S. Yanina, G. Fedorov-Davydov, A. Singatullina). This question has not yet been settled and thus deserves more than a passing mention.

One of the arguments for a pre-Mongol origin of the coins is their bearing no tamga 'of the Kipchak Ulus or the great kaan's tamga' [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 29–30]. However, Chagataid coins (until the mid–13th century) do not bear a tamga either [Davidovich, 1972, p. 10–13, 15], those of the Ikonik Sultanate (until the late 13th century) [Dzhalaganiya, 1958, p. 38], Georgia (until the early 1250s), Azerbaijan (the period of Mongol sovereignty) [Pakhomov, 1926; 1938; Dzhalaganiya, 1958, p. 42, 44–46]. Some Jochid coins from Bulgar dated 686 AH and those bearing the name of al-Nasir from Sarai [Singatullina, 2003, p. 85, No. 57, p. 126, No. 244], all dirhams from Ukek, etc. also bear no tamga.

G. Fedorov-Davydov's main argument against the theory that the coins are pre-Mongol is 'the complete absence of any such coins in the cultural layer of Bilyar, which existed as a major city up to the Mongol invasion, and a large number of such coins discovered in Bolgar, where an early Mongol layer is present' [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 10]. The most possible coinage date is the 1240s—the period of Batu Khan's rule before Möngke (Mengu) Kaan enthroned (1251). About 200 such silver coins, weighing from 1.2 to 2.5g, have been found. The weight of copper coins bearing the name of the same caliph varies between 1.00



Silver and copper coins.

Bulgar, 13th century.

National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan

and 8.19g, though only 13.5 of all the coins weigh over 4g. Al-Nasir's silver coins bear a nominal of 'dinar'; copper ones bear no nominal or issue data but only the name of al-Nasir and a pious inscription, 'Life is an hour, so make it virtuous'.

An abrupt change of coins took place in Bulgar in the early 1250s. Those bearing the name of al-Nasir were withdrawn from circulation; silver was remolten, and copper reminted to bear the name and tamga of Kaan Möngke (1251–1259), who was friendly to Batu. It is no coincidence that Batu, as the oldest and most powerful representative of the 'Golden clan', helped Möngke Kaan to come to power and set the standard of respect for the superior authorities by introducing the Bulgar coins. It appears that the change of coins took place within a very short period because all the copper coins of Kaan Möngke were minted on al-Nasir's copper ones without removing the old inscrip-

tions, which are often quite legible. The kaan's silver coins were made of al-Nasir's remolten 'dinars' and, together with puls, made the complete monetary circulation of the Volga Region.

Khan Arig Buga's (1259–1264) silver coins, which came the next chronologically, have a clear upper limit, 1264 as the year when the kaan was defeated and captured by Kublai. However, it can also be 1266 as the year when Arig Buga or Khan Berke died. Berke could have issued the coins to express his negative attitude rather to Kublai's ally Hulagu, an old enemy of the Jochid khans. There is another possible reason why the great kaans' tamga appeared on Bulgar coins: 'The entire area (Bulgar—A.S.), part of it or only one city, probably a city quarter with a mint' belonged to Tolui's descendants Mengu and Arig Buga [Petrov, 2005, p. 171].

Silver coins bearing great khans' names and tamgas weigh much less than al-Nasir's dinars—1.00–1.25g (for Möngke) and 0.40–0.55g (for Arig Buga). They are sometimes found together in hoards. Scholars used to confidently interpret 1 al-Nasir's coin as equal to two of Möngke Kaan and four of Arig Buga's. However, G. Fedorov-Davydov inferred from his observations on the weight of coins in three early hoards that 'the first issues of coins bearing the name of Arig Buga had a weight similar to the last issues of Möngke's coins' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1991a, p. 186]. That is, the weight of the first Jochid coins reduced continuously even over short period, to which large weight ranges of not only the kaans' coins but those of al-Nasir are attributable.

The issue of al-Nasir's coins is far from being resolved. New datings of the mysterious coins have appeared in the recent years. However, most scholars attribute them to the Jochids. For instance, al-Nasir's coins were not prohibited and continued to function during the rule of Möngke and Arig Buga; half fractions (bearing Möngke's name) and a smaller one (bearing that of Arig Buga) were introduced into monetary circulation [Trostyansky, Yegorov, 2005, p. 30].

Independent coinage began during the rule of Mengu Timur. Such coins always bore the tamga of the Batu House. It is present on

all name-bearing, anonymous, unepigraphic Jochid coins of the 13th century. The first dated name-bearing and anonymous coins from Bulgar date back to 671 AH (1272/73). However, it is possible that anonymous undated coins weighing 1.2–1.27g, bearing the tamga of the Batu House, which is emphasized to be the 'Principal' or 'High' tamga, were the first coins to appear during the rule of Mengü Timur. Some scholars, however, believe the coins to have been issued between 1257 and the beginning of the diarchy during the rule of Arıg Buga Kaan (early 1260s) to express the anti-kaan sentiment of Berke Khan, who attached his own tamga to them [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 48]. If we accept the new definition of the tamga (that of Berke), there is no explanation why it is not present on coins by Batu's descendants, because Berke Khan is believed to have usurped the power by neutralizing Batu's descendants. The tamga, to which numismatists traditionally refer to as 'the tamga of the clan or House of Batu', does not have to be renamed.

Silver coins began to be issued under a new weight standard of 1.45–1.6g (two daniqs, 0.78g each) in the early 1270s. The weight of each coin type remained stable throughout the coinage period. Two key coin groups, which are represented in the same hoards, co-existed. However, no early Jochid coins bearing the names of al-Nasir and Kaans Möngke and Arıg Buga have been discovered in hoards containing Mengü Timur's coins. Some silver coins by Mengü Timur bear a nominal of one dirham. Those are coins weighing 1.45–1.6g. However, the nominals of their contemporary coins weighing 1.3–1.4g and 1.04–1.08g remains unknown. Anonymous undated coins of the same time, namely the dirham (1.45–1.6g, having a diameter of 12–21mm) and the coins termed 'the double dirham' (3–3.04g, a diameter of 24–25mm) and 'the half dirham' (0.72–0.76g, a diameter of 15–16mm), are of interest [Singatullina, 2003, p. 81, No. 43–45]. Such dirhams were found in the Hoard of Almenevo (National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, No. 3230), which contains early coins by Khan Mengü Timur.

The standard coin weight did not change significantly in Bulgar during the rule of Khan

Tuda Mengü (1282–1287). His coins weigh 1.45–1.56g and sometimes bear a nominal of a 'dirham'. There is a silver coin in the Hermitage Museum (No. 15085), which is similar to the widespread dirham of Tuda Mengü but weighs 0.28g. It is probably 1/5 of a dirham [Ibid., p. 83, No. 51, 52]. There are no Bulgar-made coins bearing the names of the khans who succeeded to Tuda Mengü—Tula Buga (1287–1290) and Tokhta (1290–1312). Anonymous and unepigraphic coins began to dominate the market of Bulgar in the mid-1280s.

A reform was probably carried out in the early 1290s to reduce the weight of the dirham to 1.28–1.39g.

Among the few types of undated coins of the period, dirhams bearing the name of *al-Nasir li-Din* without the title 'the ruler of the faithful' dated 692 AH (1292/93), bearing the tamga of the House of Batu and an inscription 'dirham' [Fren, 1832, p. 4, No. 18]. The dated coins have much in common with the first Jochid coins of the 1240s. In addition, undated silver and copper coins from Bulgar bearing the same name and tamga as well as silver coins of the same name from Tamga bearing a nominal of a 'dinar' and the same tamga have been discovered. Some authors date undated 'late' coins bearing the name of Nasir at Mengü Timur's rule, that is, the 670s AH [Trostyansky, Yegorov, 2005, p. 31].

Even though the coinage volume was smaller than as compared to the 14th and 15th century, Bulgar coins of the first period of monetary circulation come in many types, nominals, and weights. What they all share is the tamgas of the great kaans or Batu's House. Scholars have noted that on most Bulgar coins by Mengü Timur, with few exceptions, the crossbar is on the right, while those by Tuda Mengü have it on the left. The monetary circulation area expanded greatly during the rule of Khan Mengü Timur. new mints opened in the Volga Regions. In particular,

Bilyar issued anonymous undated silver coins bearing an inscription 'coins of Bilyar', unlike that on Bulgar ones—'coinage of Bulgar'—in the 1270s–early 1280s. Like most Bulgar coins of that time, they weigh 1.45 to 1.6g. Such coins are usually dated by occurrence



Dirhams. Bilyar coinage. 13th century (according to A. Singatullina)

in hoards of the 1270s–early 1280s—those of Almenevo and Bulgar III [Fedorov-Davydov, 1986] and absence in more recent ones, dating back to the 1980s–early 1290s, namely Bulgar I and II [Fedorov-Davydov, 1972]. The Bulgar monetary reform of the 1290s did affect Bilyar. A new weight standard of 1.20–1.25g was introduced for anonymous dirhams of 692 AH (1292/93). The design on such coins issued in 692 AH has much more in common with their contemporary Bulgar coins than with earlier, undated Bilyar ones made in the 1270s. The mint of Bilyar closed after 692 AH. However, the city lived on.

Kerman/Kirman (K-r-man) became famous due to coins in the Almenevo Hoard, which was discovered on the fringe of the village Almenevo, Kozlovsky District, Chuvash Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in 1938. A search at the hoard site in 1942 revealed a large ancient town with a floor area of 340,000 square kilometres. It was apparently Ke(i)rman—the northernmost settlement of the Bulgar Ulus [Kalinin, Xalikov, 1954, p. 85, 93–94]. Some scholars have been associating Kerman with today's Kazan recently [Muhamadiev, 1999, p. 255–256]. The scholar used to maintain that the coins of Kerman belonged to Khan Berke and interpreted the inscription as the khan's name 'Berkai' [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 50]. The Kerman coins were only issued for

a short period and had a batch coinage. The weight of most of the coins was within 1.4–1.70g. Chronologically, the undated anonymous coins belong to the early coinage period during the rule of Mengü Temür. 130 out of the 132 Kerman coins that have been discovered were in the Almenevo Hoard (National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, No. 3230), while two items are kept in the Hermitage Museum (No. D/8948, D/12193). All Kerman coins have the tamga leg on the right.

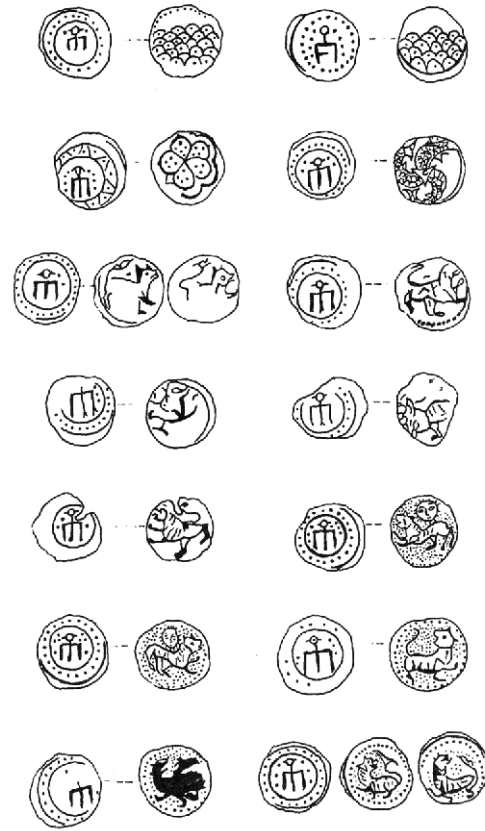
The state's newly built capital **Sarai** began to issue coins in 671 AH [Lebedev, 1998, p. 65–66]. Sarai coins of the 1270s are more similar to anonymous Bulgar ones of the same period, the mint name being the only difference. This is attributable to the involvement of Bulgar coiners in the activities of the newly founded Sarai mint.

By the early 1270s, the first mint of the Ulus of Jochi in Bulgar had already been active for over twenty five years. Elements in the Kufic script found on Bulgar and Sarai coins could have resulted from a transfer of Middle Asian coiners to Bulgar and later, along with Bulgar ones, to Sarai. Sarai issued coins until 682 AH (1283/84) to resume its operations after a pause in 686 AH (1287/88). It used the Bulgar standard weight of 1.5–1.55g (two daniqs, 0.78g each). It should be noted that all early Sarai coins are anonymous. No copper coins from Sarai have been found; small light-weight silver coins, termed 'half dirhams', were used as small money in Sarai as well as in Bulgar. Just like Bulgar, Sarai issued undated silver 'anonymous' coins bearing the name of *al-Nasir li-Din* and a nominal of 'dinar', which were very similar to those of Bulgar. There is evidence that the al-Nasir Sarai coins were first issued at the end of Berke's rule, during the first years after Mengü Temür came to power, that is, approximately 1265–1267 [Lebedev, 2005,

p. 16]. Some scholars believe that al-Nasir Sarai coins could have been issued during the rule of Mengu Timur and Tuda Mengu by Bulgar coiners copying 'their' design [Evstratov, Gumayunov, 2005, p. 106].

A new stage of Sarai coinage began in 690–696 AH (1291–1297), when the first name-bearing Sarai coins by Khan Tokhta appeared. They bore no tamga and, most importantly, were heavier. A standard weight of 2.25–2.3g was introduced in the Volga Region. A Khwarezmian ratl of silver weighing 458.64g was used to produce 200 or 202 coins [Fedorov-Davydov, 1961, p. 85]. No Sarai coins dated 697–709 AH (1297/98–1309/10) have been discovered so far. The common features of the Sarai coins with those from Bulgar and Khwarezm, which many scholars have noted, resulted from 'the cultural mix of diverse cultural elements belonging to subordinated peoples that formed the urban culture of the Golden Horde' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1964a, p. 4]. The fact that 13th century's coins are hardly represented at the Selitrennoe archaeological site (only four out of 11,000 coins collected there and introduced into scientific use are dated at the 13th century) has enabled V. Lebedev to infer that 'we should expect the 13th century's Sarai to be localized accurately when archaeologists or amateurs get to the bottom of the Akhtoba' [Lebedev, 2005, p. 20].

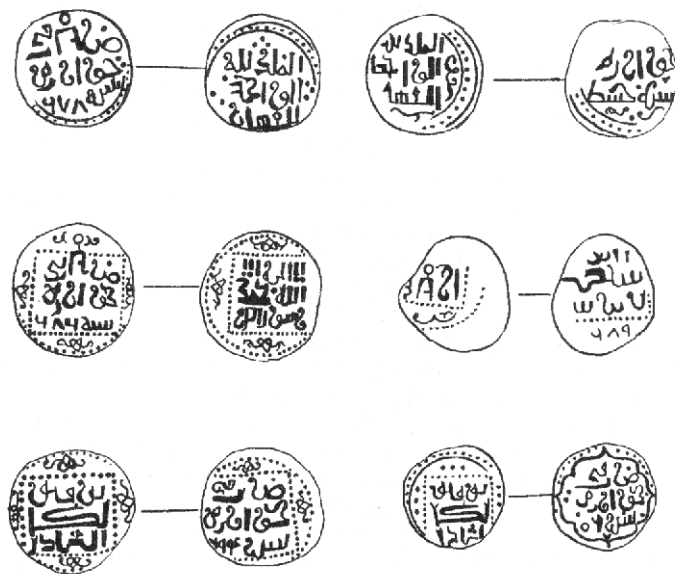
Ukek (located in the place of Saratov), which the Mongols also built from scratch, began to issue anonymous silver coins, somewhat similar to the 13th century's Bulgar ones, though bearing no tamga, at the very beginning of the 14th century. Khan Tokhta's name-bearing dirhams acquired the set phrase used to refer to Jochid khans on coins of the 14th century, 'Sultan/ supreme Giyath / Tokhtogu the Just' in 705–707 AH (1305/06–1307/08). The standard weight of Ukek coins was above 1.5g. As well as in Bulgar and Sarai, 'half dirhams' of the same type as the dirhams were used. We can assume that Ukek began to issue coins after Sarai coinage was abandoned. Ukek coins dating back to the early 14th century are generally similar to neither Sarai-minted dirhams by Tokhta, dated 690–696 AH (1291–1297), nor the 13th century's Bulgar dirhams, nor those



Dirhams. Silver. Bulgar. 13th century NM RT

from Khwarezm dating back to the early 14th century. A certain similarity of inscription position, as well as the common title of Sultan assigned to Tokhta by Ukek coins of 706–707 AH and Sarai dirhams of 710 AH (1310/11) apparently suggests that the coiners and equipment were transferred to Sarai after the Ukek mint closed. I. Evstratov believes that it was in Ukek that the first copper coins in the Lower Volga Region were issued in the late 13th century—first decade of the 14th century [Evstratov, 2004, p. 78–80]. L. Nedashkovsky has been recently studying Ukek coins with considerable success [Nedashkovsky, 2000, p. 16–26].

The Ulus of **Khwarezm** began to issue coins in 669 AH (1270/71). The date is contained in a chronogram that has been deciphered recently [Lebedev, 1998, p. 65–66]. The first Khwarezmian coins, just as those from Sarai, were anonymous and bore the tamga of the House of Batu. During the rule of Khan Mengu Timur, their standard weight was not significantly different from that in



Dirhams. Silver. Khwarezm. 13th century. National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan

Bulgar and other European centres of Jochid coinage of the 13th century. Khwarezmian coins have an outstandingly sophisticated and ornate design as well as peculiarly positioned legends suggestive of century-long coinage traditions in Middle Asia. In 686–690 AH (1287/88–1291), anonymous dirhams with a new standard weight of 2.25–2.30g were issued [Fedorov-Davydov, 1961, p. 85].

Coins bearing Tokhta's names appeared in Khwarezm later than they did in Sarai. As it was in Sarai, the tamga of the House of Batu ceased to occur when the coins acquired the khan's name. Khwarezmian anonymous dirhams were replaced by name-bearing coins by Toktu Bek in 693 AH (1293/94). However, the change of coin type did not affect its standard weight.

Coin weight was reduced materially in 706–709 AH (1306/07–1309/10)—all discovered Khwarezmian dirhams dating back to that period weigh under 2g. The city began to issue anonymous copper coins in 708 AH (1308/09). Khan Tokhta's reform of 710 did not affect Khwarezm, which carried out a monetary reform different from those in European cities. A standard dirham weight of 1.897g (5/12 mithqal) was established and remained effective until Khan Tokhtamysh's reform [Fedorov-Davydov, 1965, p. 206].

Crimea became the second mint after Bulgar and an important minting centre of the first monetary circulation period in Ulus of Jochi. The first coins to be issued there were name-bearing dated coins by Khan Mengü Temür that appeared in 665 AH (1266/67) and always bore the tamga of the House of Batu. The first coins weighed 2–2.2g, which was probably half a mithqal of 4.26g. In the 1280s, the weight of Crimean coins was reduced to 1.6–1.63g (200 coins per Byzantine tibra of 327.425g or 100 coins per full Russian libra of 163.726g). A new reduction to 1.45 followed in the 1290. The coins weighed as little as 1–1.05g in the early 14th century [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 13].

In the 13th century, Crimea issued silver anonymous and name-bearing coins by all the khans—Mengü Temür, Tuda Mengü, Tula Buga, Tokhta (Bulgar did not issue name-bearing coins by Khans Tula Buga and Tokhta). In the late 13–early 14th century, Crimea issued a lot of copper coins, rarely dated but always bearing the tamga of the House of Batu. The first dated Crimean copper coins are dated 674 AH (1275) [Kramarovskiy, 1997, p. 102]. Name-bearing copper coins by all the khans from Mengü Temür, including Tokhta, have been discovered [Lebedev, 2000, p. 11–14]. Undated copper coins bearing the toponym 'Solkhat' were issued not later than in the latter half of the 13th century [Ibid., p. 9; Kramarovskiy, 1997, p. 103]. Rare undated Solkhat coins bear an image of a sun face and a double tamga (that of the House of Batu with the trident tamga of the temporary ruler Nogai on the common head) and a legend 'Khan Tokhta the Just' [Severova, 2002, p. 78].

Silver and copper coins bearing the name of the city of **Isaccea** (in the lower reaches of the Danube, Romania) were issued in the late 13–early 14th century. Some of the copper coins bear a double tamga, the sun face like that on the Solkhat coins, and the name of Tokhta Khan. Either Nogai's trident tamga 'is

combined with the state tamga accompanying the name of Tokhta, or coins having bearing both tamgas or anonymous, or coins only have that of Nogai but mention Tokhta in the legend. By placing his own tamga on the Isaccea coins, Nogai declared his actual power over the region' [Ibid.].

The key centres of the first monetary circulation period were Bulgar and Crimea. Coinage was insignificant and local in Ukek, Sarai, Khwarezm, Bilyar, Kerman, and Saqchi. 13-century hoards hardly contain any coins but local ones. Monetary circulation in the Volga Region consisted of silver coins of different nominals—dirhams, half dirhams, quarter dirhams. Their local names of that period are unknown. A single batch of double dirhams was issued in Bulgar. Bulgar only produced (and reminted) a lot of copper coins in the 1240s–1250s. Crimea issued copper coins, both anonymous and bearing the names of the khans from Mengu Timur to Öz Beg, continuously.

The first monetary period of the Ulus of Jochi also includes the first decade of the 14th century, when pre-reform coins by Tokhta (anonymous in Bulgar), name-bearing and anonymous in Sarai, Ukek, Crimea, and Khwarezm, were issued.

Second Period of Monetary Circulation (Khan Tokhta's Reform of 710 AH (1310/1311))

The monetary reform began when old coins were prohibited and a large number of coins by Khan Tokhta were issued in Sarai-al-Maqrusin 710 AH. This is why pre-reform coins are not present in 14th century hoards. The maximum weight of such coins is 1.48–1.54g. Their theoretical standard weight was probably established at 1.52–1.56g, that is, 1/3 mithqal or two daniqs (0.78g each) [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 15].

Some numismatists have been recently denying any all-state monetary reforms. For instance, 'Tokhta did not carry out any all-state monetary reform in 710 AH. No uniform dang weight standard for local mints in the Golden Horde was introduced at that time! Each region addressed all issues in relation to re-

forming their monetary products on its own' [Petrov, Studitsky, Serdyukov, 2005, p. 146]. However, we will study the four monetary circulation periods, chronologically separated by the monetary reforms by Khans Tokhta, Tokhtamysh, and Shadi Beg, as suggested by G. Fedorov-Davydov.

Name-bearing coins by Khan Tokhta do not bear the tamga of the House of Batu. No name-bearing or dated anonymous dirhams by Tokhta minted in Bulgar have been found. Apart from the capital Sarai (Sarai-al-Maqrus), local mints in Bolgar al-Makhrusah, Azak (Tana), Crimea, and Mukhsha were active during the rule of Khan Öz Beg (1312–1341). In the early 14th century, Azak and Crimean coins weighed about 1.02g. It increased to 1.3–1.5g in Azak during Öz Beg's rule [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 14]. The first silver coins in Azak are dated 1317. Most of copper coins with an inscription, 'Supreme order' and an image of 'a lion under the sun' were issued in 732–734 AH (1331/32–1333/34). According to N. Fomichev, the fact is representative of a developing trade between the local population and an Italian (Venetian) colony, while the influence of the developing trade route to China via Tana (Azak) caused Sarai to issue copper coins with the same image [Fomichev, 1981, p. 239–240].

Crimea continued to issue name-bearing silver and copper coins by Khan Tokhta with the tamga of the House of Batu on them. No reformed Crimean coins by Tokhta have been found so far [Lebedev, 2000, p. 11]. Name-bearing dirhams by Öz Beg, as well as name-bearing and anonymous dated pulis issued during his rule began to appear in 713 AH. They also bear the tamga of the House of Batu, while dirhams dated 720 AH (1320/01) state the coinage place to be 'Crimea al-Makhrusa'. No Crimean coins of 1325–1375 have been discovered [Ibid., p. 7, 16–17].

Only the Bulgar mint remained active in the Middle Volga Region in the second monetary circulation period. Undated anonymous and unepigraphic coins bearing the tamga of the House of Batu could have been issued and circulated here in the first decade of the 14th century as well. No name-bearing coins by Tokhta have been discovered in Bulgar. However, it

issued those by Öz Beg, bearing the tamga of the House of Batu, the date, and stating the coinage place as 'Bulgar al-Makhura', meaning 'God-protected Bulgar', in 721–731 AH (1321–1331). Öz Beg's name-bearing dirhams issued in Sarai-al-Maqrus in 722 AH (1322) also bore the epithet 'Protected by God' but did not have a tamga. A dirham type by Khan Janibek dated 749 AH (1348/49) is known to have been issued in Sarai al-Makhrusa [Fraehn, 1832, p. 12, No. 85].

Anonymous dated pul of 734 AH (1333/34), issued during the rule of Öz Beg, were a mass type of Bulgar coins. Such coins are very common in the cultural layer of the Bolgar Archaeological Site. Puls with a 'lattice' but without a tamga were probably issued during the rule of Öz Beg or somewhat earlier [Fedorov-Davydov, 1987, p. 176–177].

The non-central mint of the **Ulus of Mukhsha** issued silver dirhams during the rule of Khan Öz Beg, from 713 AH (1313/14), only. Ch. Fraehn was the first scholar to describe Mukhsha coins [Fren, 1832, p. 6]. The minting centre was later associated with the Narovchat archaeological site in Penza Oblast and the city of Nuriyan [Krotkov, 1923, p. 27–31]. Anonymous Mukhsha copper coins were issued in the 1330–1350; name-bearing Mukhsha copper coins bear the name of Kildibek Khan only (1361–1362) [Belousov, Golubev, 1998, p. 31–33]. Öz Beg's dirhams from Mukhsha, as well as those from Bulgar and Crimea, usually bore the tamga of the House of Batu, which the citizens and their ancestors had been familiar with since the mid-13th century.

Local minting centres almost ceased to issue coins of their own during the rule of Khan Janibek (1342–1357). Numerous silver and copper coins from **Sarai al-Jadid** and, from the 1350s, **Gulistan**. Their weight was very stable and hardly changed until the 1370s. Most of the coins weigh 1.48–1.54g; the theoretical standard weight was probably 1.51–1.56g, that is, 1/3 mithqal, or two daniqs at 0.78g each [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 15]. Only Khwarezm continued to issue name-bearing dirhams by Janibek, Berdibek, Kulpa, Nawruz, Khizr. Khwarezm issued anonymous dirhams in the time of troubles on the 1360s–1370s.

Name-bearing dirhams by Suyurgatmysh (and Temur Gurgun) and Tokhtamysh Khan were issued in 781 AH (1379/80) [Fedorov-Davydov, 1965, p. 182–186].

The death of Berdibek in 1359 marked the beginning of internecine feud in the Ulus. The state split into the right bank of the Volga River, ruled by Karachibeg Mamai's puppet khans Abdallah (1361–1370) and Muhammad Bulak (1370–1380), and the left bank ruled by the 'Sarai' khans. By the 1360s, 'special numismatic provinces' had been formed, local coinage resumed, the nominally uniform monetary circulation had started to decay and hoarding to increase. The largest number of hoards dominated by coins issued in the capitals (Sarai al-Jadid and Gulistan) pertain to the 1360s.

Sarai al-Jadid issued dirhams bearing the names of Khans Berdibek (1357–1359), Kulpa (1359–1360), Nawruz (1360), Khizr (1360–1361), Temur Hoja (August 1361), Ordu Melik (1361), Kildibek (1361–1362), Abdallah (1361–1370), Khayr-Bulat (1364–1365), Aziz Sheikh (1365–1367), Tulunbek Khanum (1370–1372?), Urus (1374–1375) in 759–779 AH (1357/58–1377/78). In the late 1360s and 1370s, the weight of new Sarai coins was reduced [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 100–101], which is probably attributable to tax irregularities and generally weakened state authorities.

Starting in the 1350s, **Gulistan**, a city that has not been located so far, though the question was raised back in the early 20th century, became outstanding through large-scale silver and, later, copper coinage. There are two most influential opinions on its locations. Either 'Gulistan lay within Bulgar' [Ibid., p. 21–23, 94, 98], or it should be associated with the Tsarevckoye archaeological site [Goncharov, 2005b, p. 99]. Coins issued in Gulistan, Gulistan al-Makhrusa, Gulistan al-Jadid, Gulistan al-Sarai in 752–768 AH (1351/52–1366/67) in the names of Khans Murid, Aziz Sheikh, and Bulat Hoja.

Measures were taken regularly to maintain a stable dirham weight during the time of troubles by changing copper coins—the old pul were apparently replaced by new, heavier ones. By maintaining the pul (both old and new) to daniq ratio (16 pul=1 daniq), the authorities were able to increase the silver rate of

dirham. The broad range of weight of copper coins even within one issue suggests that pulis circulated without their exact weight being taken into account; their rate was forced. The rate, established in non-central cities, only applied to a certain region, outside of which the copper coin depreciated. The central authorities established and maintained a forced rate of capital-minted pulis (Sarai, Sarai-al-Maqrus, Gulistan); so Sarai- and Gulistan-issued coins filled all local markets except for Khwarezm [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 36–38].

Crimea within the Mamai Horde began to issue coins on behalf of Muhammad Bulak after a long pause in 777 AH (1375). All further claimants upon the throne in the last quarter of the 14th century regularly issued coins [Lebedev, 2000, p. 17].

In the 1360s, **Azak** issued dirhams by Berdibek, Kulpa, Nawruz, Khizr, Ordu Melik, and Kildibek, copper coins by Khans Abdallah and Kildibek. A special numismatic province, largely dominated by Azak-issued coins, formed in the lower and middle reaches of the Don and Seversky Donets. The maximum weight of Azak coins in the 1360s was 1.3–1.35g; it increased to 1.4–1.42g in the 1370s during the rule of Khan Abdallah (Mamai's puppet khan) [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 16].

The monetary system of the Dniester River Region was largely dominated by local dirhams by Abdallah Shehr al-Jadid and Yangi Shahr of the 1360s and pulis by Aziz Sheikh [Yanina, 1977, p. 205]. Capital-issued coins (Sarai al-Jadid and Gulistan) were predominant there, as well as in the rest of the Ulus of Jochi, during the rule of Janibek until that moment.

In the 1370s, the steppe, apparently nomadic centre, **Horde**, issued silver coins at a mass scale. The Horde of the khans of the Mamai Horde Abdallah and Muhammad Bulak has not been located yet. A number of coins from Horde and hoards containing such coins suggest that Horde traveled in the lower reaches of the Dnieper and in the Azov Sea Region after it left Moldavia during the rule of Muhammad. Azak and Horde issued their coins according to local weight standards, different from the new Sarai and Gulistan ones, which meant the end of the dominance of the uniform capital-issued

silver coin of the Golden Horde, which had a stable weight due to a unitary weight standard. The maximum weight of Horde-issued coins in the 1370s was 1.45–1.5g [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 16].

Majar, one of the largest Northern Caucasian cities of the Golden Horde, issued silver coins by Tokhta (?) referred to by the title 'Padishah beyond Comparison were in 710 AH (1310/11) or 715 (1315/16). Majar al-Jadid issued silver coins by Muhammad in 774 AH (1372/73) and silver and copper coins stating no coinage place in the 1360s. The only criterion for identifying the coins as minted by Majar is their having been discovered in the region. Copper coins by Abdallah dated 767 AH (1365/66) state the coinage place as Majar [Rtveladze, 1971, p. 78–79, 83–84].

Back in the 13th century, when **Khwarezm**-issued coins acquired the name of Khan Tokhta, they ceased to bear the tamga of the House of Batu. Name-bearing dirhams by Öz Beg do not bear the tamga either. Khwarezmian dirham types remained unchanged even when one khan replaced another from 714 AH (1314/15) to 746 (1345/46), suggesting that Khwarezm had an autonomous monetary system. The local standard dirham weight was different from the silver coins of the Volga Region. The maximum weight was 1.85–1.9g (probably 5/12 mithqal, that is, 2.5 daniq, 0.78g each). The ration of the Khwarezmian dirham, which equaled 2.5 daniq, to the Sarai and Gulistan dirham was 2.5:2 [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 15]. In 762 AH (1360/61), Khwarezm manifested its autonomy from the Ulus of Jochi by issuing anonymous coins. The anonymous coins of the 1360–1370 were apparently minted by the Sufi Dynasty, which was independent enough to not place the name of the khan of the Golden Horde on its coins but too weak to issue them in its own name [Fedorov-Davydov, 1965, p. 185, 197]. S. Yanina disagrees with the conclusion. She maintains that the 'Kungrat Sufi Dynasty' never existed and that there is no reason to view the coinage of Khwarezm of the 760–770 AH as separate from that of the Golden Horde. She believes that the beginning of internecine feud did not affect Khwarezmian coinage. The city continued to coin dirhams

bearing the names of Berdibek (758–760 AH), Kulpa (760–761), Nawruz (761 AH), Khizr (762 AH), even copper name-bearing names by Berdibek (760 AH). The simplest explanation why anonymous silver coins were issued from 762 AH (1360/61) is Khwarezm's geographic remoteness from the centre of the Ulus of Jochi, which prevented it from keeping up-to-date with all court events and coups [Yanina, 1971, p. 60, 49–50, 47].

The beginning of active monetary circulation in **Saray-Jük** (on the bank of the Ural River, Kazakhstan) pertains to the 1320s. It witnessed a monetary inflow from cities in the Lower Volga Region and Khwarezm. We can assume that an active economic growth began in the Trans-Volga Region at that time, resulting in its catching up with Khwarezm. In 763 AH, Khizr's puls were reminted as those of Murid there [Goncharov, 2005a, p. 9–10].

Silver coins issued in **Sygnak** (in the territory of the Kok Horde) by Khans Mubarak Hoja in 728–729 AH (1327/28–1328/29), Urus in 770, 773–775, 777–778 AH (1368/69, 1371/72–1373/74, 1375/76, 1376/77), Tokhtamysh in 780, 781, 783 AH (1378/79, 1379/80, 1381/82), and copper anonymous coins dated 727, 731, 734, 768, 773 AH (1326/27, 1330/31, 1333/34, 1366/67, 1371/72) [Pachkalov, 2002, p. 87–88; Khromov, 2004a, p. 13].

The monetary and weight system was dominated by the dirham or the yarmaq, a silver coin minted on a mass-scale. The dirham equaled two daniqs, 0.78g each, a weight and count unit equal to 1/3 mithqal. Six dirhams formed the count unit known as the dinar (Turkic: al-tyn). The copper coin was known as the pul; 16 puls equaled one daniq (the count and weight unit), of which inscriptions '16 pul daniq' on many coins minted in Sarai in the 1320–1330 of 'pul Mukhsha—16 dang' are suggestive [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 33].

The classical system has been revised in the recent years. We will only cite two of the many opinions. 'In the 14th century, the Golden Horde silver coin was known as the deng. It is the ratio to them, actual coined denges, which the legends of a number of Jochid puls indicate. The perfect ratio was 16 puls per deng. This ratio between the basic silver and copper nom-

inals, just as the new coins themselves, was introduced in about 710 AH' [Goncharov, 2002, p. 157]. Here is another explanation: 'the basic silver nominal of the Jochid coin system, at least in the Lower Volga Region in the 13–first half of the 14th century, regardless of its actual weight, could have been called akçe, while the term dang, mentioned in Jochid pul legends, referred to a weight unit of 0.78g, equal to one dang or 1/6 mithqal weighing 4.68g' [Gumayunov, Evstratov, 2004, p. 82].

However, 13-century silver coins sometimes bear a nominal of 'dirham' [Singatullina, 2003, No. 12–18, 39, 51, 53, 60, 63, 222–225, 228, 233–234, 236], so to rename the silver coins seems untimely unless compelling evidence is provided.

'Open', or 'free' coinage of Jochid coins of silver, which private individuals brought to the mint, was practiced in the 14th century, when silver shortage was insignificant, if any. The state had a lot of silver due to the Russian tribute. However, hoarding was always possible, as was a disproportional value of silver in the monetary system as compared to that in the neighbouring countries, where silver was more valuable. The government did not take such unpopular measures as reducing the quality or quantity of the previous metal in the coin in order to raise the silver coin rate. It influenced the monetary circulation by manipulating copper coins, while silver circulation remained unchanged. Issuing new puls, which were heavier than old ones, enabled the government to raise not only their nominal but the dirham silver rate. However, copper value in puls was lower than their nominal value. Therefore, the pul had a forced rate and circulated without its exact weight being taken into account [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003; p. 35–36, 38].

14-century coins have been studied intensely recently because they have been discovered at a mass scale at Golden Horde archaeological sites. Numerous Bulgar-minted coins bearing the name of al-Nasir, those reminted by Mengü Khagan, undated copper coins with a 'lattice' [Fren, 1832, p. 36, No. 374], anonymous Bulgar-minted puls of 734 AH/1333–34 [Ibid., p. 7, No. 37], and rare 13-century coins with the 'late' mention of al-Nasir [Singatullina, 2003,

No. 65]—these make the whole output of the Bulgar mint over about 100 years. Unlike other places, such as Mukhsha, Azak, Shehr al-Jadid, Khwarezm, 14th century local Bulgar pulis make as little as 8.9% of all copper coins discovered, most of the pulis being minted in Sarai al-Jadid, Gulistan, and Sarai [Fedorov-Davydov, 1987, p. 179–181].

G. Fedorov-Davydov's conclusion that the silver rate was regulated by increasing the weight of copper coins has been confirmed by E. Goncharov, who weighed copper coins minted in Sarai al-Jadid. The first copper coins were issued during the rule of Janibek (the double-headed eagle type), a rate of '16 daniq' and sometimes the date '743 AH' stated on them. 32 pulis equaled one dirham. The chronologically successive 'flower' pulis are dated 751–753, 760, 761 AH and weigh about 1.7g. The type was issued during the rule of several khans (Janibek, Berdibek, Kulpa, and Nawruz). The average weight of a pul dated 762 AH (Khizr) is 2.7g; 763–767 AH (Kildibek, Khayr Bulat, Aziz Sheikh, anonymous), 1.8–2.25g; 768 AH (anonymous), 5g. Those issued during the rule of Temur Hoja (762 AH) and Ulja Temur (768 AH), the weight was about 2.5g. Only two dated issues of the 70s have been found so far—dated 773 AH (Tulunbeg Khanum), having a weight of about 2.8g, and anonymous pulis of 776 AH, weighing 1.7g. Their design is very different between each other and from the pulis of the 60s [Goncharov, 1998, p. 75–76].

In the 1370s, local coinage in the Lower Volga Region became less active until it was unable to meet the demand for silver coins. A long-brewing coinage crisis began; silver coin scarcity was obvious. The monetary circulation kept splitting into 'numismatic provinces'. Capital-minted coins ceased to dominate most of the state's European territory. Silver coins apparently got a share of forced rate to be approved by not only the central authorities but rather the local ones. It is probably attributable to introduction of weight standards different from those of the capital in province centres (Azak, Horde) [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 48].

The local authorities took various measures (mostly countermarking and clipping of

silver coins) to somehow raise the rate of the silver coin in circulation and prevent its hoarding. The countermarks included pictograms (like the lattice), khan's names ('Murid', 'Aziz Sheikh', 'Abdallah'), words ('khan', 'khakan', 'legal'), animals, fishes, and birds [Ibid., p. 49].

The practice of coin clipping was introduced in the Middle Volga Region back in the 1370s and lasted through the rest of the 14th century, gradually reducing the weight of the local dirham. This also applied to Khwarezm. Silver imitations of Jochid coins began to appear in the 1370s; it is still unknown why and where they were minted [Ibid., p. 51–52]. Such aspects of Jochid numismatics as imitations, silver clipping, dirham and pul countermarks, pul and dirham standard weights remain either under-studied or controversial. To address the issues, scholars need to extend the source base as well as to revise and reinterpret previous findings.

Third Period (from Tokhtamysh's Reform of 782 AH (1380/81))

All European cities in the Ulus of Jochi and those in Transcaucasia that minted dirhams bearing Tokhtamysh's names, namely Sarai, Sarai al-Jadid, Horde, Azak, Hajji Tarkhan, Saray-Jük, and Majar were to refer to the unitary weight standard of 1.42g (1/144 of a 204.7g bar). Khwarezm became an exception again. Even though coins by Tokhtamysh of the new weight, dated 781 AH (1379/80) have been found, the reform developed in the following year 782 AH (1380/81). As it was under Tokhta's rule in 710 AH, a very large number of coins was minted in 782 AH. However, the reform was completed in the Lower Volga Region only. A single standard was introduced in local mints, which facilitated the inflow of Azak and Horde coins to other areas, primarily the Lower Volga Region. Unlike the of 1310, Tokhtamysh's reform did not introduce capital-issued coins to replaced local ones but maintained large-scale local coinage, mostly in Azak and Horde. That is, it did not overcome the economic disunity of the country and the decentralization of its silver coinage. Unlike that of 710 AH, Tokhtamysh's reform of 782



Dirhams of Khan Tokhtamysh. Silver. Azak, Orda al-Muazzam, Horde al-Jadid, Horde, Crimea (according to G. Fedorov-Davydov)

AH did not cause complete withdrawal of old silver coins (hoards suggest that even in the Lower Volga Region about 10–30% of old-type coins remained in circulation after the reform [Ibid., p. 16–17].

In the Volga Region, Mordvin territories, partly in Ryazan, Verkhovsky Lands, along the Don, in Azak, Crimea, and the lower reaches of the Dnieper, old silver coins largely got out of circulation to be replaced by new ones by Tokhtamysh. Even though coins by Tokhtamysh made up over a half of the hoards discovered in the areas, about 53–100%, the reform had a limited scope [Ibid., p. 48].

While before the enthronement of Tokhtamysh it was traditional for province centres—**Azak**, later **Horde**—to refer to their own weight standards for coinage, he was able to unify coin weight for the cities. Dirhams dated 780, 782–783, 786–788 AH (1378/79, 1380/81, 1381/82, 1384/85–1386) and bearing the epithet 'God-protected', which dates back to the

time of Khan Öz Beg, were minted in Azak [Fomichev, 1997, p. 33].

In the first years of Tokhtamysh's rules, **Crimea** minted dirhams according to the unitary weight standard introduced within the framework of the reform (1.42g). However, the weight was reduced to 1.3 as soon as after 785 AH (1383/84), the maximum weight of a Crimean coin after 796 AH (1393/94) being only 1.13–1.16g. 1.13g equal 1/144 of a Russian libra of 163.7 [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 16; Ivanov, 1996, p. 10]. That is, Crimea, which at first followed the instructions of the central authorities, then introduced two material coin weight reductions. This happened during the rule of one and the same khan, Tokhtamysh.

No abrupt coin change followed the reform in the **Middle Volga Region**. The change was incomplete, if any. Tokhtamysh's reformed coins were very few in the **Bulgar Ulus**. It had ceased to mint any new coins by that time. Old ones, clipped to another weight standard (1.42g), circulated. Silver shortage, which began back in the 1370, caused coin clipping in the Bulgar territory and brought about an increased rate of silver in the coin form. That higher, apparently forced coin silver rate must have prevented an inflow of dirhams from southern cities to the area. This increased silver hoarding, which brought about increasing coin clipping in the Bulgar Ulus. The forced silver rate remained effective in the 15th century. At first, silver coins were mostly clipped to 1–1.1g. Clipped coins hardly ever acquired countermarks to confirm the legitimacy of clipping and the value of the coin, though at the forced (increased) rate. Clipped coins from the Middle Volga Region dating back to the time of Tokhtamysh are characterized by a very broad weight range with several peaks. They represent the centralized component of coin clipping, for which the authorities reduced the clipping standard step-by-step. The unclear vague distribution suggests random clipping by the population [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 52–53].

A. Muhamadiev found out the further clipping standards: 1.02–1.05; 0.93–0.95; 0.82–0.85; 0.73–0.75; 0.65–0.68; 0.55–57; 0.47–48, dating the beginning of the process at the be-

ginning of Abdallah Khan's rule. The scholar believes that the newly minted coins by Tokhtamysh issued in the 1380s were clipped to 0.78g, that is, 1 daniq, in the Middle Volga Region [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 103 et seq.].

In other areas Tokhtamysh's new coin co-existed with the old one, and they circulated at a spontaneous market rate. The mint of **Hajji Tarkhan** is believed to have started its coinage in 776 AH (1374/75), marked by the first issue of copper coins bearing the name of Cherkesh Bek. Anonymous copper coins of 777 AH (1375/76) and 784 (1382/83)—Tokhtamysh's rule—have been discovered. 14th century silver coins are known to have been issued in 782, 786, 795 and 799 AH (1380/81, 1384/85, 1392/93, 1396/97) by Khans Muhammad Bulak and Tokhtamysh [Severova, 1997, p. 35–36].

Khwarezm, which minted coins according to its own weight standard of 1.89–1.9g throughout the 14th century, changed the standard weight for silver coins during the rule of Tokhtamysh but accepted a weight different from the European standard. The maximum weight of Khwarezm-minted silver coins of the period of Tokhtamysh is 1.5g. The standard was probably established as a double daniq, that is, the old pre-Tokhtamysh silver coin of the Volga Region. Khwarezm minted silver coins according to a weight standard of 1.16–1.17g, that is, 0.5 mithqal, in 1360–1380. Both silver and gold Khwarezmian coins were subjected to clipping both before the enthronement of Tokhtamysh and during his rule. This probably stabilized the gold to silver value ratio within the monetary system so that it was similar to the market value ratio for the metals [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 17].

Many recent works have provided data on previously unknown issuers, cities, coinage locations, or revised some names, such as 'Sheikhun' or 'Sheikhun Muazzan' [Pachkalov, 2001, p. 71–73]; 'Idil' in the place of the Vodyanskoye archaeological site [Evstratov, 2000, p. 74–76]; 'Ak-Sarai' in the place of the Tsarevskoe archaeological site [Goncharov, Pachkalov, 2002, p. 85–87]; 'Shongat' in the place of an ancient settlement near the village Bolshiye Atryasy, Republic of Tatarstan [Gumayunov, Evstratov, 2003, p. 79–81];

'Yangikend' in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya [Lebedev, 2003, p. 89–91], etc. The reports require a cautious attitude without either denying or accepting them without compelling evidence.

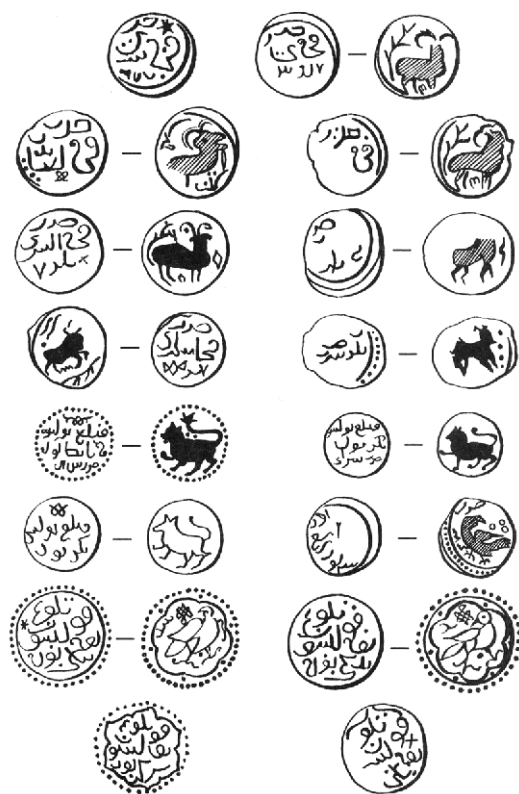
E. Goncharov has estimated that at least 13 mints were active in the Ulus of Jochi from 782 to 797 AH (1380/81–1394/95), while from 796 to 800 AH (1393/94–1397/98) the Ulus's coinage was reduced dramatically. Little data is available on coinage in 797–799 AH (1394/95–1396) [Goncharova, 2003, p. 94–95].

The decay of Golden Horde cities began already in the 1370s as the result of the Great Troubles, of which archaeological excavations at archaeological sites and coins discovered at them are suggestive. Many estates were ruined in the capitals of the Lower Volga Region; the city market suffered silver shortage because it was hoarding; coins by Tokhtamysh are rare at archaeological sites but common in hoards.

Tokhtamysh's reform had a limited territorial application. A more or less complete change of coins took place in the capitals of the Lower Volga Region only. Pre-Tokhtamysh dirhams remained in circulation at a large scale in some provinces. However, such old dirhams had been clipped and circulated at a new silver rate. While following the reform of 1310 capital-minted coins replaced local ones, this time capital centres ceased to dominate the coinage system in 1360, when province centres began to issue coins at a mass scale. Tokhtamysh's reform stabilized the situation. Timur's campaigns were a heavy blow to the Golden Horde, which many minting centres did not survive. Those included Sarai al-Jadid, Azak, Ukek, Majar, Hajji Tarkhan, etc.

Fourth Monetary Circulation Period (from Shadi Beg's Reform of 802 AH (1399/1400))

The reform by Khan Shadi Beg (1399–1407), appointee of Ulugh Karachibek Edigü, did not bring about even a temporary coinage unification and monetary circulation leveling. The weight of the dirham was reduced to 1.13g (1.5 daniq) on the model of Crimea dirham of 796 AH (1393/94) in Horde, Hajji



Anonymous pulis. Sarai. Mid-14th century
(according to G. Fedorov-Davydov)

Tarkhan, Sarai, Crimea, and Saray-Jük, while coins by Shadi Beg, later Bulat (1407–1411) and Jalal al-Din (1411–1412) replaced old dirhams by Tokhtamysh. Sarai minted few coins in the 15th century. New minting centres were established in Birdi-Bazar, Irda-Bazar, Jidi-Bik-Bazar ('Bazaar of Seven Beks'), Hel-Birdi-Bazar, Il-Uy-Mazzam ('Home of the Superior Realm'), and Ulug al-Jadid, which were probably nomadic centres. Coins minted in Orda-Bazar and Ulug al-Jadid come in both the Bulgar and the southern weight, suggesting that the minting centres were nomadic [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 18; Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 192].

Coinage was split geographically during the rule of Shadi Beg. The same 13 mints were active during the first 12 years of the 15th century. Saray-Jük and Majar ceased to mint coins. Bulgar and Rajan—the latter during the rule of Bulat—became new minting centres. Crimean coinage moved to Kaffa; Sarai, Horde, Hajji

Tarkhan, and Khwarezm issued coins on a smaller scale [Goncharov, 2003, p. 95].

The maximum weight of coins minted in southern cities of the Ulus of Jochi is 1.1–1.154g [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 120; Yanina, 1954, p. 453]. However, they grew lighter in the 15th century. A. Muhamadiev assumed that the weight reduction had a reason, namely that the weight ratio of the southern and Bulgar coins was stable at 1.5:1 [Ibid., p. 128, 140]. In the 1430s, the southern coin weighed approximately 0.9–0.95g [Ibid., p. 125]. Monetary circulation died out in the Lower Volga Region in the second quarter of the 15th century—no hoards and coins pertaining to the period have been discovered.

Following Timur's occupation of Azak in 1395 and the Italian colony in the 15th century, the Azak mint resumed its activities. Silver coins by Shadi Beg dating back to this period have been discovered. However, the whole settlement was burned down during the last raid on Tana in 1418 [Fomichev, 1981, p. 241].

After Timur occupied Khwarezm in 1388 and had coins bearing its name issued, the Jochids came back for a while. Silver coins were minted in the name of Khans Shadi Beg and Bulat in the early 15th century. In 808–815 AH (1405/06–1412/13), Edigü ruled Khwarezm. Coins were issued in the name of the deceased Khan Bulat, as well as Timur Khan and Jalal al-Din, who were struggling to get power over the Ulus of Jochi, during his rule. The standard coin weight in Khwarezm in the early 15th century was about 1.1–1.5g, as it apparently was in the southern cities of the European part of the Golden Horde, that is, in accordance with the reform of 800 AH (1397/98), which applied to all cities of the state except for Bulgar [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 19].

Bulgar resumed minting in the early 15th century. The topography of 15-century coins bearing the name of Bulgar and Bulgar al-Jadid discovered suggests that the minting centre lay north of the Kama River; it might have been Kazan [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 13, 20, 115]. The maximum Bulgar coin weight in the early 15th century, during the rule of Khans Shadi Beg and Bulat, was 0.75–0.8g. The

daniq (0.78g) was apparently the weight reference. The standard is also applicable to clipped coins of the previous epoch [Ibid., p. 104, 111, 120; Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 17].

A. Muhamadiev inferred from an analysis of the Malye Atryasi Hoard that coins by Tokhtamysh were mostly clipped to a daniq (0.78g) [Muhamadiev, 1970, p. 62]. The standard weight of Bulgar-minted coins was constantly reduced in the first half of the 15th century. During the rule of Khan Dervish (1414–1419) they came to weigh 0.62–0.63g, and during that of Ghiyath al-Din (1422–1426?), '... the first sovereign ruler of Kazan, 0.585g' [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 125–126]. The reduction in the Bulgar coin standard weight during the rule of Ghiyath al-Din and Ulugh Muhammad apparently came with a monetary reform, when old coins were withdrawn from circulation and replaced by new ones. Evidence of this can be found in hoards [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 18].

It is not only coin weight but coinage quality that decreased. 15-century coins are hard to identify; they are negligently or unskillfully produced in contrast to those of the 13th and 14th century. Some of them hardly bear any inscriptions because of stamp displacement; some have inversed inscriptions, which is a defect. Material—silver—quality decreased too, which is very obvious.

The weight of coins from southern cities of the Ulus of Jochi and Khwarezm also decreased over the 15th century. To quote A. Muhamadiev, '... while at the beginning, shortly after Shadi Beg's reform, Kazan coiners were to refer to the Sarai dirham in terms of weight, the stability of the Kazan weight standard by the end of the first quarter of the 15th century suggests that it was the Sarai weight standard that changed in accordance to that of Kazan. This is attributable to the declining monetary circulation of the Lower Volga Region in the mid-15th century. Coinage continued to decrease there. Nearly all coins minted in Lower Volga Region were exported to the Khanate of Kazan, where the monetary circulation was maintained. It is natural that coiners in cities of the Lower Volga Region had to refer to the weight standard of Kazan coins' [Muhamadiev,

1983, p. 128]. The Kazan Khanate had ceased to mint any coins. Russian ones came into circulation.

In the 15th century, the significance of the **Hajji Tarkhan** mint increased. It issued batches of silver coins dated from 805 AH (1402/03), by Shadi Beg, to 831 (1427/28), by Ulugh Muhammad. Those were replaced with silver coins by Astrakhan khans of the 15th century. The Hajji Tarkhan mint was the most active in the 15th century; however, there is no evidence that it issued any copper coins at that time [Severova, 1997, p. 35–36]. However, E. Goncharov reports Hajji Tarkhan to have minted copper coins in 808 AH (1405/06) and 809 (1406/07), emphasizing the fact that Golden Horde had ceased to mint coins by that time [Goncharov, 1997, p. 182–183].

By the mid-15th century, only **Crimea** and the Khanate of Kazan had been able to maintain their monetary circulation. Crimea continued to issue silver coins regularly. Moreover, silver minting began in the south-east of Crimea. A second mint opened there in the Genoese Kaffa at the very beginning of the 15th century to issue dirhams by Shadi Beg and Bulat. Kaffa-minted Jochid coins appeared in 802 AH (1399/1400), during the rule of Shadiibek. Later, from 1419 to 1475 (the date when the Genoese colony in Crimea ceased to exist), bilingual, that is, Genoese-Tatar coins were being issued. On the one side, they bore a Genoese portal image and a Latin inscription; an Arabic legend containing the name Sufi was on the other side. Those were replaced by bilingual coins also bearing the tamga of the Golden Horde, succeeded to by coins bearing the name of Crimean Khan Hacı Giray, whose Kaffa-minted coins already bore the Giray tamga [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 19; Lebedev, 2000, p. 17]. Thus, Jochid dirhams ceased to be issued in the 1430s, when the Crimean Khanate was founded. Coins by another mint, Kafa al-Jadid, bearing the name of Devlet Birdi (1421–1426/27) appeared after 825 AH (1421/22) [Khromov, 2002, p. 94].

Apart from silver and copper coins, stick-shaped silver bars, sums (soms) were in circulation in the Ulus of Jochi. 185–198g boat-shaped Jochid bars were shorter than 'Novgorod type'

Russian grivnas. Such bars were not in daily circulation and, being very valuable, were only used for large payments and saving by aristocrats and rich merchants.

The Ulus of Jochi did not mint any gold coins except for anonymous Khwarezmian dinars pertaining to the Great Trouble of 1360–1370. However, Indian and Egyptian gold coins entered the state's territory. Over 60 dinars by the Khalidid and Taglaqid Indian dynasties have been found in the territory of the Ulus of Jochi. The appearance of those coins during the rule of Öz Beg Khan is probably connected with Ibn Battuta's report concerning the Ulus's trade with India, in particular, the highly lucrative horse export to India. Such 11g gold dinars were used not for daily trade but for capital accumulation. M. Kramarovsky estimated a Jochid dirham of the time of Öz Beg to have cost 81.5 times less than an Indian gold dinar [Kramarovsky, 2005, p. 153].

Monetary circulation in the Ulus of Jochi had the same development stages as the state itself. It began in the 13th century in separate, poorly interconnected areas of local monetary relations with ancient trade and craft traditions and sedentary populations long engaged in commerce. In the first half of the 14th cen-

tury, during the rule of Khan Öz Beg, the entire state enjoyed the golden age of exchange. The increasing centralization of power caused non-central coinage to almost disappear, while capital-minted coins from Sarais and Gulistan filled all markets across the Ulus. The response of the monetary market to the relax of central rule in the 1360–1370s, when a series of coups took place, was rapid. Local coinage replaced capital-minted ones immediately. 'Numismatic provinces' appeared. In order to increase coin saturation of their markets, local authorities not only issued their dirhams and puls but resorted to countermarks and clipping old coins. Following Timur's campaign of 1395, when the Ulus's major cities were ruined, the international trade routes connecting the Western and the East shifted to the south, to another part of West and Middle Asia, while Samarkand became the centre of Timur's new empire. In the 15th century, coinage and monetary circulation was confined to the territory that it covered in the 13th century (the former Volga Bulgaria and Crimea, Hajji Tarkhan in the Lower Volga Region). Coinage was further limited to the Crimean Khanate (until the end of the 18th century). Russian coins were in circulation in the Khanate of Kazan.

CHAPTER 4

Political Power and System

§ 1. The Khan and the Aristocracy: Power and Administration Structure

Iskander Izmaylov, Damir Iskhakov

Though the Mongols easily defeated peoples across Central Asia and East Europe in a series of wars, it proved much harder to bring them into submission and maintain control over them. This is why many nomadic empires fell into oblivion as soon as their founders died. Chinggis Khan's advisor Yelu Chucai took into account the thousand-year rule of the Khitan emperors when he said, 'One can found an empire on horseback, but one cannot rule it in the saddle'. The Chinggisids followed the advice and created a complex far-reaching administrative system across the territory of their vast and multi-ethnic empire. It came to form the Ulus of Jochi as early as the 1240s. The administrative and territorial structure of the Golden Horde had become full-fledged enough to ensure efficient control over all regions of the empire in the first half of the 14th century.

Scholars, in particular domestic ones, have paid a lot of attention to the socio-political structure of the Golden Horde [Berezin, 1864; Yegorov, 1972; 1985; Fedorov-Davydov, 1973; Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2000]. The range of opinions on the important and complicated issue is very broad. Their nature becomes clear if we outline the opposite concepts. On the one hand, the empire of Chinggis Khan and his descendants is viewed as a potestary political body with an underdeveloped class structure and no state institutions (see: [Skrynnikova, 1997, p. 12, 32 et seq.]). On the other hand, there is evidence that already Chinggis Khan's empire, not to mention the Ulus of Jochi, was a feudal state ('Mongol nomadic feudalism') with political and socio-economic institutions that were peculiar but more or less similar to those of other medieval states [Vladimircov, 1934; Fedorov-Davydov, 1973]. The two extreme

concepts apparently fail to provide insight into the actual socio-political structure of the Ulus of Jochi, which was a special combination of elements of the traditional nomadic community, headed by a ruling clan, and a well-developed Oriental, Islamic administrative system. At present, the complex structure can be described in very general terms only.

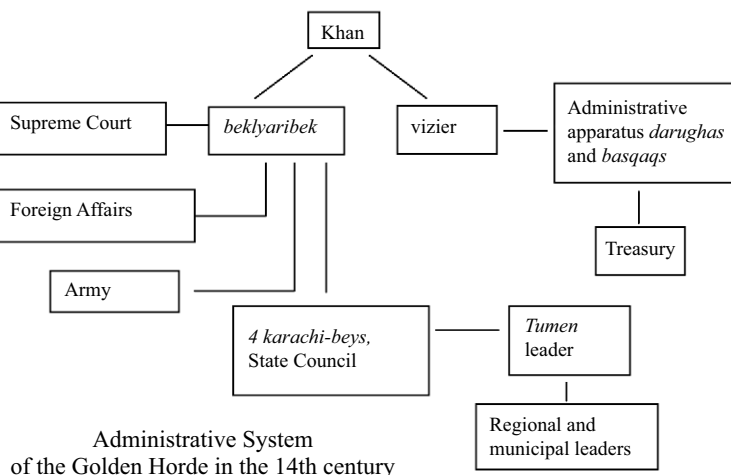
Only new studies by US historian Yu. Schamiloglu have enabled scholars to get a deeper understanding of it [Schamiloglu, 1984; 1986; 1992; 1993; 1998]. He believes that the socio-political structure of the Ulus of Jochi was based on the so-called 'system of four beks', or a union of four 'ruling tribes'. The leaders of such tribes, known as 'ulus emirs (beks)' (Russian: Horde princes, Arabic: amir al-ulus), one of them titled chief ulugh karachibek (*beklyaribek* ~ *beyliaribey* in Turkic, *prince of princes* according to Russian sources), along with the Chinggisid khan formed a ruling corporation, acting as a counter-balance to the sovereign ruler, the khan, within the collective ruling system. Cross-marriage through the female line was used to regulate the relations between the khan and the leaders of the 'ruling tribes' within the corporation. Besides, there was no clearly specified father to son power inheritance system in the Chinggisid House of the Golden Horde. Therefore, the leaders of the tribes acted as guarantors of the dynasty's rule and promotion for this or that Jochid Sultan by literally enthroning their candidate and subverting him when necessary. Describing the khan enthronization ceremony in the 'Golden Tataria' at the turn of the 15th century, J. Schiltberger noted, 'they seat the king (that is, the khan—I.I., D.I.)... on white felt... and lift him three times. Then they carry him around the tent, seat him

on the throne, and give him a gold sword, after which he must swear an oath according to their rules' [Schiltberger, 1984, p. 44]. The report suggests that it was karachibeks who carried out the essential governmental ceremony. This makes the system relying on a clan structure and, through it, on uluses and smaller land property, a major focus.

In fact, it is safe to say that the entire domestic politics of the Golden Horde was concentrated on two key elements of political power—the Chinggisid House and the clan and tribal organizations centred on the confederation of four 'ruling tribes'. The importance of the 'system of four beks' as a structural unit of state power in the Golden Horde is obvious from the scheme.

Unfortunately, a lack of sources has been preventing scholars from finding out whether each of the two parts (wings) of the Ulus of Jochi, the Ak Horde (right wing) and the Kok Horde (left wing) had a 'system of four beys', that is, 'ruling tribes', of its own, or the same confederation divided into halves ruled them. The second variant appears possible because 16th century historian Ötemish Hajji reported for the period of Khan Berdibek (1357–1359), '... Kiyat Mamai took the right wing and led the tribes to Crimea, (while) Tengiz Buga, son of Kiyat Jir Qutla, took the left wing to the Syr bank' [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 108]. However, the information has to be further elaborated because it deals with a period when the state had started to dissolve. This is done below by reconstructing the clan composition of the Golden Horde. G. Fedorov-Davydov's assumption that there existed a secondary division into a right and left wing within the Ulus of Batu, that is, the right wing of the Ulus of Jochi, the Ak Horde, has to be further justified and tested, though there is some evidence of it [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 59–60].

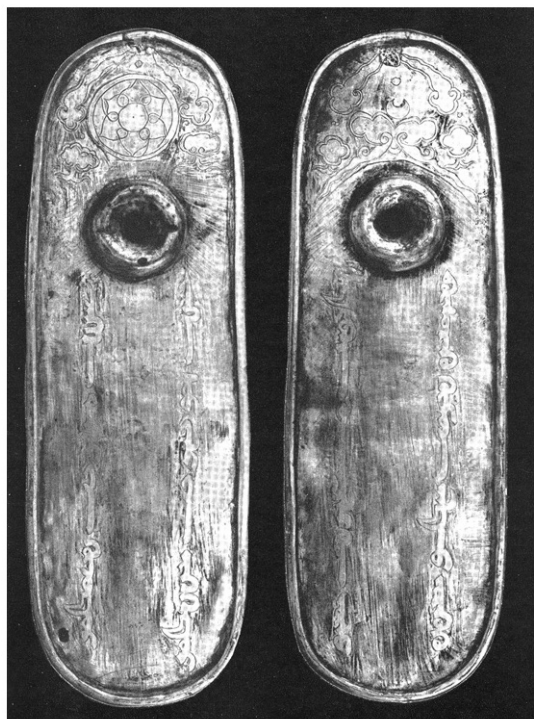
The power of the 'golden clan' ('altyn urug')—Chinggis Khan's family—over the whole empire and its part, the ulus assigned to



this or that successor of Chinggis Khan, was the core of the political system in Chinggis Khan's empire and the Khanates founded by his descendants. The Chinggisid throne was available to Chinggis Khan's descendants exclusively. According to a tradition dating back to the time of Chinggis Khan, the Ulus of Jochi with all its land and population belonged to the Jochid clan, from which all khans who ruled the country in the 13–15th century descended.

The khans had superior power over the country. They were the sovereign rulers of its territory. It was khans who assigned uluses to other Chinggisids and their vassals and appointed them to positions, implemented domestic and international policies, in particular by adopting new laws, introducing taxes, issuing coins, and commanding troops. Describing the khan's power in the Mongol Empire, which is applicable, to a limited extent, to the Ulus of Jochi, in the mid-13th century, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine wrote, 'The emperor of these Tatars has an astonishing power over everyone.'

Nobody dares stay in a country unless the emperor so orders. He orders tribal leader where they should be; tribal leaders specify locations for thousand commanders, thousand commanders for hundred commanders, and hundred commanders for ten commanders. Moreover, they execute whatever he orders in any time or place, whether in terms of war, or death, or life, without reservations' [Travels, 1957, p. 45]. The khans' power was so enormous and their authority in the East so high during the empire's high noon that even such



Paitza. Gilded silver. Crimea. The Simferopol Hoard. 13–14th century. State Historical Museum

an independent thinker as historian Ibn Khaldun viewed the khans of the Golden Horde as outstanding among the rest of the Chinggisids and equal to great Mongol kaans. He titled them 'possessors of thrones'.

At the same time, it was not the unlimited power of an absolute monarch. Theoretically, the khan ruled with the consent of his 'altyn urug', expressing its collective will and implementing its policy. The kurultai was the only body that could nominate and elect a khan. Among essential provisions, apparently contained in Chinggis Khan's Yasa, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine mentioned the following: '... everyone who is overproud enough to become an emperor without being elected by princes must be killed without any regrets' [Ibid., p. 43]. That is to say, it was necessary but not enough to be a clan senior of Chinggisid descent to become a khan. The 'altyn urug' empowered the candidate by expressing its will through the kurultai. To quote historian T. Sultanov, 'In a manner of speaking, the ruling clan delegated one of its representatives to perform certain functions, also lodging him with certain pow-

ers' [Sultanov, 2006, p. 67]. It was the kurultai of Chinggisids and higher aristocrats who determined the successor, elected and enthroned him. It is quite natural that, strictly speaking, candidates were nominated and selected in advance at aristocrat meetings, while the kurultai elected and declared a khan unanimously, as previously agreed, took an oath to him, and carried out the enthronement ceremony (for more details, see: [Ibid., p. 69–72]).

The nomination and election procedures were specified in the Yasa and, apparently, common law regulations. Most importantly, all the rest 'altyn urug' representatives were to resign from power in public and empower the candidate previously agreed upon unanimously. However simple the procedure, it made one of the sultans more than just a head of state—it vested the charisma of the entire Chinggisid clan in him, thus turning him into an almost sacred figure. Several systems of succession to the throne were practiced in the Ulus Jochi over its history. They were all traditionally accepted as correct. The right one was to be chosen each time by taking into account the situation and the balance of power [Ibid., p. 91–92]. The single key principle was that a kurultai of 'altyn urug' representatives and clan aristocrats was to approve the candidate. This makes the inconsistent speculations by some domestic historians maintaining that Chinggisid states had no rigid succession system, which caused a permanent crisis of the khan's power—these are usually accompanied by statements that some autocratic khans caused absolutism to root in Rus' [Krivosheev, 1999, p. 232–293]—wrong. The political system of the Ulus of Jochi was stable enough to last for almost 200 years, while the power system had nothing in common with the classical eastern despotism.

The khan as the carrier of holder of superior secular power was traditionally viewed as the guarantor of stability, public order, and prosperity of his state. According to the medieval formula, the khan was expected to take care of his subjects and begs 'like a mother' takes care of her children, while they were to render obedience and respect to him 'as their father'. Besides, the ruler not only held the power but also maintained justice in the state,

which were believed to ensure social stability according to the medieval concept [Blok, 1998; Nelson, 1986].

The khan had a very broad scope of powers. Apart from the sacred functions of representing his state and maintaining the Chinggisid charisma, the khan had a whole host of rights and responsibilities. Most importantly, he was entitled to have the state's entire land and population at his disposal, administer justice, and maintain the country's integrity for the sake of the 'altyn urug'. This determined his functional rights to re-distribute uluses (khanates) within the clan, conduct diplomatic negotiations, wage war and make peace, hold trials and deliver judgments, issue and implement laws and orders.

The khan's right to allocate and re-distribute land was important evidence of his superior power over the state's land and population. William of Rubruck, who travelled in the Ulus of Jochi in the mid-13th century, wrote 'They (that is, the Mongol khans—*I.I.*, *D.I.*) divided amongst themselves Scythia, which stretches from the Danube to the sunrise; and every commander knows the limits of his pastures according to the number of people he commands. He also knows where to pasture his herds in winter, summer, spring and autumn' [Travels, 1957, p. 91].

Of course, the power of each khan depended on his capacity and opportunity to keep efficient and real administrative mechanisms in his own hands without entrusting them to his associates and his apparatus of administration and bureaucracy, but this touches upon the question of politics; 'the art of the possible'. At any rate, the Ulus of Jochi had its own forms of 'check and balance' systems in place to enable the various centres of power to maintain the stability of the society and the state.

One of these in the Ulus of Jochi, as in all empires following the ethno-political traditions of the Turkic khaganates, was the institution of co-ruling, where, along with the khan, a part (wing) of the state was ruled by the khan's vicegerent, who was inferior in status to the sovereign ruler alone [Trepavlov, 1991, p. 249–278]. These co-rulers were Batu and Orda. To quote Rashid al-Din, '... half of Jochid Khan's army

was commanded by him (Orda.—*I.I.*, *D.I.*), and the other half by Batu' [Rashid al-Din, 2002, II, p. 66].

However, the Kok Horde remained essentially independent. For instance, Rashid al-Din wrote, '... no one from the Horde dynasty who had taken his place ever visited the khans from the Batu dynasty..., (because they) are independent rulers of their ulus'. The historian notes, however, that it was customary for the Kok Horde 'to consider Batu's deputy their ruler and king, and they write their names over their yarliqs (decrees)' [Ibid.]. Thus, the rulers of the Kok Horde were in many respects inferior, as compared with the strongly centralised power of the Golden Horde, which was clearly on the rise. The sources give clear indications that the ruler of the Kok Horde Sasy Buka 'never deviated from the path of serving Toghrul Khan and Öz Beg Khan and never once refused to attend the kurultai' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 130]. His son Erzen became 'his successor' on 'the order of Öz Beg Khan', while the latter's son Chimtay, following a 'period of troubles', became the 'ruler of the same ulus' 'on the order of Janibek Khan' [Ibid.]. Historical tradition has preserved the idea that Orda's descendants had an inferior status during the rule of Khans Öz Beg and Berdibek [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 105, 108–112]. In this connection, it is possible that the khans of the Kok Horde preserved the official status of co-rulers of the entire ulus, which they used as a pretext to participate in the disorders of the 1360–1370 [Trepavlov, 1993, p. 76–96].

However, the real power of the co-ruler was gradually ceded to the ulugh karachibek (beklyaribek). This did not happen overnight. For instance, according to the sources, Nogai was entitled 'chief' or 'superior army commander' (amir-i lashkar) of Khan Berke, 'the ruler of the Horde in the countries of the North', 'the Tatar ruler,' who had 'full power over kings from the House of Dushi Khan (Jochi Khan.—*I.I.*, *D.I.*), and, being 'listed amongst the khans', he was even mentioned alongside 'the head of the right wing' Emir Tayra and 'the head of the left wing' Emir Mawu in around 1270–1271 [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Gold-

en Horde, 1884, p. 101, 110, 155, 381, 509]. In other words, some Jochids, such as Nogai, used the mechanisms of power to seize real power and the right to become co-rulers of the khans of the Orda dynasty.

The administrative and territorial system of the Ulus of Jochi was similar to the internal structure of other the nomadic empires in Eurasia that were descended from the Hun Empire, in which all lands of the state were divided, as shown above, into two parts—the right and the left sides ('wings'). Moreover, these two wings were divided into two further wings, in accordance with the Turkic four-way division of the state. This kind of structure was reflected in the military organisation, that is, the military nobility assigned to each 'wing' was well aware of its place at the time of military operations, when the army was enlisted and fought. A curious report dating back to the epoch of Tokhtamysh (1395) suggests that the division into left and right wings was deep-rooted. When, during a battle against Timur, Khan Tokhtamysh was obliged to redeploy the left clan unit of the Bakhrens (Baryns), commanded by Yagly Biy, to the right wing, this was viewed as an extraordinary measure. The source tells us that Yagly Biy Bakhadur, who was the former 'leader of the Bakhren Ulus, a tribe which had belonged to the right side since the time of Oghuz Khan', was ordered to move over to 'the left wing.' As a result, at the kurultai of the Öz Beg sultans, 'the Bakhren Ulus was assigned a place(urun) on the left side', whereas 'the tribe used to (be)... on the right side, just as their relatives—the Kongrats, the Naimans, the Jalairs, the Uyshuns, and others—were' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 208; Mirzo Ulugbek, 1994, p. 233]. It is clear, however, that this military administrative system dated back to the time when the Ulus of Jochi was established and uluses were being portioned out following the conquest of the Eurasian steppes from the Danube to the Irtysh.

From the times of Batu, the right 'wing' (the Ak Horde) encompassed the uluses of Khan Batu himself, Berke, Khurumshi and others, while the left 'wing' (the Kok Horde) comprised those of Ordu Ejen, Tuqa-Timur, Shiban,

Udur, etc. For instance, in describing his travels across the 'country of the Comans', Giovanni da Pian del Carpine describes their land in terms of river systems, 'the Dnieper (Neper), near which Korenca set up camp on the Russian side, and on the other side... the Mauci, who is superior to Korenca, set up his camp. ... The Don, on the banks of which a prince by the name of Kartan, married to Batu's sister, has his camps'. The author describes how Batu 'moved from place to place' on the Volga, while 'the two thousands set up their camps on the River Yaik (Zhayyq), one on the one bank of the river, the other on the other bank' [Travels, 1957, p. 70]. A description of the Egyptian ambassadors' journey to Khan Berke's domain begins with their arrival on the banks of the river near Sudak, where they were met by a 'local ruler named Tayuk' in a 'town named Qirim'; after a day's travelling across the steppe, they 'found another leader, named Tukbuga', who 'commanded 10000 horsemen and ruled the entire land' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 63, 192].

Describing Batu's eastern territories, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine relates that 'Syban, brother of Batu' resided in the lands of 'the black Khitan people and the ocean', adjacent in the north to the dominions of the 'Saracens', previously led by Altisoldanus (that is, Ala al-Din Muhammad Khwarezm Shah), while 'Orda, Batu's elder brother,' lived in 'Horde, or his father's court' (that is, in the Ulus of Jochi) [Travels, 1957, p. 73]. Of Orda, Rashid al-Din writes that, along with '(this) army and four brothers—Udur, Tuqa-Timur, and Shinghum—it comprised the left wing...; they are still called princes of the left wing..., his yurt (and the yurt of these) brothers and their army are on the left side' [Rashid al-Din, 2002, II, p. 66]. On this division, the 16th century author Ötemish Hajji wrote the following: 'In compliance with the Khan's Yasa, (Chinggis Khan) gave Sain Khan (that is, Batu.—*II.I., D.I.*) the right wings with wilayahs on the River Idil, and gave Ijan (Orda Ejen.—*II.I., D.I.*) the left wing with wilayahs along the River Syr' [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 93].

Reports by European ambassadors and other sources suggest that the initial stage of the

distribution of the dominions within the right and left wings was as follows.

The westernmost ulus of the Ak Horde in the interfluvium of the Danube and the Dniester as far as the Dniester-Dnieper basin divide evidently belonged to Nogai's father, and later Nogai himself. The lands of the Dnieper River Region belonged to Khurumshi/Kurmyshi (Kuremsa in the Russian chronicles), Orda's son, but in the 1260s the ulus was ceded to Kiyat Burundai. The land of Moutsa (Moucy according to Giovanni da Pian del Carpine), clearly Muji Yay, Chagatay's second son, lay on the left bank of the Don. It is quite obvious that, following the fall of Chagatay's clan in 1251, the ulus was handed over to a Jochid ruler. The ulus of Kartan, the husband of Batu's sister, was situated along the right bank of the Don. The ruler of the Steppe Crimea in the 1240–1250 is unknown but, during the rule of Khan Berke, this was an ulusbek from Tuk Buga's tumens (tens of thousands). At a further distance, in the steppes of the Volga-Don interfluvium, lay the dominions of Sartaq, Batu's son. The lands of Berke were situated in the steppes of the North Caucasus and the Western Caspian Sea Region, from where he was probably transferred by Batu to the Don River Region. The Volga Region was, in all probability, the Khan's ulus, that is, it was owned collectively by the 'altyn urug'. Every Jochid was likely to have property or income rights here. It is also possible that the lands of former Bulgaria had a special status and were controlled at first directly by the great Khan until it became part of the Khan's ulus in the latter half of the 13th century.

The Volga-Ural Watershed apparently served as a border between the right and left wings, the Ak Horde and the Kok Horde. The territory along the River Zhayyq (Yaik, Ural) belonged to a certain Jochid, whose exact name is unknown (probably Udur, Shingkum, or Singkum). The dominions of the Tuqa-Timurids were situated in the western Aral Region and on the Mangyshlak Peninsula. Northern Khwarezm, with its centre in Urgench, was a special area, probably owned collectively by all Jochids and, during the reign of Öz Beg Khan, was ceded to his uncle (his maternal aunt's son), the former ulugh karachibek Kiyat Qut-

luh Timur, who played a key role in Öz Beg's accession to the throne. The South Cis-Ural Region and western Siberian steppes belonged to Shibān, Jochi's son, and his descendants. It is clear that, for some time, the dominions of Shibān comprised the territories of the eastern Aral region and the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, including the cities of Jend, Sygnak, and Sayram, but became part of Orda Ejen's own ulus during his rule. Orda Ejen had originally owned the native lands of the Jochids in the upper reaches of the River Irtysh and near Lake Ala-Kul, where, the history of the Ulus of Jochi actually began.

There is still some debate amongst historiographers concerning which Jochids (such as Shibān) belonged to which wing, and whether the Ak Horde can be identified as the right wing and the Kok Horde as the left one. Literary works on this question are quite numerous and contradictory. To a large extent, this is because the sources are by no means always unequivocal. Many of the points of contention can be explained by the fact that some works pertain to a later period, and their authors tried to reconcile the information in the sources with which they were familiar with contemporary reality. Of key relevance in this respect is the mistake made by the Persian author of 'The Anonymous of Iskender', Muin al-Din Natanzi, who, misinterpreting the hierarchy of the ulus-es and the wings, identified Shibān's lands in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya as the dominions of the Ak Horde and, in attempting to clarify the clear indications in his sources that the Ak Horde was situated to the west of the Ulus of Jochi, confused the colours of the different wings and the genealogy of their rulers (thus, contrary to well-established genealogical tradition, the son of Nogai was made ruler of the Ak Horde, Sasy Buka, etc.). The contradiction of the sources and the confused situation can be explained by G. Fedorov-Davydov's well-founded hypothesis that the Turkic system of identifying the wings by colour was introduced in the mid-14th century as part of the general Turkification of the Ulus of Jochi and had not yet become a well-established tradition. While the Ak Horde was identified as the right wing and the Kok Horde as the left wing, each

of these wings was further divided into two—left and right—wings, in full accordance with the state's uniform military administrative system, which were later assigned their respective colours [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 141–144]. However, G. Fedorov-Davydov's conclusion that the ulus of Shiban and his descendants belonged to the state's right wing, the Ak Horde [Ibid., p. 144] appears to be not only dubious but inconsistent with his own findings. The source (which is, incidentally, the only source that identifies the ulus of Shiban as part of the Ak Horde) most probably refers to the Ak Horde of the left wing (the Kok Horde). At any rate, there is no evidence that Shiban's dominions belonged to the right wing, as this would oblige us to assume that the territory of his ulus penetrated deep into the lands of the Kok Horde as far as the River Irtysh, and to explain why Shiban's descendants were later referred to as sultans of the left wing.

The Ak Horde and the Kok Horde were, in turn, divided into uluses, which were governed by the descendants of the brothers Batu and Orda, who bore the title of 'oghlans' (or sultan, tsarevich). There were then the dominions of independent beys. By all accounts, the uluses were a complex military-administrative system of hierarchic possessions (ils). The ulus, the sovereign of which was obliged to deploy ten thousand armoured knights in military campaigns, were governed by begs, who deployed one thousand warriors each, and rulers, subjects of the begs, who in turn commanded a hundred warriors. All of these possessions could differ in their forms of ownership (tarkhans, soyurgal), but their place in the system of 'wings' and the military organisation was unchanged. As a result, the military-administrative system was closely connected to the territorial possessions and the tribal structure of the aristocracy.

The right to assign uluses was vested in the khan, who could grant plots of land to feudal lords who had distinguished themselves particularly highly. For instance, Batu withdrew the part of Berke's dominions 'lying towards the Iron Gate' and annexed it to his ulus, because the 'Saracen' merchants travelling through Berke's territories 'would bring him gifts', to quote William of Rubruck. Batu, who 'con-

sidered all this to be unprofitable,... ordered him to move from this place to Ethilia in the east, reluctant to have Saracen ambassadors travelling through his territory' [Travels, 1957, p. 117]. This example is an excellent illustration of the rights enjoyed by the khan. Following a series of military defeats by his commander Kurmyshi, Berke transferred his ulus in the Dnieper River Region to the rule of the baghatur Burundai. Khan Tokhta is also known to have 'made a gift' of the Crimea to Nogai, whose son Aktaji took up residence there [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 111, Note 17]. Khan Tokhta went to war against Nogai to gain possession of his ulus. After defeating Nogai, Khan Tokhta sent his two sons, Tukulbuga and Ilbasar, to Nogai's dominions. The former ruled Isaccea on the Danube, on the territory 'adjacent to the Iron Gate', where 'Nogai's camps lay,' while the latter 'settled on the River Lika' [Ibid., p. 117]. The khan then appointed Abaji's brother Liji, son of Kurmyshi, as emir to replace Abaji [Ibid.].

The sources suggest that there was an active process of division the uluses in the Horde. While in the mid-13th century there were around twelve higher and influential beks [Travels, 1957, p. 44–45], after 50 years this number had increased to 50–60 (1264) or 70 (1317). This is confirmed, in particular, by Arab historian al-Nuwayri, who, describing the kurultai of the higher aristocrats who gathered in 1316 in the khan's camp to address the issue of marrying Khan Öz Beg's daughter off to the Egyptian sultan, wrote, 'emirs, heads of the ten thousands, a total of 70 emirs... were gathered' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 168].

Belonging to the ruling house and the 'altyn urug', the oghlans (or sultans) not only had the right to territorial possessions, but were also able to occupy military and public positions. The very system of the uluses had evolved since the 13th century from holding an office for a term to hereditary possession. Each ulus sovereign had to pay a certain amount in tax to his suzerain, and either bring his troops under the suzerain's banners or serve as a public official or diplomat. In the event that a vassal

failed to fulfil these obligations or satisfy the khan's requirements, the khan could deprive him of his ulus.

The exact frontiers of the khan's ulus in the 14th century are not quite clear, but al-Umari made the interesting observation that the khan was 'the sovereign ruler of Sarai, Khwarezm, the Crimea, and Desht-i Kipchak' [Ibid., p. 250], which can be interpreted as a reference to the personal domain of the rulers of the Golden Horde. Most probably, the khan's ulus was subdivided into two large uluses consisting of smaller feudal plots, which is confirmed, in particular, in the narrative 'Pimen's Trip to Constantinople,' where a description of a journey along the River Don mentions that the travellers 'passed Velikaya Luka and Tsar Sarykhoza's ulus... In the fourth week, they passed the ulus of Bek Bulat and, in the sixth week, that of Ak Buga' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11, p. 96]. Another observation is made in the notes of Ibn Batutta, who, describing his trip with one of Khan Öz Beg's wives, noted that 'each local emir accompanied the khatun with his troops to the very border of his plot of land' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 303]. Ibn Batutta, describing the Golden Horde of the 1330s, mentions the Crimean Emir Tulugh Temir, the Azov Emir Muhammad Hoja al-Khwarezmi, 'the ruler of Khorasan' with its centre in Khwarezm, Emir Qutlugh Timur [Ibid., p. 282, 284, 311]. It is a known fact that Emir Mamai, who after the death of Berdibek 'administered all the affairs' of the state formally ruled by the young Khan Tokhtamysh (Berdibek's son), owned the Crimea (the Crimean Tumen) [Ibid., p. 390]. Egyptian sources often refer to the Crimea as a separate possession ruled by the emirs with its capital in Solkhat [Ibid., p. 413, 452]. An As-trakhan 'appanage' is also known to have been ruled by Emir Hajji Cherkes [Ibid., p. 391]. Ibn Arabshah reports that Edigü had around 20 sons, each of whom was an independent ruler with 'an appanage, an army and adherents of his own' [Ibid., p. 474]. It is entirely possible

Tatar Archer.
Miniature. Iran.
Early 14th century



that most of the 50–70 noble emirs or ulusbeks, who would gather at the khan's court to address critical governmental issues, originated from the khan's domain. However, the grand ceremony in Sarai, which was witnessed by Ibn Battuta, was attended by 17 emirs 'leading 170 thousand men' [Ibid., p. 299], which most probably indicates that the emirs' possessions were located in the central domain, that is, that of the khan.

According to medieval sources, these lands were ruled on behalf of the khan by four ulus emirs, karachibeks or ulusbeks, 'as was the custom' (a similar system was practised in many nomadic Turkic states). The fact that the karachibeks had an elevated, important status is suggested, in particular, in Ibn Battuta's description of a reception by Khan Öz Beg: 'The chief emirs were sitting in armchairs to the right and left of the Khan... Standing by the entrance to the pavilion were his representative (naib), vizier, treasurer (hasib) and the keeper of the seal, whom they call al tamga... The four of them rose when I entered' (quoted by: [Schamiloglu, 1993, p. 49]). They had diverse functions. It was most probably the ulusbeks who made sure that each feudal lord adhered to the principles of his vassal relations in the lands entrusted to him, in particular by gathering his troops for periodical inspections. Moreover, every ulusbek owned a large lien as a source of his personal income in addition to that from his service to the state. The most famous ka-

rachibeks were Qutlugh Timur, who ruled Desht-i Kipchak during the reign of Khan Öz Beg and later Khwarezm, Mamai and Edigü, who actually ruled the state, the khans being formal title-bearers. According to the Egyptian sources, Qutlugh Timur, who was a beklyaribek, not only 'controlled the state administration and the arrangement of (its) affairs but was also responsible for 'tax collection' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 325, 516]. Although this seems to be somewhat exaggerated, some karachibeks did enjoy a very high level of authority, especially those who headed certain wings.

Reports by Ibn Battuta and some other sources suggest that these karachibeks constituted the supreme military and administrative power in the Golden Horde. The khan appointed an ulugh karachibek or beklyaribek (usually one of the ulus emirs) and a vizier to carry out the direct administration of the complex state apparatus and army, and, in so doing, implement the domestic and foreign policies of the khan, who, according to contemporary sources, 'only concerns himself with the essence of the matter without going into detail and is content with what is reported to him without delving into the particulars of income and expense items' [Ibid., p. 230]. Clearly, the two chief administrators controlled the large and complex apparatus of state officials of every rank.

The highest position in the Khan's court was held by the ulugh karachibek, or emir al-umara ('emir over all emirs'), or beklyaribek ('bek over all beks'), who was referred to as 'the Khan's vicegerent'. In the letters of an Egyptian sultan to the beklyaribek of Janibek Kutlubuga Inak, the latter is referred to as 'the ruler in the lands of Öz Beg, most noble emir, great, learned, just reinforcer, supporter, guarantor... of the greatness of Islam and the Muslims, head of the emirs of two worlds, protector of those who fight for our faith, chief of the troops, commander of the army... supporter of kings and sultans, sword of the ruler of the faithful' [Ibid., p. 348]. Judging by these pompous titles, the great emir commanded the Khan's entire army ('chief of troops, commander of the army', 'sword of the ruler of the faithful') during military campaigns, because khans,

who were formally commanders-in-chief, were rarely directly involved in any combat operations. For instance, Nogai fought for Khan Berke against the Hulaguids in Azerbaijan, while Qutlugh Timur commanded the army for Öz Beg. Of interest here is a letter to Nogai (Isu Nogai) from Egypt in which he is addressed by a number of exuberant epithets, some of which convey his status of a military chief: '... to a highly noble, most excellent, gentle-born fighter in the name of his God, radiant with the light of his heart, treasury of the Muslims and help of the faithful...' [Ibid., p. 101]. Another sphere of the beklyaribeks' activities was diplomacy. Although correspondence was formally in the name and on behalf of the Khan, Egyptian sources report that the ulugh karachibek conducted the principal negotiations, discussing agreement terms and instructing ambassadors [Ibid., p. 324]. The great emir also held judiciary power, especially on secular issues. According to Ibn Battuta, who visited beklyaribek Qutlugh Timur's chancellery during a court trial, this was attended by a qadi (judge), along with lawyers, and 'one of the senior emirs, accompanied by eight (more) senior emirs'. 'The qadi addresses religious issues, while the emirs resolve all other issues' [Ibid., p. 311–312]. Furthermore, the beklyaribek continued to rule one of the uluses of the Golden Horde.

The vizier had no less power, although his power was less visible. He was the khan's counsellor and head of the Divan, the central executive body. This explains why the letter from the Egyptian sultan to Vizier Husam al-Din Mahmud of the Divan addressed him with reverence as 'the Khan's Vizier' in the lands of Öz Beg, 'most noble emir, great... most powerful, who protects... the glory of Islam and the Muslims, the greatness of the emirs and viziers in the two worlds, the beauty of those most powerful, the only one amongst intimate friends, treasure of the state, counsellor of kings and sultans' [Ibid., p. 348–349]. He was responsible for the chancellery, which consisted of several chambers headed by secretaries [Berezin, 1850, p. 10; Usmanov, 1979, p. 211–226] and governed the financial and fiscal policies as well as domestic affairs. It employed a bureaucratic apparatus of local bodies to organise the

collection of tributes from subordinated peoples as well as the levying of taxes and duties. As a special prerogative, the vizier was entitled to appoint and remove all of the empire's numerous public officials responsible for finance and taxes of all categories, which in the Golden Horde were no fewer than eighteen [Usmanov, 1979, p. 216–217]. Inconspicuous as it was, the vizier's chancellery performed the critical function of ensuring the country's sustainability and stabilising its domestic life. Being in control of the treasury, the vizier enjoyed enormous power over the khan's court.

Moreover, there was a multi-branched system of civil officialdom in the Ulus of Jochi and a hierarchic military lien structure, binding the state from top to bottom. However, the state's true core, its backbone, was its clan aristocracy. A large proportion of the begs and their clans (*ilem*) had their camps in *Desht-i Kipchak*, while others became public officials, moved to the cities and are likely to have formed the basis of the urban official aristocracy. Under the influence of civilisation, many aristocrats started to change their lifestyles. Permanent settlements and even genuine estates with castles started to appear in winter camps. These were inhabited not only by the feudal lords and their court but also by craftsmen and merchants. All this helped the steppe aristocracy to accumulate enormous riches. According to al-Qalqashandi, large liens ensured an annual income as high as 100 and even 200 thousand Egyptian dinars [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 244]. Large land possessions and regular income from trade and military undertakings enabled the nobles to keep large retinues of heavily armed professional warriors. Arab sources mention five emirs who had 30,000 fully armed horsemen [Ibid., p. 43].

The gathering of the aristocracy, the *kurultai*, played an important part in the social life of the Ulus of Jochi as a specific class-representative body. As a social institution, it originated amongst the nomadic peoples as early as the period of class formation and was a form of democracy. However, its functions were later appropriated by aristocrats, namely, heads of clans and chiefs of military retinues. At the

time of Chinggis Khan, it was primarily an assembly of the ruling house, the '*altyn urug*', and convened mainly for electing the khan. As the number of Chinggisids increased and their connections of kinship with other clans extended, the composition of the ruling clan became more diverse and the number of clan aristocrats entitled to participate in the *kurultai* through kinship rose. There is hardly any information on *kurultai* membership in the Ulus of Jochi. However, we can assume that it consisted of titled Jochid noblemen, the most noble and powerful clan heads, or *ulusbeks*, as the sources refer to them as 'heads of 10 thousand men' [Ibid., p. 168]. A regular *kurultai* was attended by the country's 50 [Ibid., p. 63, 193] or 70 [Ibid., p. 168] noblest emirs. They addressed the most important issues of succession to the throne (the enthronement or dethronement of the khan), concluding agreements (often connected with territorial concessions), the marriage of the descendants of Chinggis Khan, and even of making 'immoderate demands' contrary to the khan's policy [Ibid.]. For instance, after Khan *Öz Beg* died, 'the emirs of the state resolved that his son *Janibek* should rule the state until his elder brother *Tinibek* arrived' [Ibid., pp. 261, 263–264]. In essence, the *kurultai* served as a body expressing the collective interests of the clan aristocracy, relying on its own military might. It was a power that kept the absolutist ambitions of the khans and the separatism of the feudal lords in check, hastened to maintain traditional legal relations in society and, at the same time, served as a counterbalance to autocracy. The importance and the role of the *kurultai* were different during the different periods of the Ulus of Jochi: some khans were mighty enough to control the nobility; others had to make concessions to aristocrats. In a manner of speaking, this was a peculiar, medieval, steppe-type democracy. This institution, essential for an understanding of how the political system of the Golden Horde functioned, disproves the idea that this was a despotic Oriental state.

According to G. Fedorov-Davydov, the progress of feudalism in the latter half of the 14th century led to a reinforcement of the hereditary ownership of *tarkhans* in the western

part of the Horde [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 124–127]. Incidentally, this was also observed in the Kok Horde. For instance, after Emir Uruk Temur from the *Shirin* clan left Urus Khan, along with Tokhtamysh, for Timur, the khan granted (as a *suyurgal*) his thousand men to someone else'. When the emir was captured by the khan's son Timur Malik, he asked to have 'his il and people (*usul*) returned' to him, which request was denied, causing the disfavoured emir to flee a second time to Timur [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 150]. This indicates that the emirs had stable dominions (*uluses*), which they viewed as their 'ils' or 'uluses', in the left wing of the Golden Horde, too. As the practice of granting these became more widespread, the major feudal lords, primarily the *ulusbeks*, not only grew in strength economically and militarily, they also developed a craving for the levers of central power, which inevitably led to differences. However much the nobility had in common, their interests clashed to a significant degree.

As the cities grew, so did the influence of Sarai's civil service elite, who monopolised control over the collection and redistribution of enormous riches. As a result, rivalry between clans for access to the levers of central power grew increasingly violent, while government became excessively centralized. This aggravated other internal conflicts, which fostered the development of destabilizing forces.

These trends were mere undercurrents in the mid-14th century, and contemporaries viewed the Jochid Empire as a world power. The Sultan of the Mamluk Egyptian Baybars reverently gave notice of his 'allegiance and subordination' to it in 1263. The Horde remained its formal sovereign until the end of the 14th century.

There is no doubt that other European and Asian rulers viewed Golden Horde khans as mighty, noble, sometimes awe-inspiring figures. It must have been unthinkable that this 'pillar of Chinggis Khan's house' was already riven with internal conflicts and ready to collapse, undermined by a number of factors.

§ 2. Administrative Apparatus

Mirkasym Usmanov

Russian Oriental scholars have long focused their research on issues related to the Jochid political order, in particular the administrative system. The first dedicated studies appeared in the mid-19th century. For instance, G. Sablukov wrote an essay in 1844, although it relied on a limited range of sources and literature (there is a second, revised and corrected, edition: [Sablukov, 1895]). Prior to that, V. Grigoryev had already explored certain aspects of the issue [1842].

However, I. Berezin's dedicated study provided a more complete account of the issue compared to others at the time. Before publishing his major work on the subject [Berezin, 1864], he presented a number of shorter pieces of research, some of which dealt with khans' *yarliqs* and 'Oriental chronicles' (for a list see: [Ibid., p. 391–392]). Evaluating I. Berezin's scholarly legacy, V. Bartold noted his works

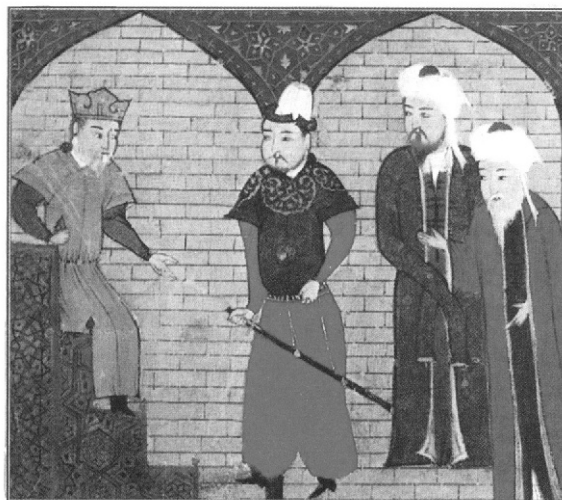
to be predominantly philological [Bartold, 1926]. This would appear to be natural as certain meanings behind Oriental terms would be unintelligible without a linguistic analysis. Major contributors in this respect are V. Radlov, A. Samoylovich, S. Vakhidov, S. Malov, A. Kurat, Borovkov, and many others (for information on their works see: [Usmanov, 1975, p. 123–124, 129–130]; the contemporary study by A. Özyetgin is also noteworthy [Özyetgin, 1996]).

Such philological studies and their findings enabled 20th century historians to make better use of formal documents in their research. The most prominent titles of the period were written by historians A. Yakubovsky, A. Nasonov, V. Vernadsky, M. Safargaliev, and G. Fedorov-Davydov. G. Fedorov-Davydov's contribution deserves more than a passing mention. In his landmark monograph 'The

Social System of the Golden Horde' [1973], he meticulously compiled all data known and available to him—statements, assertions, and assumptions (including the opinions of, and experience gained by, foreign scholars)—concerning the socio-political terminology of states of Chinggisid origin, most importantly, the history of the Golden Horde. He was able to create a more or less holistic, though not very orderly, picture of the social structure of the Jochid state. Quite naturally, G. Fedorov-Davydov, who lacked a basic education in Oriental studies, especially Oriental philology, often had to rely on others in drawing certain conclusions. However, using a broad set of data and an integrated analytical approach enabled him to present a well-justified list of source factors relating to the administrative structure, that is, the state power of the Chinggisids in general and the Jochids in particular.

* * *

The Uluses and their rulers. The first elements of state administration in Central Asian nomadic communities apparently developed out of clan and tribal organizations. Over time, they evolved into the ulus system. To quote B. Vladimirtsov, 'the ancient Mongol term for any union of clans, generations, tribes, understood in terms of dependence on a tribal leader, khan, nayon, baatur, etc., was an ulus' [Vladimirtsov, 1934, p. 97]. This system of unification, which created a hereditary bond (*unagan bohol*) between clans and tribes was probably implemented by other nomadic groups in Central Asia, also. Its initial simplicity meant it could be made to fit any community. Proof of this lies in the fact that the system survived Chinggis Khan's reforms, though in a somewhat more complicated, or, rather, more widely legalized form. According to B. Vladimirtsov, 'the power of Chinggis Khan's clan over its ulus, that is, its people-state, was manifested in the following way: one of the kinsmen, the altan urug (urux), became the emperor, the khan (xan, xagan), who ruled the whole empire, after a council of all kinsmen had elected him (...); other members of the clan, mostly male descendants, were declared



Chinggis Khan on the throne. Miniature.
Iran. Early 14th century.

tsarevichs (...) entitled to hereditary use of an ulus appanage [Ibid., p. 99].

Ulus appanages were sometimes termed *inju* or *inchi* [Berezin, 1864, p. 426; Bartold, 1963, p. 548], meaning a 'share' inherited from one's father.

Tsarevich Jochi's appanage (the basis of the Ulus of Jochi) was allocated to him when Chinggis Khan was still alive. It was later divided into ulus appanages owned by Jochi's sons after it had expanded with newly conquered land. Jochi apparently had 14 sons who reached to maturity [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 66; Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 41], so it was supposed that the Ulus of Jochi was sub-divided into fourteen appanages [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 43].

Jochi had 17 sons, according to information related by Chinggisid informants in Khwarezm, which were recorded in the 16th century. Shiban's appanage was known as the Grey (Boz) Horde. Orda Ejen and Batu were uterine brothers [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 92, 121]. The 'Collection of Chronicles' contains various different names for Orda and Batu's mother—Sartaq, Sartaf, or Sarkan, Ukhaa Fuj, Ukifujin, etc. However, she is stated to have been from the Kunigrat clan in both cases [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 66 and 71; Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 41 and 48]. The

person in question is probably the same, only the various informers knew her by different names (it is unlikely that Chinggis Khan established kinship with the same clan/tribe twice).

This summary shows that an ulus administration system that dated from antiquity existed in the Ulus of Jochi's state, both during its formation and later. Quite naturally, it changed as the new state developed to cover an enormous territory and acquired a multicultural population. Having been devised essentially for nomadic lifestyles, the system was adjusted to suit new conditions when non-nomadic, non-Mongol people outnumbered its nomadic population, especially Mongols [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 69, 100–101; Vernadsky, 2000, p. 140, 216]. However, the ulus system, as the basic form of administration, remained largely the same. The country was thus ruled by ulus leaders, *oghlands*, or *sultans*, who were in fact Jochid princes, led by a supreme ruler—the khan—also a Jochid, elected officially at the kurultai.

It is particularly worth noting that the ruler's high-ranking representatives were composed of both military and civil administrative leaders. This is attributable to the socio-political nature of the system, the original 'people state' that Chinggis Khan's reforms re-shaped into a mobile 'people army'.

The ruling khan's close family members, namely his *khatuns*, or wives, *oghlands* and *sultans* (both sons and daughters), formed, in their own way, an extension (sometimes temporary) of the high-ranking administrative officials. The fact that deceased khans' wives are known to have ruled the country as regents is proof that women were not excluded from the system. There are examples of this ranging from the death of Chinggis Khan and his sons, to Suyumbike's rule in Kazan following Safa Giray's death [Bartold, 1963, p. 553, 595; Nasonov, 1940, p. 31; Vernadsky, 2000, p. 210, 217, etc; Khudyakov, 1923, p. 109–113]. Moreover, queens and princesses were entitled to grant *yarliqs* [Records of Russian Law, 1955; Priselkov, 1916; Vásáry, 2002, p. 195; Usmanov, 1979, p. 53, No. 51], as well as conduct diplomatic negotiations with

foreign rulers (for instance, Taidula of the Golden Horde, Tsarina Nur Sultan of Kazan and the Crimea, and others, see: [Berezhkov, 1897; Khudyakov, 1923, p. 173]). Naturally, the rights and capabilities of such representatives of the fairer sex were determined by their personal qualities as well as their specific circumstances. However, they all had titles to distinguish them from the rest of society. For instance, the tsarina was termed *khatun*. This earlier term, meaning 'mistress' and 'tsarina' (the Khan's wife) in the Mongol state and the Golden Horde [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 22, 42, 48, etc.; Grekov, Yakubvsky, 1950, p. 125–126], was replaced by *khanym*, *khanbike*, and even *bikem* in later Tatar Khanates [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, p. 190, 509, 512; Khudyakov, 1923, p. 181]. In some of the latter years of the Ulus of Jochi the term used was '*altyn khanym*' [Usmanov, 1972, p. 91–92].

Oghlands and sultans. The Turkic word '*oghlan*' (literally meaning 'child', 'son') initially referred to a Chinggisid prince in a meaning similar to the Russian '*tsarevich*' and the Persian '*shah-zade*'. Later, 'in the 15–16th centuries it meant service class noblemen and simply warriors' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 46]. It was then replaced by the Arabic word '*sultan*', which initially meant 'ruler' as in '*as-sulan al-adil*' ('just ruler'), often found as legends on coins. In the 14–16th centuries it acquired the meaning of royalty, applicable to both sexes, and was sometimes used as a component of proper names, as '*bek*' was (compare examples: [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, p. 224, 305, 495, 503, 506–508, etc]), meaning the terms became devalued.

Karachis, viziers, emirs and mirzas. Below the common 'top' of the socio-political pyramid, namely the khan and his relatives, there was the administrative apparatus proper, that is, a multi-layered governmental body which also had a 'top', the *khan's council*. It consisted of high-ranking officials, mostly representing ruling classes and leading clans. Its most influential members were four councillors, known as the *four karachis* (for more details on them see: [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 68;

Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 90–91]). The term 'karachi' as a special title [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1864, p. 411–417], as S. Bakhrushin noted, had a precise meaning: *higher councillor* [Miller, 1937, p. 487].

The following set forms of address used in the charter messages (bitiks) of the Crimean Khans provide a clear insight into the status and rank of karachis within the top administrative elite of Turkic-Tatar Khanates: *karachilardin wa biklardin wa mirzalardin* (for karachis, of beks, and of mirzas), *karachilarymyz, biylar wa mirzalar* (our karachis, biys, and mirzas), etc. (for examples see: [Materials, 1864, p. 22, 75, 87, 106, 377, etc.]). Data about apportioned yarliqs suggests that karachi had the second highest status in the administrative system after the khan. For instance, inscriptions (addressees) of granted yarliqs contain a list of the basic types of military and civil officials, from ulus rulers, oghlans, to low-level administrators obliged to carry out any orders contained in the ruler's decrees. None of the over sixty original documents analyzed mentions a karachi as an executor. The title is entirely absent [Usmanov, 1979, p. 205–228], although, as stated above, it is the first to be mentioned in letters to foreign rulers. This is probably attributable to the fact that granted yarliqs were issued to subjects 'with the consent' (at least theoretically, or, rather, traditionally) of their high-ranking councillors. Karachis therefore 'co-authored' the ruler's decrees.

Apportioned yarliqs also mention the titles *wazir*, *amir*, and *mirza*, without adding any definition or specification of the administered unit. Being a council member, the wazir occupied one of the highest ranks. His office was similar to that of the *beklyaribek*, as we will see below. He was probably elected (appointed) from among the four karachis. The title came to be widely used following the Islamisation of a country's feudal and governmental elite. The equivalent Turkic title it replaced is uncertain. I am inclined to attribute the frequent use of the title 'wazir' in Arab and Persian written sources to a desire to match one of the highest governmental beks of the Ulus of Jochi with its equivalent office in other

Muslim countries [Berezin, 1864, p. 433, 439, 440; Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 91].

Oriental sources also often use the title amir (emir) to refer to beks as rulers. This was also a result of Islamisation. Its use was more popular with Muslim authors.

As for the term mirza (murza), it is a derivative of the Arabic-Persian term amir-zade, meaning 'children of emirs' [Berezin, 1864, p. 435]. This was not a title or an official rank but an indicator of a feudal aristocratic class, similar to boyars and noblemen. In other words, murza was not an office but a social class, to which various rulers initially belonged.

Bek (*beg, bey, bik, biy*), *bekliaribek*. The ancient term 'bek', which has been known to be have used since the time of the Turkic and Uighur Khaganates (possibly since the Hun epoch), initially meant a tribal/clan leader, a chief or 'head' in a general sense. Russian sources translated the term when used during the time of the Golden Horde as 'prince' ('knyaz'). This was also accepted by I. Berezin [Berezin, 1864, p. 434–435], while Ibn Battuta translated it as 'emir' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 246], which sometimes fails to accurately convey the specific meaning. At an early stage, the term bek meant apparently the same as the Mongol word nayon. This latter term was later completely superseded as a result of the intensified Turkification of the remaining Mongols and its administrative apparatus.

There are no clear records on when bek simply meant a tribal chief elected once for a specific campaign, when it became a hereditary title, or whether this was the case everywhere. It apparently not only had a number of variants characteristic of various vernaculars and dialects but bore different connotations depending on the region, ethnic community, epoch, or period. Its multi-purpose flexibility and its 'universality' (as it could be to be applied to any leader superior to others) are proof of this. For instance, it was used to denote a leader of ten men to a marshal of a tumen (ten thousand), even that of an ulus (for example, *onbegi*, meaning a ten warrior

bek, *yuzbegi*, meaning a hundred warrior bek, *minbegi*, meaning a thousand warrior bek, *tumanbegi*, meaning a ten thousand warrior bek, *darughabegi*, ulusbegi etc.). Thus, the name of the unit administered was added to the term in order to make it as specific as possible. This was the model adopted for the creation of other widely used binominal titles, such as heads of settlements, cities, and regions (for more information on beg types see: [Berezin, 1864, p. 450; Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 46–47; Usmanov, 1979, p. 206–209]). Sources also mention such titles as *tugbegi* (famous bek), *kushbegi* (falconer), *koshunbegi* (koshun bek), etc. [Yudin, 1992, p. 37].

The term's semantic simplicity and flexibility is supported by the fact that it could easily be replaced by an equivalent term that had a specific meaning, and which was widely used in many languages, namely bash (head). For instance, *onbashi* meaning head of ten men, *tumanbashi* meaning ten thousand head, *shahrbashi* meaning city head, etc.

Even though the term 'bek' was simple and commonly used, the position it denoted in the Ulus of Jochi and the later Tatar states was strictly official. That is, beks were either appointed by superior authorities or elected by legitimate gatherings, councils, in 'bottom-up' governance. In other words, bekship was not hereditary at the time in question. This was clearly stated by Karachi Kadir Alibek, who was an expert in Turkic-Tatar legal norms. For instance, describing the relations between Timur Qutlugh and the famous beg Edigü, he reported that 'one was the khan, and the other a biy'; 'Shaikh Mamai Mirza ruled the ulus but did not become a bek himself' [Usmanov, 1972, p. 83, 92–93].

The word 'bek' as a component of proper names, which apparently was first used by aristocrats as an anthroponym, later lost its terminological meaning.

Of all the titles for public officials, which varied depending on their function, or, rather, on the unit they administered, of special significance is the term *beklyaribek* (beklyaribegi), which Arab contemporaries translated as 'emir al-umara' (emir over emirs, chief emir), that is, 'prince of princes' [Collection

of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 227, 249, 401, 412]. This title therefore referred to the chief ruling bek, who was appointed from among the four karachis as the head of the government. Scholars believe the beklyaribek to have been in control of military and administrative affairs, while the wazir was responsible for civil, financial, tax, and economic affairs [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 68–69, 71; Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 90–91].

The key governmental apparatus was the khan's council, which, later, after the Islamisation of the country, became known as the khan's divan. It was also the supreme chancellery. At its head was an administrator, the *divanbegi*, meaning *divan head* (divan amir) [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 193, 201, etc.]. According to M. Safargaliev, the divan controlled the country [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 71]. Naturally, ulus (appanage) rulers also had divans of their own.

Basqaqs. The basqaq was a high-ranking administrative official in the early period of the Ulus of Jochi. This term referred to a kind of administrative viceregent responsible for census arrangement, tax collection and military conscription, to which the populations of conquered kingdoms responded with riots and rebellions. Using Russian sources, A. Nasonov has studied basqaqs in detail. He discovered that there were both regular basqaqs and those superior to them (such as the 'great basqaq of Vladimir' [Nasonov, 1940, p. 20, 23, 145–149]. They also controlled and 'supervised their vassals' activities closely'. 'Vassals' in this context refers to Russian princes [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 38]. There were no basqaqs 'in the territory directly belonging to the Golden Horde'; they were only present in southern principalities of Rus'. Even they cease to be mentioned by the final quarter of the 13–early 14th century [Nasonov, 1940, p. 12, 20, 109, 149]. Therefore, it is reasonable to specify that 'basqaqs and darughas were also empire- and non ulus-level administrators' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 30]. According to an Armenian source, in 1254–1255 Möngke Kaan and Batu sent dedicated officials to

'take a census... in Armenia, Georgia, and the Aguan land' (quoted by: [Berezin, 1864, p. 465]; for information on similar events see: [Nasonov, 1940, p. 31, 55]).

Apart from census arrangements and tax collection, *basqaqs* were responsible for ensuring the regular conscription of soldiers from conquered peoples to serve in the empire's army [Ibid., p. 14–15, 17, 54–55]. Large contingents (10% of the males, or 5% of the total population) of Russian, Alan, and Kipchak 'slave warriors' served in the khan's troops and fought in battles both in the West and in the Far East [Chao Chu Cheng, 2002, p. 189; Vernadsky, 2000, p. 135, 156–157, 179, 188, 222–223, 226]. Tens of thousands of these warriors participated in the Mongol conquest of South-East Asia. A Russian colony appears to have been formed near Beijing in the 1330s [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 129].

Darugha. As G. Fedorov-Davydov clarified above, the title denoted an empire-level official, the same as 'basqaq'. In fact, the title took on this meaning at an early stage, which Russian sources indicate by mentioning a 'darughatsi' as one of the organizers of census, tax collection, and military conscription [Nasonov, 1940, p. 14–15; Vernadsky, 2000, p. 225–226]. This fully correlates with the function of *darughachis* in Central Asia [Bartold, 1963, p. 468–469]. As can be seen from the form of the word in Russian sources (*daruga+tsi*, that is, *daruga+chi*), it underwent 'turkification'. It can therefore be supposed that the term of Mongol origin was equivalent to the Turkic word 'basqaq', as they both are derived from a verb stem meaning 'to press' [Berezin, 1864, p. 453; Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 30]. The stem of the term, 'doroga', was later used in the Ulus of Jochi to refer to an administrative and territorial unit, meaning 'area', 'land', 'appanage', and 'city'. When used with the word 'bek', the names of such localities referred to the ruler of the territorial and administrative unit in question. Numerous examples from *tarkhan* and *suurgical* *yarliqs* provide evidence of this. The first parts of their inscriptions (addressees) contain the names of the highest titles and those next to them, such as wing (flank) *oghlans*, *ulus beks*, *tumen beks*,

thousand/hundred/ten *beks*, *darugha beks*, in particular, *darugha beks* of settlements and cities [Usmanov, 1979, p. 206–208]. The latter examples indicate the term 'daruga' had a double meaning, referring both to the rank of a military and civil administrator and to an administrative unit, such as the *darugas* in the Khanate of Kazan (for more details and comparison see: [Ibid., p. 210, 218]).

In the second half of the *yarliq* inscriptions, religious 'princes' that is, clergymen, are mentioned. They did not appear in early *yarliqs*. Later documents written in Arabic mention the following titles: *mufti* (law expert), *kaziy*, (qadijudge), *sayyid* (seyd, descendant of the Prophet), *muhtasib* (guardian of Sharia), *shaikh mashaikh* (spiritual elder), *mudarris* (Theology teacher), *imam* (spiritual leader), *muezzin*, etc. [Berezin, 1864, p. 448–449; Usmanov, 1979, p. 211–213]. The fact that they appeared in the more recent *yarliqs*, in contrast to the 'metropolitan' ones, is attributable to the Islamisation of the ruling elite of the Golden Horde. (The honorific titles 'sharif' (noble) and 'ata' (father) being bestowed upon the *sayyid* and the political influence of the qadi judge during the time of Öz Beg has been reported by Ibn Battuta [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 296, 301]).

At the same time, religious officials were not direct administrators (executors of the khan's will), but public authorities who took into account the legitimacy and integrity of *yarliq* orders. They could act as testifiers or text interpreters in disputes. Therefore, representatives of the Muslim clergy participated to some extent in the legal administration of society from the mid-14th century.

There is evidence that Sharia judges (*qadis*) were the most active and efficient of the clergy. They were preceded by the *yarguchis*, who were guided in their rulings by the *Yasa* and the common law [Berezin, 1864, p. 450–451]. Archaic as it was, the nomads' system of justice stood its ground for a long time against Sharia law [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 145]. *Yarguchis* administered justice in the times of Öz Beg [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884,

p. 311–312]. Overall, the rise of Islam in the Ulus of Jochi was relative. Vestiges of the old customs and beliefs lived on with the nomadic part of the population for a long time [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 146, 159, 223].

These roles made up the core body of high-ranking administrators and administrative officials in the Ulus of Jochi and the Tatar states into which it dissolved.

Bottom-rank executive officials. Such officials were not entitled to address every issue administratively; they were obligated to execute the monarch's orders and instructions and maintain the existing order in terms of specific legal issues. A list of such positions and related ones can be found in yarliqs, namely in the third part of the addressee [Usmanov, 1979, p. 213–221]. I. Berezin, and later V. Radlov, A. Samoylovich et al., explored their meanings and suggested explanatory translations for them. The most influential of the ranks, especially at the early stage, was the *bitikchi*, or scribe (secretary), who actively participated in the 1257–1258 census in Rus' as 'counters' [Nasonov, 1940, p. 13–14]. This rank is mentioned in yarliqs issued to Russian metropolitans [Usmanov, 1979, p. 218, Table XVIII].

The term *biticki* originated in the Uighur bureaucratic tradition, within which its polysemantic equivalent *bakhshi*, meaning a scribe and secretary, was initially more active (for more details see: [Bartold, 1968, p. 501, 508]). In yarliqs issued in the Golden Horde in the 14–16th century, the term *bakhshi* was gradually replaced by the Arabic words *qatib* and *hafiz*. More recent yarliqs often use the composite term *divan bitikchi*. This was the position of the chief inspector and record manager of the governmental chancellery [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 220–221, 267–268]. The term *bitikchi* had a broad range of meanings in the Ulus of Jochi, from a high official at the khan's court who participated in the censuses and tax collection during the early stages, to a specialized chancellor officer in control of subsequent official document execution.

Influential executive officials were titled *bukaul*, *karaul*, *yisaul*, *tutkaul*, *chiri*,

etc. Scholars have not come to unanimous agreements on their meaning. For instance, I. Berezin chose not to translate 'bukaul', while A. Yakubovsky interpreted it as 'army controller' [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 127], and G. Vernadsky suggested the translation as 'intendant' [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 218], etc. The terms also appear as parts of double titles in yarliqs: *bukaul-tutkaul*, *bukaul-chiri*, *yisaul-bukaul*, *karaul-tutkaul*. This probably indicates that they referred to the representatives of a 'military police service' in general, while their meanings were similar.

Double terms included *tamgachi* (customs officer) and *tartnakchi* (weighter), *kimachi* (boatman) and *kopurchi* (bridge manager), *yamchi* (postmaster) and *susunchi* (horse fodder collector), *kushchy* (falconer) and *barschy* (panther hunter). Separate ranks included *suyubashi* (head of the army), *aktachy* (stable manager), *anbarchy* (granary manager), *baurchy* (cup-bearer), etc. The *kharafat agalary* (qartlar) as 'craftsman seniors', *jaza-i'amil* as 'punishment' executors and '*amali mutasarrif*', action possessors, that is, generally authorized persons, etc. enjoyed specific powers and rights [Usmanov, 1979, p. 213–215]. Some of them, as representatives of fiscal services, were in charge of the economic and financial order, while others were closer to the core and thus could exert influence on the course of events.

To sum up, the administrative system of the Jochid state stemmed from the rich Eurasian tradition. The apparatus was simple yet complex, multi-layered and elaborate. Its traditional, time-tested basic administrative institutions, which were the essential component parts to the ulus bek system, in turn ensured simplicity. The complex structure resulted from the need to adjust the originally nomadic administrative system to meet the needs of the multi-order state that contained both nomadic communities and large sedentary agricultural regions. The evidence here generally suggests the Ulus of Jochi was a class-representative feudal monarchy with an ulus bek administrative system.

§ 3. Clan Structure*

Damir Iskhakov

The politically dominant population of the Ulus of Jochi, which was divided into clans and tribes, remains under-studied. Even those historians who admit the importance of the subject tend to limit their research to preliminary conclusions or descriptions of long clan lists extracted from late Middle Asian historical works (see: [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973; Sultanov, 1982; Schamiloglu, 1998, Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2000]). To single out the ruling clans is also a challenge. Some sources suggest that those of the Great Horde that succeeded to the Ulus of Jochi were the Kiyat, Saljigut, Kongrat, and Manghit clans. However, the political nucleus of the Crimean, Kazan, and Kasimov Khanates were the *Shirin*, *Baryn*, *Arghyn*, and *Kipchak* clans [Schamiloglu, 1998, p. 90, 129; Inalchik, 1979–1980; Manz, 1987; Iskhakov, 1998]. Other clans are also reported to have ruled various uluses of the Golden Horde and its successors in the 15–16th century. However, more recent lists are not applicable to the situation in the Ulus of Jochi (see: [Istoriya Kaaxstana, 2001, p. 235]) because it may cause a misinterpretation of the ethno-political situation in the Golden Horde as it actually stood in the 13–14th century. This is chiefly because it was largely different from that of the mid-14th century, when the Ak Horde witnessed the large-scale infiltration of clan aristocrats from the Kok Horde with their troops, and also probably the partial migration of its clans.

The clan system is hard to study because of source-related difficulties. It is sometimes unclear what certain terms refer to in authentic medieval works (*urug*, *kabile*, etc.). The vague terminology of sources in turn often influence the work of historians (for instance, see usage of the terms 'clan' and 'tribe' as synonyms in source experts [Sultanov, 1982]). Since there is an ethnographic tradition behind the terms, the authors apply the term clan to a more general

union than that of blood relatives or a tribe as a potestary political union.

The Turkic-Mongol community and the clan and tribal structure of Chinggis Khan's empire. The conquest of Northern Eurasia and the establishment of Chinggis Khan's empire put an end to old family and tribal structures, and what remained of them formed a new system. On the one hand, the dissolution of the old tribal structure resulted from the Mongol's violent coercion. On the other hand, there were also intrinsic reasons. In order to explore the tribal and clan structure of the Ulus of Jochi, we have to find out what families and tribes existed in the previous epoch. The basic social (and, undoubtedly, economic) unit was the *ail* (ayil), a nomadic household that usually consisted of at least two families, including their dependents and all the individuals associated with them within the subordination and kinship system. The *ayil* was the smallest, self-sustainable independent unit in Central Asian nomadic society because it contained the workforce necessary to ensure an efficient and highly productive nomadic way of life (see: [Weinstein, 1991]).

Larger units above the *ayil* also sometimes existed for collective pasture usage and protection against enemies. However, the most common type of union in 12th century Mongolia is considered to have been the '*buluk irgen*' ('small detachment'), a mixed group probably consisting of several *ayils*, or perhaps one very large nomadic *ayil* not controlled from the outside [Munkuev, 1977, p. 385 et seq.]. It is evident that such independent groups actually made up the units on which the founders of steppe empires built their state hierarchy.

Family segmentation systems, such as the *obokh* (obog) or the *khamag*, were critical because there was no generally clear social organization above the *ail* level. Unlike the *urug*, which consisted of the lateral descendants of a real, famous person, the *khamag* (or *obokh*) consisted of the lateral descendants of a more distant (in fact, as distant as possible) ancestor (referred to as *ebuten* or *obokhtan*). However, the

* The paragraph is written with the participation of I. Izmaylov.

most important feature of that descendant system was rather its mobility and flexibility than its scale. Unlike the *urug*, where membership could only be changed through death or birth, the *obokh* could be subjected to radical changes, as the founding ancestors of the *obokh* tended to be legendary, and new lines of descent could be invented easily to ensure the adjustment of new groups willing to establish a direct connection to the clan [Lindner, 1982, p. 689–711]. Therefore, associations like Qabul Khagan's Kamag Mongol and the Tatar union were often bound through fictitious descent systems, in which genealogical lines dating back to a distant mythical ancestor were invented as a reason for existing kinship and subordination. Most of them had a uniform ownership sign, or *tamga*, a special *uran* (battle-cry), patron animals, or *ongons*, and treated a specific part of mutton (like the right side or the shoulder) as the most important and honourable. Some *ail* groups were controlled by certain families of family units with groups known as the *ulus* (*votchina* [patrimony], state).

It should be noted that each nomadic *ail* or group of *ails* was entitled to have camps within a specific area. The land belonged not to the individual livestock breeders, but to the entire *obokh* with which they were connected through descent and kinship. The *obokh* also provided the legal framework and opportunities to repel external threats. Key unions of this kind in the 12th century Mongol steppes included the Naiman, Kereit, Tatar, and Mongol tribes. In most cases, the association was rather unstable. However, some were able to establish dynasties of their own, which ensured their leadership at wartime and during other crises. Chinggis Khan belonged to the lateral branch of one of these dynasties, which probably helped him ascend to power. But as essential as they were in terms of territorial order, group unity and protection, the *obokh* and *khamag* could never become the efficient, permanent potestary and political units that could regulate interactions among the various combinations of *ails*, or unite all the tribal groups across the Central Asian steppe area. Primitive anarchy reigned at this time, where small social units fought over resources and power.

However, internal and external pressure caused major transformations in the nomadic

society of Central Asia in the late 12–early 13th century. Many small Mongol social units (the *ayil*, the *bolok irgen*), which had been quite independent, developed into larger, more compact and clearly-outlined groups with political leaders of their own; they were tribal groups that competed against each other with a sense of identity, and against the outside world. The Tatar unification structure is representative. According to Rashid al-Din, the Tatars had a *khamag* near Lake Bur Nor, which included the following six tribes: Tutukuljut, Alchi, Chagan, Kuin, Terat, and Barkui [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 1, p. 103]. He also reported that 'other Turkic families, who belonged to different categories and had different names, became known as Tatars' [Ibid., p. 102]. He wrote earlier that these included the Durban, Saljiut, and Katakina tribes. If we also take into account other important tribal groups, such as the Naimans, the Keraites, and the Merkits, it appears that Turkic-Mongol unions were not genealogically and linguistically related. In fact, they were merely ethno-political associations where the memory of kinship was in large part legendary.

Our sources present various accounts of this tribalisation. The process appears especially vivid if we trace the semantics of the important term '*kuren*' (Mongol: *gure'en*). Its oldest meaning is a type of camp where yurts and carts with livestock were fenced in the centre, where it was easy to watch them. To quote Rashid al-Din, 'in ancient times, when a tribe camped in an area, it formed a ring where the senior was in the middle of the circle, like a central point. This was called a *kuren*' [Ibid., p. 86]. Later, at the end of the 12th century, the term acquired a secondary meaning, namely a temporarily fortified camp, as well as a social and political unit: 'at present, when the enemy's army is near, they [the Mongols] also form such a camp to prevent enemies and strangers from getting inside [Ibid, p. 86–87]. Thus, the term *kuren* evolved to mean not just a circle of yurts and carts surrounding the tribal leader but, primarily, a new social, military, and political unit, mostly equivalent to the 'thousand', a full-fledged tribal union in the Mongol Empire. The entire Mongol society had divided into such *kurens* by the early 13th century.

As the khan of a new tribal confederation and the prototype of the Mongol Empire (the *Yeke Mongol Ulus*), Chinggis Khan made no attempts at changing the basic social order of the new community. He simply accepted and extended the existing tribal structure. In 1206 after formally rising to power, he approved the tribal order for his empire by recognising nine new or existing tribal groups as 'thousands', meaning military, administrative and ethno-political units capable of providing approximately one thousand combat-fit warriors during wartime (his *yarliq* 'The Secret History of the Mongols' includes the names of 92 of them). He appointed the associated heads of the units from his group of trusted allies (see: [Ibid., p. 86, 266–278]). About 13 out of the 92 (or 98 according to Rashid al-Din) 'thousands' were formed from the tribal union that composed Temujin's original confederation in 1201. That is, they became the 'core' khan clan for the Mongol Empire and served as both the khan's personal guard and the new state's central administration [Kychanov, 1993, p. 148–156].

As the Mongol Empire carried on its expansion, new 'thousands' were formed and their rulers appointed. In fact, the establishment of 'thousands' and the appointment of their owners was part of the Mongol's general expansion. Thus, the former clan system was included in the military and administrative system of Chinggis Khan's state, though not in its authentic, family-based form, but as sub-divisions of what used to be tribes and families. For instance, the same clans were included in several different thousands, while some were dissolved among many thousands without any mention of them at all. For instance, the Keraites were divided among the clans of Chinggis Khan's associates. However, some clans, like the *Kiyat* and *Ongut*, were apparently included in special thousands without any further division, and their power hierarchy was preserved. Thus, the structure was a complex conglomerate of ethnic groups and tribes consisting of subordinated tribes and families that acquired a new nobility structure, within which their status was determined by their relatedness to Chinggis Khan's '*altyn urug*'. That is to say, the new order modified the tribal structure, but did not abolish it.

That tribal structure largely impeded the increasing centralisation of power by the khan, who ruled through his *kuren* (or court) and *nökers*, as it established the power of all representatives of the '*altyn urug*' over the various nomadic territories and population groups (the '*unagan bogol*' institution) (for more details see: [Munkuev, 1977, p. 386–390]) who used them collectively (as an *obokh*), and not individually. Power and whatever it yielded was used collectively by families. The tradition became a major challenge for the young Mongol Empire because it continuously caused internal conflicts which were never settled, even in Chinggisid states.

However, the real location of *ulus* and tribal union territories within the new empire and their transfer to new authorities loyal to the new great khan was not the only manifestation of the new regime. As Chinggis Khan's state expanded, it had to keep its new territories on a short leash. The Mongols maintained their power over newly conquered and annexed territories with the help of internal troops known as the *tanma*, commanded by special authorised representatives of the central government, or *tanmachis*. Their equivalent in the Ulus of Jochi was apparently the *darugachis* or *basqaqs*. It is important to mention that the troops were formed from different families and tribes. Such detachments often became the core and command staff of new local units, and thus obtained power and land ownership.

Meanwhile, *uluses* and troops from various clans were allocated to Chinggis Khan's sons to become the core of the prospective vast domains, and also used their detachments to introduce the new military and administrative organisation system over the new territory that relied on clans of Central Asian origin. The sources available are too sparse to trace this process in detail. It is clear, however, that entire tribes were not moved together to new territorial units. An army representing several clans came to new *uluses*, and the structure evolved into new family and tribal units, forming military and administrative units from the remaining nomadic population. Such families in the Ulus of Jochi were the Kimak and Kipchak, As, and other inhabitants of the steppe, especially its eastern areas.

Clan structure development in the Ulus of Jochi. It is beyond a reasonable doubt that clan structures existed in the Golden Horde. For instance, Khan Berke's letter received in Egypt in 1262–1263 contained a list of converts to Islam 'with a detailed specification of their tribes and families' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 98]. When one of Nogai's sons killed another around 1299, not only 'relatives', but 'tribes' found out about it [Ibid., p. 116]. Speaking of the 'Desht-Berke area' as 'an exclusively Tatar area', Ibn Arabshah wrote that it was 'rife with Turkic tribes' [Ibid., p. 459]. According to him, when Khan Tokhtamysh gathered an army 'of the right and left sides', it came 'by tribes and families'. When Edigü sent messengers to 'his relatives and neighbours' who belonged 'to his adherents and friends', this referred to the 'left side tribes' and the 'left side leaders and tribal chiefs'. Thus, Edigü was able to appeal to 'numerous tribes' and the 'hearts of tribes and families' when talking to Timur [Ibid., p. 464–470]. Following Khan Tokhtamysh's defeat by Timur and his death, 'tribal warriors' (uimag~aimag) were first gathered by Chinteg Oghlan after which Timur Qutluğ controlled 'all the tribes (ils)' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 132–133]. Frequent mentions of emirs and beks as rulers of ten-thousand and thousand uluses actually refer to tribes, as it was actually clan units that stood behind them. The greatest challenge is to find out which clans the chiefs belonged to using the sources.

Some scholars have turned to the epoch of Khan Batu in order to study the original clan structures of the Ulus of Jochi. According to 'Altan Deftir', Jochi Khan initially owned four thousand *Sijivut* (Saljigut) and *Kingit* clans, and two *Khushin* (Uishin) sub-divisions [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, pp. 274–275]. They have discovered what roles such tribes as *Kongrat*, *Uishin*, *Oirat*, and *Alchi-Tatar* in the west of the Chinggisid realm and *Kongrat*, *Sajirat*, *Argghyn*, *Kereit*, *Uighur*, *Naiman*, *Kipchak*, and *Merkit* in the east played [Schamiloglu, 1998, pp. 90–92]. If we study the network of marital relations of the Jochids and their emir, the list would also include the *Suldus* and *Tulas* (Tuklan) clans in the right wing, and the *Ogunan*,

Yisut, *Bargut*, and *Imen* in the left wing of the Ulus of Jochi [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 41–63]. Later sources ('Bakhr al-asrar') suggest that Batu's army included *Argun*, *Oghuz*, *Naiman*, *Buirak*, *Oirat*, *Karluk*, *Kushchi*, *Usun* (Uisun), *Ming*, *Kongrat*, *Kereit*, and *Barlas* detachments [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2000, p. 207]. The reliability of this compilation is dubious [Akhedov, 1985, p. 145], as is the fact that all the clans stayed in the Ulus of Jochi and did not return to Mongolia.

The clan system as it was at the early stage of the development of the Ulus of Jochi has not been formulated for the latter half of the 13th century. However, much more information is available for the first half of the 14th century, or the time of Khan Öz Beg (1312–1342) and his direct heirs, Janibek (1343–1357) and Berdibek (1357–1359), as well as some of their successors.

Emir Tovlu~Toglu (Tulu) Biy from the Kangly tribe, who was believed to be a person 'with numerous and powerful kinsmen', is known to have been Khan Berdibek's atalyk [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 108]. The Russian chronicles characterise him as a 'tma prince (that is, a tumen head, temnik—*D.I.*) and a powerful person' [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 111]. Tovlu Biy was known to be in Khan Öz Beg's court back in 1339–1340 [Gorsky, 2000, p. 65]. According to 'Anonymous of Iskender', Khan Janibek believed the prince to be 'one of the pillars of his state' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 129]; he also participated in Berdibek's ascension to the throne in 1357 [Grigoriev, 2004, p. 87] and later controlled Azov city customs for some time [Grigoriev and Grigoriev, 2002, pp. 152–153, 228], or was even the ruler (darugha beg) of the Azov tumen. He was killed together with Khan Berdibek in 1359 [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 111]. This attests to how influential the Kangly clan was among the tribes of the Golden Horde.

The Kiyatclan also played a major role, and it is beyond doubt that it existed in the Golden Horde as a military and administrative unit. Rashid al-Din reported that during the rule of Khan Tokhta (1291–1312): '...the Kiyat tribe is now ruled by Khan Toqtai and is said to con-

stitute one *tumen*' [Rashid al-Din, 2002, I, 2, p. 270; see also p. 46]. However, the *tumen* has yet to be precisely localised.

We can obtain some information by analysing the indirect data. Ulusbek Mamai, 'one of the chief Mongol emirs', who was married to Khan Berdibek's daughter, played a major role in the history of the Ulus of Jochi in the 1360s–1380s [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 114]. He was influential in the western part of the Ak Horde because, to quote Ibn Khaldun, 'the city of Qrim belonged to his domain' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 389]. According to Ötemish Hajji, his father's name was Alash (possible forms: Alysh~Alish) [Kafali, 1976, s. 39], and he belonged to the Kiyat clan [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 108]. Even though no connection has been established between Mamai and other historical figures, it is safe to say that the Kiyat clan itself played an important role as early as during the time of Khan Öz Beg. In particular, the 'chief emir' and 'ulus head' of Khan Öz Beg Isa Bek (Isa Gurgun) can be identified as Isatay Kiyat [Ibid., p. 67, 102–103, 104–105, 109; Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 295]. The data provided by al-Muhibbi and al-Qalqashandi suggests that the Kiyat clan had its domain in the Crimea before it was transferred to the Shirin clan.

The Kiyats might have come to the Crimea back during the rule of Batu Khan, as later reports provide the relevant information. For instance, speaking of Shiban and the 'families and tribes' and 'wilayahs' that Khan Batu assigned to him, Ötemish Hajji reported Batu to have 'added... to the thirty thousand people that he had assigned [to Shiban Khan] another ten thousand Kiyat [and] Yuraldai people', 'and sent [him] as an appointee to the wilayahs of Crimea and Kaffa'. Abdulgaffar-Qirimi confirms the information by reporting Batu to have sent Shiban along with his atalyk Bor Altay Tarakly from the Kiyat clan to the Crimea [Schamiloglu, 1998, p. 94].

A report pertaining to the time of Khan Khyzr (1360–1361) provides information on another Golden Horde tribe. Namely, a list of the associates of the khan born in the Kok Horde includes 'a beg of the Naiman tribe

named Qutlugh Buga [Ötemish Hajji 1992, p. 112]. Was he the Qutlugh Buga of the *yarliqs* by Janibek, dated 1347, and Berdibek, dated 1358, to Venice citizens (Cotloboga), and the one mentioned in the 1357 *yarliq* to Metropolitan Alexius? [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 146; Grigoriev and Grigoriev, 2002, p. 115, 163; Grigoriev, 2004, p. 113]. Al-Muhibbi apparently referred to the same person as Qutlubuga (Qutlubuga Inak), whom he defined as 'Khan Janibek's vicegerent', and 'one of [the] four who rule the land of Öz Beg according to the custom' in a 1351 report [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 348]. It is entirely possible that Qutlugh Buga was Khan Janibek's *karachibek* in 1351–1357 [Grigoriev, 2004, p. 113] and ruled the Crimea in 1358–1359 [Grigoriev and Grigoriev, 2002, p. 209]. Qutlugh Buga might have also been related to another outstanding Golden Horde emir, Mogul Buga (see: [Ibid., p. 208]). There is also other indirect evidence of this. According to 'Anonymous of Iskender', Khan Murid's (1362–1363) 'chief emir in the Ulus of Öz Beg' was Ilyas, son of Mogul Buga [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 130]. Some Russian chronicles contain the following report dated 1365/1366. '...in winter, Vesneilyas, son of Koultubuga, was in Tver on his way back from Lithuania' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 79]. This probably refers to Qutlugh Buga's son Ilyas, who left Lithuania somewhere between the spring and winter. In this case, the confusing identity of Emir Ilyas's father indicates that Mogul Buga and Qutlugh Buga were close relatives, probably brothers.

The data indicates that the Naiman clan was included in the Ulus of Jochi. Even though Ötemish Hajji localised the Naiman tribe far in the east, in the 'yurt of Taibuga' in the Irtysh Basin [Kafali, 1976, s. 44], the clan might have also lived in the Ak Horde, as Abu-l Ghazi mentioned Batu Khan to have assigned the 'people' of four tribes, including the Naimans, to Shiban [Abu al-Ghazi, 1906, p. 160]. However, representatives of the clan played a major role in the politics of the Ak Horde as early as in the latter half of the 14th century. In any event, in the Crimea the Arghyn Ulus went under the double

name 'Arghyn—Naiman' in the 18th century [Lashkov, 1895, p. 82].

There is evidence that the Saljigut (Sijud) clan was part of the Golden Horde in the 13–14th century. Rashid al-Din reported Khan Tokhta's chief emir to have been Cherkes 'of the clan' Mungede (Munghur), a nayon from the Sijiut tribe transferred to Jochi [Rashid al-Din, 2002, I, 1, p. 183; II, 2, p. 274]. Ötemish Hajji also wrote that during the rule of Khan Bazarchi (?) (apx. 1362) 'there was... Sijud Ali Bek, a chief emir,' whom Taidula ordered to kill, while his son Hasan 'fled and came to Kongrat Nagadai's son Ak-Husain, who was the khakim of the wilayah of Khwarezm' [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 113; Kafali, 1976, s. 44]. A mention of the Saljigut is also contained in another report by Ötemish Hajji, dated 1312, when Tokhta sent Kiyat Isatai (Isa Bek) and Sijut Alatai along with 40 thousand warriors for the khan-to-be Öz Beg [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 103]. The Saljigut clan obviously enjoyed a privileged status within the power structure of the Ulus of Jochi in the late 13–early 14th century.

Mentions of the Kungrat clan in the Ulus of Jochi appeared not later than at the end of the 13th century. It was common for 'altyn urug' sultans to marry Kungrat women during the time of Jochi. For instance, Rashid al-Din reported Khan Tokhta to have been married to the daughter of Kungrat Saljidai Gurgan, who married his son off to Nogai's daughter [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 70]. The Kungrat clan (or a sub-division of it) most likely belonged to the right wing (the Ak Horde). In addition, the fact that the above report mentions 'the khakim of the wilayah of Khwarezm' Ak Husain, Kungrat Nagadai's son, confirms the high status of the clan within the political hierarchy of the Ulus of Jochi in the first half of the 14th century. In fact, Emir Nagadai (Nangudai) was also mentioned by Ibn Battuta because his daughter was Khan Öz Beg's second senior wife, while he apparently belonged to the khan's court [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 294]. Moreover, he is mentioned as Nagadain in Khan Janibek's yarliq of 1342 as a representative of the high aristocracy of the Golden Horde [Grigoriev

and Grigoriev, 2002, p. 48]. Nagadai must have been ulusbek of Khwarezm, which was a position he apparently occupied after his predecessor Qutlugh Timur died in 1335–1336 (for more information on him see: [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 129, 140 et seq.]). Along with other 'old princes', he was killed around 1361–1362 [Grigoriev, 2004, p. 145].

The surviving data on the Kungrat lineage suggests that Emir Nangudai descended from the famous nayon (or prince) Nukai (Nogai), whose son Akhadai Bakhadur is believed to have ruled in the 'countries of Bulgar, Cherkes, and Kazan' [Bregel, 1982, p. 367]. Emir Nangudai was his son. According to the dynasty's chronicle, he ruled the Circassians at first, then moved to the Lower Volga Region as Öz Beg Khan's 'emir al-umara', and finally arrived in Khwarezm [Ibid., p. 370–371]. Even if some of the information in the chronicle is the stuff of legends, the general narrative conforms to the historical data and confirms the Kungrat clan to have become a Golden Horde clan not later than at the end of the 13th century.

A somewhat different clan system is described in various sources for the time of Khan Tokhtamysh (1380–1395), when more representative data on the tribal composition of the Ulus of Jochi became available. For instance, Yazdi mentioned the following 'emirs and nayons' of the Ulus of Jochi when describing the first battle between Tokhtamysh's army and that of Timur (1391) in 'Zafar-nama': *Ali, Suleiman-Suleiman-Sufi Kongurat, Navruz Kongurat, Aktau, Uruschuk, Kiyat, Isa Bek* (Manghit Edigü's elder brother [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 148]), *Hasab Bek Sarai, Kuke Buga, Yargly Biy Bakhrin and Kungur Biy*. The description of the second battle (1395) mentions the already-mentioned Aktau, Savud-Sufi (Tokhtamysh's son-in-law) and Udurka (right wing), as well as the above-mentioned Isa Bek and Yakhshy Hoja, Urug Temur's son (left wing) [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 116] as representatives of Tokhtamysh's army. When describing the defeat of the right wing of the Golden Horde army in 1395, the author reports emir Bek Hoja to have been killed. Emirs Ka-

zanchi (Kazan) Bakhadur and Urug Timur are known to have left Urus Khan for Tokhtamysh [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 118–121, 131–132, 146–148]. Among those emirs whose tribal affiliation is not mentioned in sources, Ali Bek was a Kongurat, and Ak Buga a Bakhrin; they were both titled Tokhtamysh's chief emirs [Ibid., p. 151].

Yazdi also mentioned Urug Timur [Ibid.], who was apparently a Shirin [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 114], among them. Kara Hoja was believed to be an 'old nöker' of Tokhtamysh [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 189]. He can be identified as the 'Arghyn bey' mentioned in the epic 'Edigü' [Edigü, 1988, p. 142, 206]. Thus, the following clans were subordinated to Khan Tokhtamysh: *Kongurat*, *Bakhrin* (Baryn), *Manghit*, *Kiyat*, *Sarai*, *Shirin* and *Arghyn*.

Some scholars believe that Hasan Bek of the Sarai clan, who was reported to have fought within Tokhtamysh's army in 1391 and was also mentioned in other documents (1380, 1384, 1393), was Ramadan (Ramazan) Zayn al-Din, who ruled Crimea (Solkhata) in 1349–1358 [Grigoriev and Grigoriev, 2002, pp. 172–174; Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 452], who was probably in the Crimea already in the first half of the 14th century. In addition, the Sarai tribe is known to have been included in what is known as the 'nomadic Öz Beg' group [Sultanov, 1977, p. 166, 170]. However, it is still possible that the ethnonyms Sarai and Kiyat were synonyms, as the latter clan was the leading administrative clan in the state that had its centre in the city of Sarai (hence the other name for the clan, Sarai) during the rule of Khans Tokhta and Öz Beg.

The Shirin clan also played a major role in the clan structure of the Ulus of Jochi. According to Ötemish Hajji, the Shirin tribe, which descended from the 'As tribe with the "scoop" (chumech) tamga', was represented by the nökers of Tui Hoja, Tokhtamysh's father. Then Urek Timur, son of Shirin bek Dangy Bey, served Khan Tokhtamysh. In 1379–1380, as his ulug bek he married Mamai's widow, Khan Janibek's daughter [Kafali, 1976, s. 42]. Shirin

Crimean murzas provided similar information in the 19th century: '...Dangy Bey commanded the army during the rule of Tokhtamysh, while his son Ruktemir (Urek-Timur.—*D.I.*) was appointed chief bek in charge of all begs and peoples subordinated to the khan... (he sat) on the divan... to the khan's right' [Lashkov, 1889, p. 99]. It is clear that the Shirin clan replaced the Kiyat in the Crimean tumen during the rule of Tokhtamysh. Ötemish Hajji also mentioned the changes: 'most of the els left by Janibek Khan was controlled by Mamai. Tokhtamysh Khan killed Mamai and took his els and nökers. Then he came to the wilayah of Sarai' [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 118]. The term 'els' here refers to clans. Abdulgaffar Qirimi also reported that 'Shirin Bey Urak Timur bine Dangy Bey was Tokhtamysh's chief bey (until 1398), along with his son, Teginya b. Urak Temur, was the father of the Crimean Shirins' [Schamiloglu, 1998, p. 127]. According to Ötemish Hajji, Ureg Temur's son Yakhshy Hajji was the atalyk of Tokhtamysh's son Kepeg Khan, while his second son Tekene Beg 'served' another son of Tokhtamysh, Qadir Birdi Khan. Ötemish Hajji specified that he was the khan's 'right side bek', while Khaidar Bek of the Kungrat clan was the 'left side bek' [Kafali, 1976, s. 43]. The authors who continued al-Dhahabi's chronicle made the following note to the report on Edigü (1419/1420): '... he (Edigü.—*D.I.*) was merely the second emir, as there was another emir named Tekina (Tekinya). The chief emirs there were the right and left wing emirs. Tekina was the right wing emir, while Idiki was the left wing emir' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 553].

Additional information on the subject can be found in the Russian chronicles. For instance, ulug karachibek Edigü's army, which invaded North-Eastern Rus' and besieged Moscow in 1408, is reported to have included 'Prince Teginya, Shikh's son' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 468]. That is, he was most likely the son of Yakshi-Yakshi Hajji. The second mention of him in the Russian chronicles is dated 1432, when 'Sherin Teginya,' after becoming the 'Great Prince of the Horde' (apparently karachibek) at Khan Ulug Muhammad's court, favoured the Prince Yuri of Moscow for the throne, Great

Prince Vasily's uncle. He spent that fall at the khan's court and went 'to the Crimea for the winter' to return 'from the Crimea to the Horde' in the spring [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 249]. The source also mentions him to have had a 'tsar's chamberlain' and a 'Tatar named Usein' (that is, Husain).

Characteristically, other Tatar clans were also involved in the events. Khaidar Bek of the Kungrat clan, mentioned above according to Ötemish Hajji, is also mentioned in a report dated 1432 among the 'great princes of the Horde' under the name Aydar [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 27, p. 103; 11–12, p. 15]. Vasily Vasilyevich turned to him and his brother Min Bulat for a confirmation of his right as the great prince. That is, members of the Shirin and Kungrat clans played a key role in the khan's court during that period, scheming and implementing policies for their khan.

The fact that the Shirin clan descended from the 'As tribe' does not necessarily mean that it was the offspring of the Caucasian Alans (As people). In fact, a number of 14th century Arab sources (Abu-l Fida, Ibn Battuta, al-Umari) distinguished between the Alans and the Ases, mentioning the latter to have been Turkic Muslims living in steppe regions and Sarai [Alemande, 2003, p. 328, 341, 359]. The data provided by al-Masudi (10th century) and al-Biruni (11th century) suggests that the term refers to the descendants of the ancient Turkic *Az/As* people, who lived near Khwarezm in the 10th century, professed Islam, were known as al-Arsiyah and subsequently moved westward. Their language was a mixture of Khwarezmian and Pecheneg during Biruni's time [Ibid., pp. 348–349, 333]. Since the Shirin clan moved from the Khwarezmian area together with Tokhtamysh, its legendary relatedness to the 'As tribe' can be interpreted to convey the clan's descent from the Turkic-Iranian *As/Az* tribe.

It is entirely possible that other clans that were treated as Khan Tokhtamysh's *els* (Arghyn, Baryn, Kipchak) moved westward together with the Shirin clan. In any event, Sarai Bek of the Baryn clan was the atalyk of Khan Tokhtamysh's son Jalal ad-Din, also serving his other son, Qadir Birdi [Kafali, 1976, s. 43]. Therefore, these groups should be included in

the list of tribes within the Golden Horde (most likely it was initially its left wing, the Kok Horde). The Kipchak group is mentioned in the Kungrat dynasty chronicle, reporting the Nagadai (Nangudai) to have '... fled from the Circassians together with Kipchak Esen Buga, his father's friend, and come to Öz Beg Khan in the lower reaches of the Volga' [Bregel, 1982, p. 369]. This mention of the Kipchak group dates back to the first decade of the 14th century.

Clans in the power structure. Clans of the Golden Horde were not kinship-oriented. These principles were violated back when the Mongol State was established with Chinggis Khan at its head. The clan, as well as the military and administrative system of the Ulus of Jochi, was the same. For instance, 'Chinggis-name' by Ötemish Hajji contains a number of narratives that prove this fact. For instance, regarding Batu Khan's (Sain Khan's) campaign against Ijan Khan's (Orda's) *nökers*, who are reported to have killed their ruler, it is mentioned that when 'their great people fled', '[Sain Khan] moved all the families and tribes to his lands, annexed them to his *il*, and assigned each *aimag* to a *bek* as a *koshun*'. It is also mentioned that during the period of Khan Öz Beg the 'el of the Ming tribe' was assigned to Emir Alatai of the Saljigut clan [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 94, 105]. Thus, U. Schamiloglu was right to state that a constant mixing of the population in the Golden Horde 'complicated kinship relations so much that they became vague, and the actual tribal relatedness only formal.' In his opinion, however, the 'fictitious kinship. .. contributed to the establishment of social connections within the society' [Schamiloglu, 1998, p. 94].

At the same time, marital relations within the clan aristocracy were common. Many noble families wanted to establish a connection to the 'altyn urug'. The Emirs' relatedness to the Chinggisids through the female line was an efficient social tool that they used to reinforce their influence in the court and obtain higher promotions. The khans viewed it as a reliable way of ensuring the loyalty of powerful clans and their support for political issues. Batu's mother is known to have been Ukhaa Ujin of the Kungrat clan, while Barakchin Khatun of the Alchi-Tatar clan was his wife. Rashid al-

Din emphasised the role and importance of such marital connections between khans and clans in one of the chapters of his work [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 1, pp. 77–197]. The following fact is representative of the essential role that marital connections played. When Khan Timur's troops commanded by Emirs Tekinya (Tekinyya) of the Shirin clan and Ghazan besieged Khwarezm in 1410 and Tokhtamysh's son Jalal ad-Din was declared khan, Emir Ghazan, who was married to his sister, did not hesitate to take the side of the new khan, while Tekinya, who was married to Khan Timur's daughter, remained loyal to him [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 194]. Each khan had a kinship network connecting them to the chiefs of the ruling tribes (for instance, see Ibn Battuta's report on Khan Öz Beg's relatives: [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 290–293]).

Taken together, the facts indicate that a number of mechanisms for intra and inter-clan interactions existed apart from the operational kinship institutions. In the Golden Horde, the institutions of atalyks and imeldashes played an important role. Though seemingly archaic, these social institutions were essential to the social structure of Turkic-Tatar states. In fact, they were the link connecting the Chinggisid khans to the clan aristocracy. Both parties benefited from such kinship because they brought Tatar aristocrats closer to the throne, while ensuring loyal support for the khans. Atalyks were not just teachers, but the principal advisors for khans-to-be. They often exerted formative influence on their pupils' policies without occupying any high positions themselves, not to mention the fact that it was largely the atalyk's personal qualities and authority that determined his pupil's chances to be elected khan. Similarly, the choice of imildashes established a connection of mutual duties between the sultan along with the khan-to-be and their 'foster brother' clans. Like marriage, the selection of imldashes and an atalyk was an important event and an essential tool used to reinforce the khan's power. It is no wonder that many atalyks were prominent people who pushed their sultans to the peak of power. They often descended from such leading clans as the *Kiyat*,

Kungrat, *Manghit*, and *Shirin*. For instance, it is clear that Emir Edigü was Qutlugh Timur's atalyk, though the sources do not mention him. 'Tawarikh-i Guzida-iy nusrat-name' explains how the mechanism worked in relation to Muhammad Sheybani Khan, who was to become the ruler of the State of Nomadic Uzbeks. After their father died when they were 'young children', they 'lived in the house of Uighur Bay Shaikh Ateke because Bay Shaikh was their father's ateke (that is, atalyk.—*D.I.*)' [Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, 1969, p. 19]. Some sources mention the important role that the atalyk played in the Khanate's military political affairs. For instance, Abdulgaffar Qirimi reported Batu to have sent Shiban, accompanied by his atalyk Bor Altai Tarakly, to the Crimea [Schamiloglu, 1998, p. 94] (see also: [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 95]). Or, when Nogai had a conflict with Khan Tokhta, he required the khan to render him Emir Saljidai of the Kungrat clan, who was the father of Tokhta's wife. The Khan refused to do so and said, 'He is like my father and teacher (this probably means atalyk.—*D.I.*), and he is an old emir' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 423].

Another institution used to incorporate clans into the 'altyn urug' was the office of *imeldyashes/imildyashes* (foster brothers, sworn brothers) [Vasary, 1983]. It enabled clans to establish family connections to the families of sultans by sending their youngest sons there. As several sons were sent to sultan families, this formed a stable network of intra-clan relations that ensured greater sustainability.

The institutions formed a network of social and inter-clan collections. For instance, Emir Saljidai of the Kungrat clan, who was married to Khan Tokhta's daughter, married his son off to Nogai's daughter [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 70]. This eventually caused the Chinggisid dynasty to become 'a ruling family, a meta-tribe or a supra-tribal community that used regular marriage between khans and tribal leaders daughters' to ensure the supply [of women] from all tribes. As a result, the 'overlapping of the dynasty and tribes' was possible. For instance, as a paternal Chinggisid, Nogai had a

maternal tribal affiliation that ensured his 'outstanding position within the tribal organisation' [Schamiloglu, 1998, p. 95].

A number of clans existed in the Ulus of Jochi apart from the key ruling ones. The findings of the study on the clan composition of the Golden Horde have been summed up in a table of 37 clan names. The list of Golden Horde clans is obviously incomplete, as there were 50 to 70 *tumen* heads in the former half of the 14th century, which has already been mentioned, most of whom should be interpreted as tribal leaders. However, the sources available are too sparse to identify the tribal affiliation of all the *tumen* heads in the nearest future.

Speaking of the clan structure of the ulus of Jochi, it should be noted that the scant sources prevent us from reconstructing the exact clan system, especially for the period before the mid-14th century. It is clear that a tribal organisation existed, but its structure is unknown. It is safe to say, however, that representatives of the *Siljivut* (*Saljigut*), *Kingit* and *Khushin* clans, as well as the *Alchi-Tatars*, *Kiyats*, and *Kungrats* played an essential role in the politics of the Ulus of Jochi. At least, they were the most often-mentioned ones, which in a way is representative of their significance in the Khanate's clan structure, primarily ensured by relatedness to the Jochid family. At the very least, Ulug Karachibek and Sultan Nogai are known to have been closely related to the Kiyat clan, suggesting that it was a ruling clan at that time. It is entirely possible that the other clans were not numerous enough to become leaders at that point.

The 'Great Troubles' of the 1360s–1370s dealt a heavy blow to the entire social system of the Ulus of Jochi, and also affected the clan system. The ruling clans probably suffered considerable losses and began to slip out of the political arena to be replaced by clans from the Kok Horde. The situation then changed greatly by the 1380s. Apart from the long-ruling Kungrat, Kiyat, and Sarai clans, such clans as the Manghit, Shirin, and Baryn began to claim leading status. The Shirin clan became well-established in the Crimea, influential Shirin karachibeks appeared in the early 15th century, and members of the clan also held important public offices. Later, in the 15th century, the

clans among the four ruling clans of the Khanates of Kazan, the Crimea, and Kasimov were the *Shirin*, *Baryn*, *Arghyn*, and *Kipchak*. Other clans, such as the Kungrats, were pushed aside and only managed to remain leaders in the Kok Horde and Shibanid Khanates.

The issue of what structure and hierarchy the units had is challenging, and it remains unclear how consolidated they were. Sub-divisions sharing a name and the distant memories of kinship might have existed within the wings. However, it seems reasonable to assume that the ruling and most powerful clans have a tribal territory like the Kiyat land in the western part of the Ak Horde and the Crimea, or in Sarai and in the Lower Volga Region, where members of their court drew resources for their military and political struggle for influence in the Jochid Empire. It is a well-known fact that later, in the latter half of the 14–15th century, the Kungrats had their tribal family territories on the Mangyshlak, and the Manghits in the Trans-Volga Region. It is possible that the khans checked the expansion of certain clans and tried to scatter them across the ulus of Jochi to ensure the greater consolidation of the empire through the mid-14th century, when the domains of certain clans, as well as their influence, began to grow uncontrollably amidst internecine feuds.

To assess the role that certain clans played in the Golden Horde, one should take into account the demographic weight of the state's clan-forming population, and how essential this clan was for the army. According to our estimate, which is based on data on the military resources of the Ulus of Jochi, the size of the population divided into clans could have been anywhere from 600 to 800 thousand during the rule of Batu Khan, 900 to 1,200 thousands during that of Berke Khan, 1.5 to 2 million during that of Khan Tokhta, and 2 to 2.8 million in the time of Öz Beg and Janibek Khans. Thus, the percentage of nomadic population was high in the state. And although most of its common class were Kipchak descendants, the elite was primarily of Tatar-Mongol origin. The previous system of Kipchak tribal and family elite was fully replaced in the Golden Horde [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 41–42] by Turkic-Tatar clans.

Clan name	Recorded as part of the Golden Horde (centuries)			Ethnic (linguistic?) origin
	13th	14th	15th	
1. Arghyn	–	–	+	Mongol
2. Alchi(n)-Tatar	+	+	+	Turkic (Turkic-Mongol)
3. Bahryn (Baryn)	–	+	+	Mongol
4. Buirak	+	–	+	Turkic
5. Bargut (Burkit)	+	–	+	Turkic (Turkic-Mongol)
6. Jalair	–	+	–	Turkic
7. Yemek (Imen)	+	–	–	Turkic
8. Durman (Durban)	–	+	+	Mongol
9. Iisut	+	–	–	Mongol
10. Kiyat	+	+	+	Mongol
11. Kipchak	+	+	–	Turkic
12. Kongrat	+	+	+	Mongol
13. Kereit	+	–	–	Turkic
14. Kangly	–	+	+	Turkic
15. Kingit	+	–	–	Mongol
16. Karlyk (Karluk)	+	–	+	Turkic
17. Kushchi	+	–	+	?
18. Keneges	–	+	+	Mongol
19. Khitan (Katai)	+	+	+	Mongol
20. Kurleut	–	+	+	Mongol
21. Karabogdan	–	+	–	?
22. Kyrk (Krek)	+	–	+	Turkic
23. Kelechen (Qalach)	–	+	+	Turkic
24. Merkit	+	–	–	Mongol
25. Manghit	–	+	+	Mongol
26. Ming	+	+	+	?
27. Naiman	+	+	+	Turkic
28. Oirat	+	–	–	Mongol (?)
29. Ogunan	+	–	–	?
30. Saljigut	+	+	+	Mongol
31. Sarai	–	+	–	?
32. Suldus	+	–	+	Mongol
33. Tarkhan	+	–	–	?
34. Tulas (Tuklan)	+	–	–	Turkic
35. Uyshin	+	+	+	Turkic
36. Uighur	+	+	+	Turkic
37. Shirin	–	+	+	Turkic (Turkic-Iranian?)

The list of the main Golden Horde clans in the 13th–early 15th centuries (compiled by D. Iskhakov)

CHAPTER 5

The Population of the Ulus of Jochi and the Development of the Medieval Tatar Ethnos

§ 1. Early Stages of the Ethnic History of the Ulus of Jochi and Its Distinctive Features

Mirkasym Usmanov

The time when certain uluses of the Mongol superpower started to become independent as it dissolved into four empires does not start in 1224 when Chinggis Khan assigned autonomous appanages to his sons, or in the 1240s (see a characteristic examples from official textbooks: [Buganov, 1964, p. 700]). These uluses did not become truly independent until shortly after the struggle between Kublai and Arig Buga for the title of great khan in the 1260s, which the latter lost, followed by the transfer of the capital from Karakorum to Beijing, and the beginning of coin minting in the name of the ulus khans, as well as the recognition of their independence by both part of the Chinggisid clan and by other states. To prove this, the third and four-generation Chinggisids from the western uluses (of Chagatai and Jochi) entered into an agreement 'in the meadows of Talas and Kendjek' in the spring of 667/1269, when a kurultai was gathered following a seven-day feast to re-establish their frontiers and promise to maintain peaceful relations [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 77; Rashid al-Din, 1957, III, p. 72]. Only after this political process did Sarai khans begin to produce coins bearing state titles in their own name (for the materials see: [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003; Singatullina, 2003]).

Another fact that should be taken into account is that ulus rulers' aspirations for the independence of the khagan did not prevent them from finding it reasonable to maintain a dynastic unity. Evidence of this is the fact that ulus khans had special appanages (khubis) within the khagan's domain [Chao Chu

Cheng, 2002, p. 190]. In addition, Jochid—controlled states, including Rus', provided military contingents to China on an almost regular basis [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 156–158, 179, 222–224, 250; Chao Chu Cheng, 2002, p. 189]. The great khan did have property interests, such as the right to a share of the tax income from the western areas of the former superpower (for more details see: [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 138–139]). Even though ulus khans were actually independent, Beijing in this case continued to view them, at least the Jochid ones, as mere 'northwestern princes', that is, vassal vicegerents [Chao Chu Cheng, 2002, p. 190]. Almost as if putting on a poker face—in spite of Khan Berke's support of Arig Buga against Kublai—khagans continued to approve each new Sarai khan by issuing them a ruling yarliq.

Thus, despite the frequent and sometimes also long political conflicts between them that at times developed into military actions and even serious wars, the newly independent uluses formed a confederation starting in the late 1260s. This is especially evident from the Jochids' relations with the Khanbaliq (Beijing) rulers.

Things lasted this way until the mid-14th century when the 'Great Troubles' began, and ended up continuing as this game of 'leap-frog' for the throne in the latter half of the 14th century. At that time, the Golden Horde was a country generally recognised to be, linguistically and culturally, in large part Turkic. This raises the question whether there is a connection between the super-empire's political history and the ethnic history of its areas

within the ethno-political environment of the Mongol State? When applied to the Ulus of Jochi, this can be reduced to the following question: In what way did the politically dominant but sparsely numbered Mongols dominate the Turks, who were in fact the majority? This suggests that a very intense assimilation of Mongols in the Turkic environment took place in the Ulus of Jochi, but it also raises the question of when it began and when it was completed.

All studies dealing more or less with the history of Ulus of Jochi emphasise how multi-ethnic the state was while identifying the majority of its population as Turkic-speaking [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, pp. 65–66; Fedorov-Davydov, 1966; 1973; 1976; Spuler, 1965, S. 282–283; DeWeese, 1994]. An analysis of written documents, primarily *yarliqs* issued by rulers of Ulus of Jochi, confirms the leading role that the Turkic language played in the area's administration [Berezin, 1851; Radlov, 1889; Malov, 1953, p. 187–195; Borovkov, 1966, p. 13–24; Nadjip, 1970, p. 87–92; 1979, p. 31–150; Sultanov, 1973, p. 53–61; Usmanov, 1979, p. 94–111, 218–244; Kononov, 1982, p. 249, 318; Özyetgin, 1996; etc.].

A large part of the Mongol armies led by Guyuk and Möngke returned to Central Asia following the western campaign of 1236–1243. Those Mongols who stayed in Europe were thus subject to assimilation in the Turkic-speaking environment of Desht-i Qipchaq, a fact noted by contemporaries. It should also be taken into account that the Mongols were known as Tatars in the Turkic and Muslim environment, as well as in China. The Turkic term for the Mongols became common not only in Middle Asia and in the near East, but in Rus' and West Europe, even though the Mongols did not call themselves Tatars (see: [Klyashtorny, 1993, p. 140–141]). There is a famous report by al-Umari that 'they (the Mongols) became mixed up with and thought of as them (the Kipchaks), but the land overcame their origin and race, and they all became like the Kipchaks...' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 235].

The above report by al-Umari dates back to the mid-14th century and is representative of the point of view of Muslim diplomats interested in the origin and the actual state of affairs of certain ruling dynasties or individual rulers. Relying on al-Umari for this information, we must admit that the assimilation of the Mongols in the Kipchak environment had been completed by the middle of the 14th century. It then follows that Mongol Turkification actually began much earlier.

Is there any linguistic evidence to confirm the Arab author's report? According to famous linguists specialising in Turkology, the period from the 13th to the 14th century was the third stage of Turkic borrowing in Russian. N. Baskakov believed that the period was 'characterised by a large-scale introduction of Turkic and, less frequently, Mongolian words into Russian' [Baskakov, 1974, p. 6]. Relying on current findings, it is safe to say that Mongolian speakers were not numerically dominant in the land of Khan Batu's descendants in the former half of the 14th century. That is to say, the Mongols were an ethnic minority in Ulus of Jochi who had no significant influence on the linguistic environment, even though they were monumental in determining the state's administrative and political affairs.

As the ethnically diverse Tatar-Mongols conquered the vast Eurasian territory from the Altai Mountains to the Danube (1218–1239), the percentage of the largely mixed Turkic component, which was united by a new powerful suzerain, increased significantly in Jochi and Batu's army. The 'Tatar' conquerors that poured into East Europe were not exclusively Mongol in an ethnic sense. Mongol troops were a conglomerate numerically dominated by Turks, but organised and managed by the Mongol elite and the khan's guard. The above ratio of Turkic and Mongolian borrowings in Russian can be explained by this fact, and it also determined the rapid Turkification of the Mongols of Ulus of Jochi reported by al-Umari. 'Given the Turks' numerical superiority, it was natural for the Mongols to gradually become turkicised' [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 216].

This gives rise to the reasonable question of why the Turks, who were defeated in mil-



Khan's departure. Miniature. Iran. Early 14th century.

itary terms, were the victors in terms of ethnicity and culture in Ulus Jochi. To answer this question we can appeal to the evidence of what influence the Uighur culture had on the Mongols before the empire was established [Brief History, 1991, p. 233–245]. According to V. Bartold, the similar lifestyles, customs, and traditional outlooks of the people favoured a considerable influence [Bartold, 1968, p. 264]. V. Vernadsky believed that 'the Turks were recognised to be legitimate members of the religious background of the majority of both groups' after the Mongols conquered them [Vernadsky, 2000, p. 140, 216]. The sources suggest, in a characteristic way, the absence of hostility between the Mongols and Tatars or vice versa. For all intents and purposes they felt like they were equals.

Another fact that should be taken into account is that the Mongol State included separate Turkic tribes even before the foreign conquest began (about 1206–1207) [Kara, 1972, p. 17], while in 1209 the Uighurs entered it 'of their own accord' to be followed by the Kyrgyz, Uriankhai, and other peoples [Kutlukov, 1970, pp. 46–61; Trepavlov, 1993, pp. 51–53]. According to B. Spuler, Turks made up more than half of the Mongol troops already during the time of Chinggis Khan [Spuler, 1965, S. 281].

However, these were not the only deciding influences on the ethnic processes in Ulus of Jochi. As has already been mentioned, the increase of the Turkic-Tatar percentage in the Mongol armies engaged in westward operations picked up the pace after they entered Desht-i Qipchaq. This part of Eurasia is known to have been inhabited by Turkic-speaking tribes who did not resist entering the 'army people' (term by L. Gumilyov) [Gumilyov, 1970, p. 172–175].

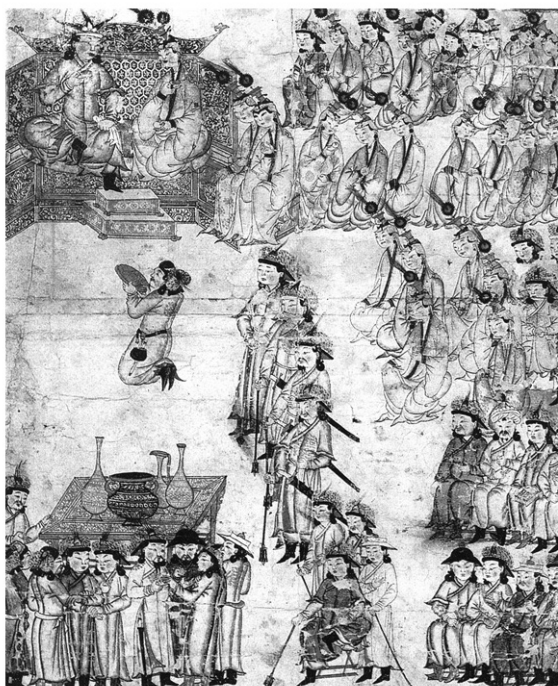
For instance, witness Thomas the Archdeacon wrote on the army that Batu Khan brought to Hungary that 'They have a great number of warriors from different peoples who they conquered through war, primarily the Cumans, whom they force to fight' [Thomas the Archdeacon, 1997, XXXVII].

In what ways did Turks usually contribute to Jochi and Batu's military operations? To answer this question we need to study the domination and subordination system as a steppe-specific variant or equivalent of vassalage adjusted to nomadic communities. In nomadic communities, common livestock breeders depended on the tribal aristocracy indirectly through livestock ownership. It was livestock owners who actually owned and used the land [Vladimircov, 1934; Tolstov, 1934]. Land was believed to be owned collectively by the whole family or tribe regardless of the wealth of individuals [Markov, 1976, pp. 278–313].

This unique mechanism ensured the relatively easy and fast inclusion of Turks in Jochi and Batu's troops. It also determined the more or less rapid assimilation of the Mongols in the west. The uniqueness of the domination and subordination system in general, that is, the nomadic 'type of vassalage', caused nomadic empires in Europe to rise and fall quickly.

Thus, there were more meaningful social prerequisites and conditions apart from the assumed 'wildness' of the 'barbarian' Mongols behind the Turkic-Mongol ethnic integration of the 13–14th century. The everyday life, living standards, and social development of the Mongols and Turks of Desht-i Qipchaq were all at around the same level at that time. The Tutar-Mongols used the preceding communities' administrative experience for organisational transformations, i.e. Chinggis Khan's reforms, to become superior to the scattered steppe tribes and other groups in both military and organisational terms.

The findings of many years worth of archaeological research confirm that the ethnic process in question was quite rapid. 'The Mongol population that came to the steppe of Desht-i Qipchaq was relatively insignificant', while the key 'steppe territories preserved their nomadic population, which only replaced the tribal aristocracy with new rulers, namely steppe Golden Horde khans and their emirs [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966, p. 247]. It is thus quite natural that Mongol Turkification in Ulus of Jochi did not take long. There is also some additional evidence to this fact. S. Zakirov, who believed the Jochids were Mongol-speaking, referred to al-Mufaddal's report below, which in turn referred to Ibn Abd az-Zahir, while describing Khan Berke's (1257–1266) reception of Egyptian ambassadors [Zakirov, 1966, p. 48]. According to the ambassadors, the chief qadi translated the sultan's letter that they brought from Arabic into Turkic, and the vizier read it out to Berke. The khan and all people present were extremely satisfied with its content [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 194]. As it was proven quite usable for Khan Berke and his people, the Turkic language must have become even more understandable, probably even native, for later Jochids. For instance, V. Bartold referred to a description of the khan's court custom by Ibn Battuta, who enjoyed Khan Öz Beg's favour (1312–1342): 'we only heard Turkish (that is, Turkic.—*M.U.*) words there. The Turkic language was 'used for Is-



Khan's court dressed in white celebrating the New Year. Miniature. Iran. About 1330. Topkapi Museum, Istanbul

lamic divine services' as well [Bartold, 1968, pp. 139–140]. The formal records issued by Sarai rulers for local purposes are adequately representative of the trend [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 94–111; 1979a, pp. 238–240].

Mongolian gradually slipped into disuse in Ulus of Jochi. Yet the Jochids most likely remained bilingual for some time before it did [Bartold, 1963, pp. 452–455]. Sarai rulers wrote letters in Mongolian to the great khans in Karakorum and Khanbaliq (Beijing), as well as the early Hulaguids, who had been using their ancestors' language longer than the Jochids had [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 100–101]. Families who were settled in the steppe might have preserved Mongolian for a longer time. There is documentary evidence that some part of the population of Ulus of Jochi spoke two languages on an everyday basis [Poppe, 1941, pp. 81–134].

The Mongol ethnos and its language faded into non-existence in a similar manner in other fragments of the former super-empire, surviving only in a small part of their native land. This same thing probably also happened to many imperial peoples of the past.

§ 2. Arab and Persian Sources on the Dynastic and Political Names of the Ulus of Jochi and the 'Tatar' Ethnonym

Alsu Arslanova, Ilyas Mustakimov

The only Arabic works mentioning the **political names** of the Jochid state are those by the secretaries of Mamluk rulers Taqi al-Din al-Muhibbi (late 14th century) and Abu-l-Abbas al-Qalqashandi (late 14–early 15th century).

Even though the terms are rare in sources, they were used in the official correspondence of Mamluk rulers with Golden Horde khans and noblemen, in whose titles they were included (the reports of al-Muhibbi and al-Qalqashandi, who were well aware of the diplomatic correspondence rules, indicate this very clearly). According to al-Muhibbi, a nobleman from the Golden Horde, 'Sheikh Hasan the Great, an ulus head,' had the following title (among others): 'the Satisfier of the needs of the Kaan's Kingdom' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 347–348]. Another high-ranking official was titled 'Vizier of the **Kaan's Kingdom**' [Ibid., p. 349] (emphasis added hereinafter.—A.A., I.M.). Al-Qalqashandi reported that Ulus of Jochi was also referred to as the '**Kaan's Kingdom**' in a letter by Egyptian ruler al-Malik al-Nasir Faraj to a khan of the Golden Horde [Ibid., p. 410].

It is curious that later (late 14–early 15th century) letters by Mamluk sultans refer to Ulus of Jochi as 'the State (Kingdom) of the Kaan', though the title **kaan** was only initially applicable to great khans, who were rulers of the Mongol Empire. However, all Mongol dynasties in the former Chinggisid uluses, except for the Jochid State, had been either subverted or had decayed by the end of the 14th century. Thus, the only real claimants upon the title Kaan were the Golden Horde's khans.

Persian authors hardly ever applied the term 'Tatars' to the Mongols and Mongol (Chinggisid) states of the 13–18th century. Therefore, it is more reasonable to study the political and dynastic-political names of the Jochid State.

The way in which Persian sources used the names of the components of Ulus of Jochi to

represent its administrative and territorial division is of special interest. First and foremost, this applied to the terms 'the Ulus of Batu', 'the Ulus of Orda', 'the Ulus of Berke', 'the Ulus of Öz Beg', etc.

Similar names of Ulus of Jochi can be found in Arab sources. For instance, certain Arab authors began to apply dynastic-geographical terms ('Berke's land', 'Berke's steppes') to the Ulus of Jochi when Khan Berke came to power (1257–1267). Later, Arabic dynastic-geographical terms were derived from the names of the more recent khans of the Golden Horde—Tokhta (1291–1312) and Öz Beg (1312–1342).

Characteristically, some Arab sources use the term 'bait Barka' ('the House of Berke') primarily to refer to the ruling Jochid dynasty (for instance, see: [Ibid., p. 116 (Baybars), 359 (Ibn al-Furat), 518 (al-Ayni)]). The occurrence of the name 'the State of Berke's House' suggests the same interpretation: 'It is the one (Berke) from whom the state originated; it is called the House of Berke (bait Barka), which means that it is the State of Berke's House (mamlaka bait Barka), just as people say about the Iranian Kingdom, this is the Kingdom of Hulaku's House (mamlaka bait Hulaku)' [Ibid., p. 405 (al-Qalqashandi)].

This may be a peculiar way of translating such terms as 'the *Ulus of Berke*', or 'the Ulus of Öz Beg', which were used in Persian sources. The fact that the name of the state was commonly derived from the currently (or formerly) ruling clans of Ulus of Jochi is not incidental. In fact, it is attributable to the ulus system introduced by Chinggis Khan. According to its principles, the state (Yeke ulus, meaning 'the Great State', 'the Great Ulus') was viewed as the Chinggisid clan's capital [Vladimircov, 1934, pp. 98–99]. After creating his state (Mongyol ulus), Chinggis Khan followed the steppe tradition of assigning ulus appanages to his sons and immediate relatives. This principle is reflected in the Arabic sources because the authors iden-

tified the ruling dynasty (which they called 'the House of Berke') as the state of the Golden Horde as such. Other names of the Jochid state derived from the names of its most powerful khans (Berke, Tokhta, Öz Beg), where after their reigns Ulus of Jochi actually became an independent state, appeared later.

The earliest and most common dynastic-political names of Ulus of Jochi in the Persian sources are 'the Ulus of Jochi [Khan]', 'the Kingdom of Jochi Khan', 'the Ulus of Batu', and 'the Ulus of Orda'. One of the first Persian authors to use these names was the official historiographer of the Hulaguid court Fadlullah Rashid al-Din. In his work 'Jami al-tawarikh' ('Collection of Chronicles'), while describing the history of the Mongol conquest in Middle Asia and East Europe, he referred to the land that Chinggis Khan assigned to his eldest son Jochi as 'the Ulus of Jochi' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 29, 50–51, 65, etc.].

Later, other terms for the Ulus of Jochi appeared that were derived from the names of the later khans Berke and Öz Beg, such as 'the Ulus of Berke', 'Desht-i Berke', 'the Ulus of Öz Beg', 'the State of Öz Beg', etc. These were all similar to the Arabic names. Reports by Arab and Persian authors suggest that similar terms for the Golden Horde state were also used in Ulus of Jochi.

Ethnically speaking, the population of Ulus of Jochi was a conglomerate of different peoples. Among the Jochid-controlled peoples, sources mention the Volga Bulgars, the Russians, the Burtas people, the Bashkirs, the Circassians, and others. However, the most common terms used to denote the Jochid state and its population in Arab sources were 'the Tatars' and 'the Kipchaks'.

For instance, Arab contemporaries mostly knew Ulus of Jochi as 'the Tatar land' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 118, 123, 327], or 'the Tatar land in the North' [Ibid., p. 516], while its rulers were referred to as 'Tatar kings' throughout the existence of the Golden Horde [Ibid., p. 55, 119–120, etc.].

It was no less traditional for Arab and Persian sources to use the ethnonym 'Kipchak' in

Jochid rulers' titles, and to refer to the territory of the Ulus of Jochi. For instance, the most common ethno-geographical and ethno-political terms for the Ulus of Jochi in Arab, and especially in Persian, sources contain the ethnonym 'Kipchak' ('Desht-i Qipchaq', 'the country of the Kipchak steppes', 'the Kipchak Kingdom', etc.) [Mustakimov, 2001, pp. 263–279; Arslanova, 1997/1998, p. 30–41].

Some sources use both the term 'Tatar' and 'Kipchak'. For instance, Ibn al-Furat wrote in his *tawarikh* that 'In the (Hijrah) year 665, Mengü Temür... took the throne of the **Kipchak Kingdom**. He came to rule the Tatars (that is, 'he obtained the **Tatar Kingdom**.'—A.A., I.M.), the Northern Countries, the Kipchak, the Iron Gate, and the adjacent land [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 358].

A number of factors led both western and eastern (including Arab and, partly, Persian) authors to extend the meaning of the term 'Tatars' to the entire Mongol army, which included both Mongols proper and members of tribes and peoples (largely Turkic-speaking) whom they had subordinated starting in the 13th century (for more details, see: [Izmajlov, 1993, pp. 17–32]). More recent Arab authors who lived after the Mongol Empire had been dissolved and independent Chinggisid states had been established, applied the terms 'Tatar countries' and '**Tatar kings**' to not only Ulus of Jochi and its rulers, but other Chinggisid-ruled states ('...duties and other income from Sudak were divided among four Tatar kings; one of them was Toqtaï' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 195 (al-Mufaddal); p. 73 (Ibn Wasil)], in particular, to the rival of Ulus of Jochi, the Hulaguid State in Iran. The Hulaguids were also referred to as 'Tatar kings' [Ibid., p. 73 (Ibn Wasil), p. 121 (Baysbars)]. In his *tawarikh*, Ibn al-Furat also refers to Hulagu as the 'Tatar king' [Ibid., p. 359]. This is why al-Ayni must have mentioned a 'Tatar land in the North', emphasising the geographical placement of Ulus Jochi [Ibid., p. 516]. Thus, by the end of the 13th century Arab authors had come to use the term 'Tatars' rather as an ethno-social than a purely ethnic one, which primarily determined the ruling aristocracy of the states. Thus, the

term 'Tatar countries' in Arab sources was extended to the entire region and country (or countries) ruled by Chinggisid khans ('Tatar kings').

The term 'Tatars' and, traditionally, 'Mongols' was later applied to the social elite of the Chinggisid states (for instance, see Ibn Battuta's usage: [Ibid., p. 295]). For example, al-Dhahabi called Khan Berke (1256/1257–1266) a 'Mongol (al-Maguli), King of Kipchak and the steppes of Sudak' [Ibid., p. 204]. Al-Asadi also applied the term 'Mongol' to Khan Tokhta of the Golden Horde (1291–1312/1313) [Ibid., p. 275, 446].

The Jochid state and its successors preserved the ethnonym 'Mongol'. For instance, late 14th century author al-Muhibbi mentions the following title of the khan of Ulus of Jochi, among others: 'Sultan of the Mongols, Kipchaks and Turks' [Ibid., p. 343]. Crimean Khan Muhammad Giray used this title as late as in 1520 for one of his yarliqs [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 193–194], a fact most likely attributable to tradition.

It should be noted that it was very uncommon for Arab sources to apply the ethnonym 'Tatars' to the population of Ulus of Jochi in the 13–14th century. However, Arab historian Ibn Arabshah, who visited Ulus of Jochi in the early 15th century, and his contemporary al-Maqrizi, more or less clearly indicate that the term 'Tatars' applies to the population of Ulus of Jochi. To quote Ibn Arabshah, 'The area is exclusively **Tatar**... and overfilled... with Turkic tribes' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 459]. Maqrizi wrote that 'He (Yedigei) is the one who prohibited the **Tatars** to sell their children, which caused their inflow into Syria and Egypt to decrease' [Ibid., p. 474].

Terms containing the component 'Kipchak', which was common in the geographical names or titles of khans of the Golden Horde, were more wide-spread for Ulus of Jochi [Ibid., pp. 334–343]. The ethnotoponym 'Desht-i Qipchaq' ('Kipchak Steppe') was especially popular with Persian and Arab authors.

'Desht-i Qipchaq' is one of the oldest ethno-geographical terms for the territory of Ulus of Jochi. Desht-i Qipchaq was a central element of the Mongol-ruled state that covered the

steppes of East Europe up to the Danube, and most of Western Siberia and Kazakhstan.

Now, we must pay special attention to the ethnotoponym 'Desht-i Qipchaq'. Placenames, just like ethnonyms, can develop according to different patterns. Some are very stable, while the meaning of others changes over time. This sometimes makes their interpretation a challenge and causes historiographic variations on the issue. In our opinion, this is exactly the case with the ethnotoponym 'Desht-i Qipchaq'. Its usage became disputed in the 19th century, when medieval Oriental sources were first subject to serious research in historical terms, bringing about a more profound understanding of the issues related to the history of peoples in our country.

By the mid-19th century, domestic historians had been using the ethnotoponym 'Desht-i Qipchaq' in three basic ways.

The first group, which was strictly adherent to certain Oriental sources dating back to the Mongol conquest and their terminology as such, failed to take into account its possible semantic instability. They used the terms 'Ulusof Jochi', 'the Golden Horde', and 'Desht-i Qipchaq' ('the Kipchak Horde', 'the Kipchak Kingdom') to mean the same state with its centre in the Lower Volga Region founded by Khan Jochi. For instance, even the titles by G. Sablukov are representative of the trend: 'A Study on the Location of Sarai, the Capital of the Kipchak Horde' (1843), 'Coins of the Golden Horde' (1896), 'Essays on the Internal State of the Kipchak Kingdom' (1844), etc.

Some scholars limited the meaning of 'Desht-i Qipchaq' to the east of Ulus of Jochi, which we believe to be wrong. For instance, N. Aristov indicated clearly that the term 'Desht-i Qipchaq' referred to the eastern half of Ulus of Jochi, while 'the steppes of the Western Half from the Ural to the Danube were used as camping grounds by the surviving Polovtsians and the preceding Turkic tribes, which merged with part of the Kipchaks to be known collectively as the Nogais' [Aristov, 1896, p. 314].

However, a number of authors were able to trace the ways in which Persian sources used the term. Scholars thus found the meaning of

'Desht-i Qipchaq' to have been considerably generalised among them; they only differentiated between the 'narrow' and 'broad' meaning of 'Desht-i Qipchaq'. For instance, N. Veselovsky noted that 'Ulus of Jochi' included, firstly, Desht-i Qipchaq (in the broad meaning of the term), and secondly, the Crimea, part of Transcaucasia, Khwarezm, and Rus'. However, this ulus, which spanned across vast steppes and sedentary countries, soon split into two hordes, 'golden' and 'blue', and the disunity between them continued to increase [Veselovsky, 1877, pp. 75–90]. A. Kharuzin believed that 'the name (in the broad sense) also applied to the Crimea, all of our southern steppes, those on the opposite bank of the Ural River... and part of Turkestan [Kharuzin, 1895, pp. 76–81]. According to the scholars, the new state preserved the name 'Desht-i Qipchaq'. V. Bartold also shared this point of view.

It is thus obvious that Russian historiographers never agreed on an unambiguous interpretation of the term 'Desht-i Qipchaq', which had its effect on Soviet historiographic literature as well.

Many outstanding works relying on Persian narrative historical sources appeared in the 20th century. In particular, the volume by V. Tiesenhausen [*Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy*, 1941] was a true milestone. However, we cannot name a single work that contains a dedicated analysis of the ethnotoponym 'Desht-i Qipchaq'. Most authors limit themselves to a passing footnote on it without any bibliographic references, as if it were a widely accepted term. However, a review of the literature soon reveals a disunity among historiographers concerning its usage. The patterns described regarding the pre-Soviet period still apply here. For instance, N. Egorov [Egorov, 1984, p. 90], A. Muhamadiev [1983], and others use the term 'Desht-i Qipchaq', as well as 'the Golden Horde' to refer to Ulus of Jochi, though it included such areas separate from Desht-i Qipchaq as the Crimea, Khwarezm, Volga Bulgaria, and others. To quote N. Egorov, 'in the first half of the 12th century, Mongol-Tatar troops conquered one of the first state unions in the Middle Volga Region, Volga-Kama Bulgaria, turning it into

the Bulgar Ulus of Desht-i Qipchaq...' [Egorov, 1984, p. 90].

Even earlier, A. Chuloshnikov made the assumption that even though Oriental sources suggest that 'the Desht-i Qipchaq State' and 'the Golden Horde' were synonyms from the 14th century, these did not always mean the same. Initially, the term applied to the steppes between the Don, the Kama, and the Ural only. It later extended to cover the entire Southern Russian plain, including the Crimea, the steppe across the Ural River, and part of Turkestan [Chuloshnikov, 1924, pp. 71–72]. A. Kononov [Kononov, 1958, p. 87], and R. Kuzeev [Kuzeev, 1974, p. 87] expressed opinions similar to this as well. They interpreted the term 'Desht-i Qipchaq' as a broad steppe belt from the upper reaches of the Syr Darya to nearly as far as the Danube. They likewise emphasise that the term was applied to various areas of the vast territory depending on the period.

In the monograph by B. Grekov and A. Yakubovsky 'The Golden Horde and Its Fall', the first chapter, authored by A. Yakubovsky, is titled 'Desht-i Qipchaq (the Polovtsian Steppe) in the 11–13th Century before the Coming of the Mongols'. The author rightfully believes that the term 'state' as used by the Mongols is not applicable to the Polovtsians and Polovtsian unions. He then wrote that 'Numerous Mongol campaigns created a large state covering the vast Desht-i Qipchaq and a number of adjacent regions, to which Oriental sources referred to as Ulus of Jochi or the Blue Horde. Russian chronicles call the state the Golden Horde. However, it is still unclear why and when the name appeared'. [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 59]. A. Yakubovsky viewed Desht-i Qipchaq as the core part of Ulus of Jochi containing the nomadic khan's camp. 'Cultural farming areas (the Crimea, the North Caucasus, Khwarezm, Bulgar) lay adjacent to Desht-i Qipchaq... The name Desht-i Qipchaq has not only been preserved, but spread across the world from China to Andalusia' [Pishchulina, 1977, pp. 59–65].

G. Fedorov-Davydov made a particularly significant contribution by demonstrating the Polovtsian Steppe to have been the core area of the Golden Horde. To quote the author: 'It is no coincidence that a number of Arab and

Persian sources identified the Golden Horde as *Desht-i Qipchaq*, that is, the Polovtsian Steppe. Mongol khans ruled the steppe, while the local aristocracy was excluded from administration' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 28]. However, at the same time he also emphasises the fact that applying terms to Ulus of Jochi required special attention. While editing A. Muhamadiev's book, he noted that the term *Desht-i Qipchaq* should be used with great care. A. Muhamadiev refers to the state known in literature as the Golden Horde as *Kipchak*, according to the name of the predominant steppe population. According to G. Fedorov-Davydov, 'the name *Kipchak* is understandable because the steppe known as *Desht-i Qipchaq* was the state's core area... Ancient writers sometimes called the Jochid Ulus *Desht-i Qipchaq*, or simply *Kipchak*. However, the term *Kipchak*, just as any other name, is applicable to the Jochid state only to a limited extent, as some of its areas (Khwarezm, Volga Bulgaria) were not included in *Desht-i Qipchaq* [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 8].

A brief overview of the usage of the term *Desht-i Qipchaq* in historical literature suggests the following trends: on the one hand, by relying on certain medieval sources, historians could not help but develop a narrower idea of what the term referred to, as it was interpreted as either a part of Ulus of Jochi or as the whole country throughout its period of existence. On the other hand, another meaning of it had already absolutised. That is, the term was assigned to the territory dominated by the *Kipchak* tribal group.

Thus, the term became established when *Kipchak* migration southward (forcing out the Oghuz people) and eastward (to the Volga Region and the so-called southern Russian steppes to replace the *Pechenegs*) peaked. As the *Kipchaks* rose to dominate the political life of East Europe and Middle Asia, '*Desht-i Qipchaq*' referred to the steppes from the *Irtys* to the Danube.

It is beyond doubt that the semantics of the term '*Desht-i Qipchaq*' would be incomplete without a holistic analysis of the information contained in written sources. This approach is required to ensure it is correctly interpreted. Information on the *Kipchaks* and their land is

contained in the Russian chronicles, works by European travelers, and the notes of Oriental authors. However, the term was most popular in 13–18th century Persian sources.

An analysis of how the sources use the term in question yields the following findings. In 13–15th century Persian sources, the placename *Desht-i Qipchaq* (or its other versions, such as *Kipchak*, *Desht*, *Kipchak Land*, *Kipchak Country*, *Country of the Kipchaks*, *Country of Desht*, *Kipchak Tsardom*) occurs quite often. Upon closer examination, the early Persian chronicles of Mongol invasions used the term '*Desht-i Qipchaq*' as the core ethno-geographic area of Jochid Ulus, along with other regions of the medieval state. For instance, Wassaf wrote, '... Jochi was Chinggis Khan's eldest son, who owned *Saqsin*, *Kipchak*, *Khwarezm*, *Bulgar*, the *Crimea*, and *Ukek*, up to *Rus*' [*Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy*', 1941, p. 86]. The term has a similar meaning in '*Tabaqat-i Nasiri*' by Juzjani, '*Tarikh-i jahangusha*' by Juwayni, '*Seljuknama*' by Ibn Bibi, '*Jami al-tawarikh*' by Rashid al-Din, and '*Tarikh-i guzide*' by Hamdallah al-Qazwini.

However, the meaning started to expand starting in '*Tarikh-i Sheikh-Uways*' by Abu Bakr al-Qutbi al-Ahari. At that point its meaning combined two aspects, namely a part of the state and the state as a whole. For instance, 'when princes were ruling *Desht-i Qipchaq* together, *Tokhtai* arrived there, defeated everyone, and took the throne of *Berke* and *Batu* [Ibid., p. 100]. 'The Genealogy of Turks' contains the following information: 'Reliable history books read that, following the conquest of *Khwarezm*, on the order of Chinggis Khan, *Khwarezm* and *Desht-i Qipchaq*, from the *Kayalik* borders to the most remote areas of *Saqsin*, *Khazar*, *Bulgar*, the *Alans*, the *Bashkirs*, the *Uruses*, and the *Circassians*, as far as the Tatar horse's hoof reaches, became the domain of Jochi Khan, and he held the throne as the khan and ruler of the countries... All *Desht-i Qipchaq* sultans are descendants of Jochi, Chinggis Khan's son; there are 39 of them in total... [Ibid., p. 204]. Thus, some Persian sources began to use the usual geographic term '*Desht-i Qipchaq*' with the connotation that it was the name of a state.

This then became a well-established historiographic tradition and played a certain role in the historiographic studies that relied on the information provided in those sources. These included 'Zafar-nama' by Nizam al-Din Shami, 'Anonymous of Iskender' by Muin al-Din Natanzi, the continuation of the 'Collection of Chronicles' by Rashid al-Din, 'Zafar-nama' by Sharaf al-Din Ali Yezdi, 'Matlai ul Saadeyn' by Abd al-Razzak Samarkandi, 'Nusah-i jahanara' by Gaffari, and 'Tarikh-i Haydari' by Hayder Razi. To quote Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi, '...As the victor, Toktamyskh Khan took the throne of Desht-i Qipchaq, where he replaced his ancestors, and sent Urus Hoja to inform Timur of the victory [Ibid., p. 150].

In the 15th century, the political and ethnic situation in the region changed dramatically. The Kipchaks were a major component of the ethnogenesis of a number of Turkic-speaking peoples. However, the term connected with their ethnonym continued to occur in historical and geographic works by Middle Asian authors for a long time (through the 18th century). Yet they always refer exclusively to the Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq, which included the steppes east of the Volga Region that are now known as Kazakh. At the same time, in the western part of the dissolved Ulus Jochi the terms 'Desht-i Qipchaq' and 'Kipchaks' were gradually replaced by 'Tataria' and 'Tatars'. Therefore, the terms 'Desht-i Qipchaq' (or 'Desht', 'Kipchak', 'Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq') in the sources are connected with the history of the Kazan and Öz Beg peoples who developed in the region. Such sources as 'Tawarikh-i guzida-yi nusrat-name', 'Sheybaniname' by Kamal al-Din Binai, 'Tarikh-i Abu-l-Khair-khani', 'Tarikh-i Rashidi' by Mirza Muhammad Haydar Duglat, 'Sharaf-name-yi Shahi' by Hafiz-i Tanysh, 'Bahr al-asrar fi manaqib al-ahyar' by Mahmud Ibn Vali, and 'Tarih-i Qipchaqi' by Hojamkum Beg Balkha, etc. provide considerable information on the topic.

It appears not incidental that Persian and Arab sources viewed Ulus of Jochi and Desht-i Qipchaq as the same. 'Desht-i Qipchaq' referred to the nomadic community of the Kipchaks, which Arabic-Persian authors believed to dominate the population and inhabit most of the country's territory. Therefore, the term is essen-

tially correct but, like any name applied to Ulus of Jochi, also historically determined.

Unlike some Persian sources that viewed 'Desht-i Qipchaq' as both part of the Jochid state and the entirety of it [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 43], the Arabic sources, which apparently borrowed the term from the Persians, tended to narrow the meaning to the core part of Ulus of Jochi ('In the Hijra year 712, Khan Toqta, the king of Desht-i Qipchaq and all adjacent states and those that it includes, died (*Dasht al-Kybjak wa ma ma'a-hu*) [Ibid., p. 174 (al-Birzali)]; 'Desht-i Qipchaq and what is with it' (*Dasht-al-Kybjak wa ma ma'a-hu*) [Ibid., p. 241, p. 244 (al-Omari)]; '...Tatar kings in Khwarezm and Desht-i Qipchaq in the North' (*muluk at-tatar fi Hawarazm wa Dasht al-Kyffak*) [Ibid., p. 377 (Ibn Khaldun), p. 406, 416 (al-Qalqashandi), p. 553 (al-Dhahabi), p. 279, 303 (Ibn Battuta)]). Most likely, the authors primarily referred to the ulus of Batu, Jochi's second son, as the core political and territorial unit of Ulus of Jochi before the beginning of the 15th century when speaking of 'Desht-i Qipchaq'.

The Term 'Kipchak' in Arab sources includes ethno-geographical and ethno-political names referring exclusively to Ulus of Jochi, in contrast to those containing the 'Tatar' component, which sources applied to all Chinggisid states.

To sum things up, the use of terms for Ulus of Jochi containing the ethnic component 'Kipchak' in Arab-Persian historical geographical literature was apparently determined by the Oriental tradition of naming the population of the Eurasian steppe area.

For a long time, the term 'Desht-i Qipchaq' referring to the territory of the Golden Horde was also common in Turkic sources written in the Volga Region and Crimea. The dastan 'Edigü', which was composed on the former territory of the Golden Horde, refers to the country as 'the glorious Kipchak land' (*danlı kıpçak cire*) [Edigü, 1988, p. 11]. The usage frequency of the term 'Desht-i Qipchaq' in yarliqs and letters by Crimean letters from the first half of the 16th century indicates that it was always present in their titles [Materials, 1864, p. 2, 13, 26, etc.; Tunmann, 1991, p. 23; Usmanov, 1979, pp. 193–194]. By applying it to the addresant of their charters

along with 'Great King of the Great Horde', the Crimean khans manifested their claims to the Golden Horde's heritage. M. Usmanov believed the reason why Crimean rulers began to use the titles was Khan Mengli Giray's victory over the primary successor of the Golden Horde, the Great Horde, in 1502, when the latter ceased to exist as a state [Usmanov, 1979, p. 193].

From a historical perspective, it would be interesting to identify the exact borders of the territory where medieval Islamic sources placed 'Desht-i Qipchaq'. However, quoting A. Yakubovsky's poignantly truthful remark, 'exact borders are out of question when contemporaries had no idea of them either' [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 18].

Chinggisid khans, a group of Mongol and local nomadic aristocrats who were named 'Tatars' in Arabic sources following the conquests, were the ones who really ruled Ulus of Jochi. However, it was common for Asian and European authors of the early 18th century to widely use the term 'Tatars' to refer collectively to the Mongol-Turk invaders. This is the meaning in which some Arab authors, like Ibn al-Athir, Rukn al-Din Baybars, al-Nuwayri, al-Umari, and others used it.

Another meaning of the term became predominant later. Arab authors started to apply the word 'Tatars' to Chinggisid rulers and non-indigenous Mongol aristocrats in the newly established uluses of the Mongol Empire who enjoyed complete power, which determined the appear-

ance of this meaning of the term 'Tatar' in Arabic sources. The term was also sometimes applied to nomads in Chinggisid states as such in that period (for instance, by Ibn Battuta) [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 253]. As they were apt to do, Arab authors ceased to refer to Iran as a 'Tatar state' after the fall of the Mongol Hulaguid dynasty (1336), while still viewing Ulus of Jochi and its khans as 'Tatar'. Following the dissolution of Ulus of Jochi, the title 'Tatar king' (that is, 'Chinggisid kings', 'Mongol kings') was assigned to the khans of the new states in its territory.

It is beyond doubt that the term 'Tatars' was widely spread in Ulus of Jochi itself. In particular, the rulers of post-Golden Horde states are known to have used it a lot.

Crimean khans even included the phrase 'great monarch and great khan of the innumerable Tatars' (*sansız küp tatarññ... olug padişahı wä olug xanı*) into their title [Materials, 1864, p. 2, 13, 26, etc.]. Sources in Turkic languages and in Russian dating from the 15–17th century primarily used the term for its social aspect to denote a military service class, mostly nomadic life (for more information on this issue see: [Izmaylov, 1993, pp. 17–32]). For example, the intitution of some Crimean rulers contains the term *çirü* (army) as a synonym for Tatars [Materials, 1864, p. 228, 238, 245, etc.]. The initial ethnonym 'Tatars' initially acquired a social meaning back when the Jochid state existed, which is represented in the 13–16th century Arab sources.

§ 3. The Formation of the Medieval Tatar Ethnos*

Iskander Izmaylov

The Mongol Conquest: The Tatars in Asia and Europe. The Mongol invasion that swept through Asia and Europe in the first half of the 13th century very nearly put an end to the old way of life in the civilised world. But as ambitious as they were, the campaigns of Chinggis Khan and his descendants apparently did not

cause any new nomadic tribes to move to East Europe or to the Near East on a mass scale. Yet it was the campaigns themselves that enabled the Chinggisid to establish their empire and determined the frequent use of the 'Tatar' ethnonym.

When the ethno-political structure of the Golden Horde state was formed, the old principles of tribal order were gradually eradicated. The large-scale conquests by Mongol khans,

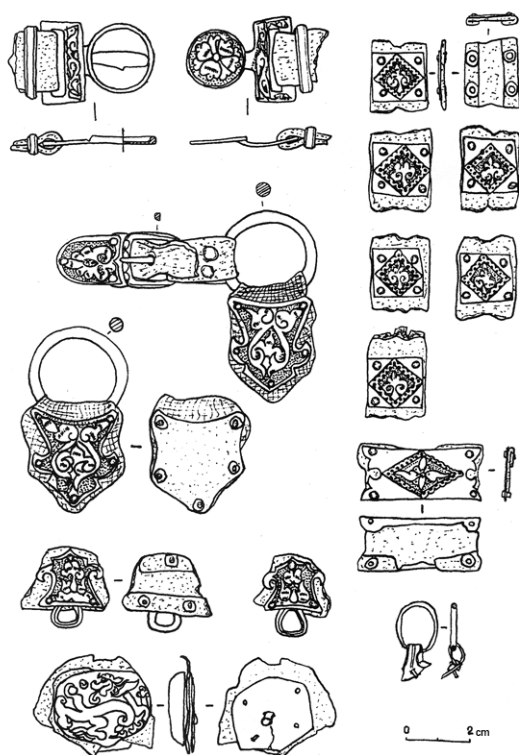
* The paragraph is written with the participation of D. Iskhakov.

the ruination of well-established customs, and the establishment of new empires within a very short period of time were a real shock to contemporaries. To quote Arab chronicler Ibn al-Nasir, who witnessed the events, 'the chronicles contain nothing similar or suitable' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 2]. They were also eager to find out what the mysterious newcomers were like. The first thing they learned was their name, 'Tatars', which learned European and Oriental authors tried to clarify using mythical and apocalyptic images inspired by John's 'Revelations' and further refined by Methodius of Olympus in 'Revelation'. Therefore, Christian authors viewed them as descendants of the legendary Gog and Magog (Christian) peoples, or the Yajuj and Majuj (Oriental), who were believed to have been forced to the end of the world by Alexander the Great. Europeans still tended to interpret their name as 'those who come from Tartarus', meaning hell, which the works by many famous historians of the 13th century (Methodius of Olympus, Roger Bacon, and others) etched into the public mind of many European peoples [Matuzova, 1979, p. 137, 148, 153, 157, 207; Drobinskij, 1948, pp. 125–127].

However, by the end of the 13th century, when Europeans had become more familiar with the life and history of the 'Tatars' thanks mostly to the travels of Christian missionaries to the courts of Mongol khans, scholars started to suggest more realistic versions of their origin. The first European monks who explored the vast Eurasian steppes to ally with Prester John's Kingdom or 'Great Hungary' against the Tatars, were surprised to discover that the Tatars were not the conquerors but the conquered, often a conglomerate of subjugated tribes and peoples. The following extract from a letter by Hungarian Franciscan monk Julian is characteristic. 'They do not hesitate to kill princes and noblemen who are likely to resist in any way in every country that they conquer. They give arms to combat-fit warriors and country people and force them to fight ahead of them. Those country people who cannot fight have to cultivate land... and go by the name of Tatars ever after' [Anninsky, 1940, p. 67]. Another traveler, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, who

accompanied the Pope's embassy to the great khan's court in Karakorum, even titled his treatise 'History of the Mongols Whom We Call the Tatars.' However, he used the term 'Tatar' as denoting the group of conquerors that had become commonplace in Europe, while mentioning the 'Tatar country' to include many tribes [Travels, 1957, p. 57]. William of Rubruck, who probably relied on what Mongols from Karakorum had told him, wrote that they 'are reluctant to call themselves Christian, and willing to raise their name, that is, Moal, above any name; they will not call themselves Tatars either, because the Tatars were a different people' [Ibid., pp. 114–115]. What he had found out about the Tatars was that they were a tribe living near the Mongols that favoured Chinggis Khan's promotion, as he 'always sent them ahead..., so their name spread because everyone would shout, "Tatars are coming." However, almost all of them have been killed in the recent frequent wars. This is why the Moals want to eradicate that name and raise theirs' [Ibid., p. 116]. This report became quite popular in Europe. As evidence of this fact, a number of historico-geographical works, including by R. Bacon, cited this almost exactly [Matuzova, 1979, pp. 189–234]. Later, at the end of the 13–beginning of the 14th century, a number of merchants and Catholic clergymen visited Mongolia and China, and described their impressions, including reports by Marco Polo, John of Montecorvino, Odoric, and G. Marignoli [After Marco Polo, 1968; Book of Marco Polo, 1990]. The most accurate and meticulously detailed of them, Marco Polo's memories, were widely referred to by politicians, merchants, and cartographers until the 16th century [Gol'man, 1988, pp. 24–28]. However, he often applied the term 'Tatars' to all citizens of the Chinggisid empire, provided that this is not the correction of scribes or later interpolations. Yet it is clear, in any event, that even those Europeans, who were well aware of what life was like in the Mongol Empire, called its citizens 'Tatars' rather than 'Mongols', as apparently was the custom.

Armenian historians who also had extensive knowledge of Transcaucasian conquerors, distinguished between the 'Tatars' and the 'Mughal Tatars', the latter being defined as a tribe



Belt accessory set. Ukek. 13th century.
(according to L. Nedashkovsky)

'of Khazars, Huns, Gatians, Ankitans, and many other barbarian tribes, also sometimes termed 'the people of archers' [Gandzaketsi, 1976, pp. 152–182; Galstyan, 1977, p. 166].

As utterly conservative in their content, Byzantine historiographers associated the new conquerors' name with those of Asian tribes known since antiquity, though the similarity was vague and apparently merely phonetic. For instance, a contemporary of the Mongol conquest named Georgius Pachymeres (1242–1310) always called Mongols 'Tokhars': 'The Tokhars, colloquially termed Atars, flow across Persia like a rapid torrent' [Lebedev, 1944, p. 92]. Thus, he was guided by the principle of identity when he traced the Tatars' origin back to the ancient Tokhars, whose actual ethnic roots and relation to the Mongols he certainly had no clear evidence about [Uspensky, 1992, pp. 194–202].

Arab and Persian authors often called them 'Mongols' (Rashid al-Din, Juwayni) and 'Tatars' (especially Ibn al-Athir and al-Nasawi), be-

tween which they often distinguished. Hulaguid court historian Rashid al-Din, who was well aware of the situation in Central Asia before the era of Chinggis Khan, wrote that 'They (the Tatars) were the patrons and rulers of most of the (Mongol) tribes and areas most of the time in ancient times, outstandingly powerful and venerable. Because of (their) extreme greatness and out of enormous respect for them, other Turkic clans were known under their name despite all the differences in their ranks and names. They were all referred to as Tatars. This is why all Turkic tribes have been known as Tatars in Khitai, Hind, and Sind, Chin and Machin, in the Kirgiz, Kellar, and Bashkir country, in Desht-i Qipchaq, in areas north of it, those inhabited by Arac tribes, and in Syria, Egypt, and Morocco (the Maghreb) [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 1, pp. 102–103]. However, the Tatars became less influential in the early 13th century, while Mongol clans who supported Chinggis Khan came to dominate the steppe [Ibid., p. 102; II, p. 63 et seq.].

Russian chronicles and other written records, unlike sources in other languages, refer to the Mongol khans' troops nearly exclusively as 'Tatars'. 'Strangers came... godless people of Moab, known as Tatars. Nobody knows who they are or where they come from, and what language they speak, and to what tribe they belong, and what their faith is. They go under the name Tatars; others call them Taurmens, Pechenegs [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 463]. It would be reasonable to assume that the chronicle wanted to associate the new conquerors' name with the traditional terms for Turkic steppe peoples. But in fact, this is not rational knowledge on an existing ethnos, but rather an irrational image of it inspired by the apocalyptic literature the author of the Novgorod Chronicle introduced, emphasising that '...others, such as Bishop Methodius, say that they come from the desert of Eritrea, which is between the east and the north. According to Methodius, they will appear after the end of the world, and conquer the entire land from the east to the Euphrates and from the Tigris to the Pontic Sea, except Ethiopia' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 3,

p. 61]. That is, it is not the actual ethnic affiliation and tribal composition of the conquerors, but their position in his mental map and the Biblical genealogy of peoples that was important for the Russian chronicler.

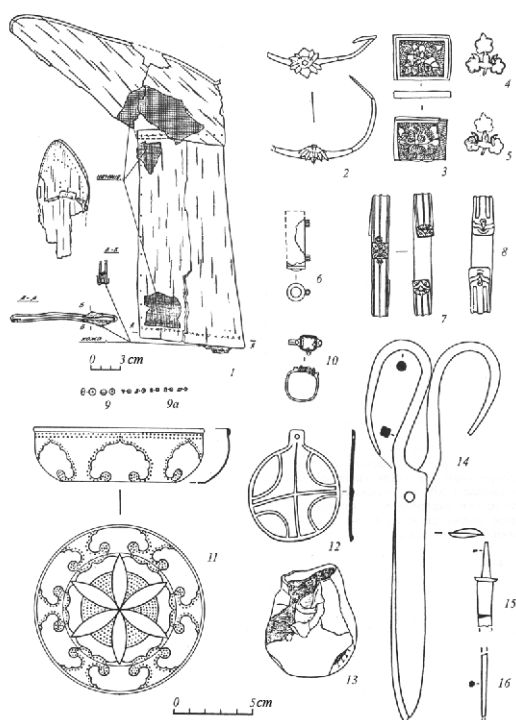
Synchronous Chinese sources mention both the Tatars and the Mongols. 'Meng Da Bei Lu' ('Complete Description of the Mongol-Tatars') indicates that the Chinese termed the conquerors 'Tatars' or 'Tatar-Mongols', which included not only Mongol but also Turkic-speaking and even Manchu-Tungus tribes [Meng Da Bei Lu, 1975, pp. 92–94]. It is beyond any doubt that in this case Chinese historiographers traditionally extended the common term 'da-da' ('Tatars') to the Mongols (*meng gu ren*) as a pejorative name with the connotation of 'wild', 'brutal' [Dalai, 1983, p. 63]. It is also characteristic that the term 'Tatar' here was definitely supra-ethnic and referred not to the ethnic Tatars, but to all non-Chinese conquerors. At the same time, the official Yuan term for the Mongol dynasty was 'the ruling dynasty' (*go chao*), while the Mongols were referred to as 'the people of the ruling dynasty' (*go chao ren*), meaning the elite descendant from Mongol clans.

An analysis of the written sources indicates that the ruling nobility of the Great Mongol State (the Yeke Mongol Ulus) preferred to refer to itself as 'Mongol' [Meng Da Bei Lu, 1975, pp. 92–94; Munkuev, 1977, pp. 378–385; Mikhaylov, 1993, pp. 179–198]. According to Rashid al-Din, a number of tribes 'like the Jalairs, the tatars, the Oirats, the Onguts, the Keraites, and Tanguts, and others, each of whom had a name of its own and a nickname—they all take pride in calling themselves Mongols, though they would not accept the name in ancient times [Chinggisids, 1952, I, 1, p. 102]. The name 'Tatars' apparently referred to the remnants of conquered peoples gathered together to form special troops. It is possible that most of the multi-tribe detachments were transferred to Ulus of Jochi, as there were as few as 4 Mongols proper, while the rest came 'from Russian, Circassian, Kipchak, Majar, and other troops that joined them' [Ibid., p. 275]. As Ulus Jochi expanded, its military and administrative system grew like a snowball to include new contingents from Central Asia, as well as

local Turks who had already been included in the new army and clan system. Undoubtedly, the Mongols had close contacts with the Turks, who were a part of their state and participated in the Chinggisids' conquest when the empire's initial core was first being formed. The Turks probably enjoyed the greatest influence in Ulus of Jochi, where part of the Tatar, Kungrat, Naiman, Uighur, Kangli and Ongut tribes constituted a large part of the Golden Horde [Bregel, 1982; Kadyrbayev, 1993].

At the same time, many scholars have noted that the search for archaeological 'traces' of the Mongol-Tatars in East European steppes, which began back in the early 20th century [Spitsin, 1927] and continued into its latter half, [Zyablin, 1955, pp. 83–96; Fedorov-Davydov, 1966, pp. 150–160] resulted in the conclusion that such evidence is extremely scant [Yaminov, 1997, pp. 66–69; Kostyukov, 1997, pp. 11–12] and that the 'Mongol ethnic component—the Mongol cultural and historical layer—can hardly be observed in nomadic complexes on the basic territory of the Golden Horde. As an exception, some women's burials contain *bocca* headgear. Ethnic attribution for men's burials is challenging even where the costume and weapons are traditionally 'Mongol' [Kramarovskiy, 1989, p. 259].

This might be shocking to advocates of the so-called archaeological ethnogenetics, who tend to view the ethnic process as a mechanical interaction, or a diffusion or combining of elements of archaeological cultures (that is, some 'ethnic' or 'ethnically diagnosing' traits) because the result is counter-intuitive. The formation of the medieval Tatar ethnos in the Golden Horde is in direct contradiction to the analysis of the findings of archaeological evidence. Archaeologists and historians suggest two different ways in which the problem can be solved. Some believe that because the archaeological situation in the steppes of East Europe and Central Asia was largely unchanged, the area remained home to Kipchak tribes 'in disguise'—so the Mongols and Kipchaks in the Golden Horde were known as 'Tatars', though they mostly preserved their previous ethnonyms [Gumilyov, 1993, p. 47; Khalikov, 1985, p. 16; Pletneva, 1990, pp. 185–188], while some his-



Discoveries from a woman's burial of the Olen-Kolodez burial site. Latter half of the 13th century (according to K. Efimov) 1: bocca (birch bark frame wrapped in textile), 2: headgear adornments, 3: wooden pendant wrapped in gilded silver foil, 4–5: leather sewed-on piece with mother-of-pearl inlays, 6: amulet holder, 7–8: silver bracelets, 9–9a: beads, 10: gold ring, 11: silver cup, 12: mirror, 13: brocade looking-glass case, 14: scissors, 15: knife, 16: awl

guistic stages. The issue of ethnicity in Desht-i Kipchak should not be reduced to the mechanical ratio of Tatars, Mongols or Kipchaks, and their cultures and languages. It consists of the nature of the ethno-social and ethno-cultural processes taking place in Ulus Jochi in the latter half of the 13th century, a climax of which was the establishment of a new ethno-political order and adequate identity structure.

Even though Tatars and Mongols were apparently few in number in the East European steppes, the establishment of Ulus of Jochi and the development of its social structure completely changed the ethno-political situation in the region. The society and its clan composition became notably different, while the economic order was preserved [Izmaylov, 1993, pp. 22–24]. The previous Kipchak tribal organization that relied on kinship and the power of clan leaders was replaced with a military administrative system based on personal loyalty to the new rulers [Golden, 1992a, pp. 291–293].

Meanwhile, a number of historians believe the Kipchaks to have assimilated the Mongols rapidly, an assertion they often evidence with quotes from the mid-14th century Arab historian al-Umari: 'The land overcame their (Tatar) origin and race, and they all became like the Kipchaks, as if they descended from the same clan, because the Mongols (and Tatars) came to live in the land of the Kipchaks, married them, and stayed in their land' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 235]. According to many historians and archaeologists, this text sample explains why 13–14th century archaeological materials are so similar to earlier pre-Mongol materials. Speaking in ethnic terms, this proved the Kipchak ethos, which only assumed the conquerors' ethnonym, was preserved [Pletneva, 1990,

torians believe that the population of Ulus of Jochi did not use the ethnonym 'Tatars', which they view as a European exoethnonym [Alishev, 2000, pp. 52–59]. But the ethnic disguise theory, which is appealing and easy to understand, still fails to answer the main question: How and why did the Mongols and the Kipchaks replace their ethnonym with that of the Tatars? Another approach to this issue relies on the same idea that ancient Kipchak culture remained unchanged in the pre-Mongol and Golden Horde time, suggesting that the Tatars were Turkic-speaking and constituted a large part of the Kipchaks, who had moved to the Northern Black Sea, Don River Region, and Trans-Volga Region, from Central Asian. The Tatar conquerors were so closely related to the Kipchaks in terms of culture and language that they assimilated without a trace [Fakhrutdinov, 1992, 55–57 b.; 1993, pp. 9–11; 1993a, pp. 6–14]. In both cases, scholars tend to apply quasi-ethnological methods to ethnological problems, replacing the analysis of medieval ethnic processes with research on the correlation between the archaeological and ethnic features for different time periods and the lin-

pp. 186–187; Yaminov, 1992, pp. 226–227]. Another sample from a work by Mamluk Sultan al-Melik al-Nasir's secretary is viewed as the *ultima ratio* in the system of evidence. However, the text suggests that the author explained why slaves brought from Öz Beg's land to Egypt remain as good as they had been before, but does not describe the Mongol's assimilation with the Kipchaks. The medieval author attributed this to 'nature', which caused the Tatars to assume the beautiful physical and moral qualities previously characteristic of Kipchaks. Al-Umari obviously was guided not only by geographical determinism but by political intentions, as this passage not only constitutes an elegant ending to a long praise of the virtuous Kipchaks as saviours of the Muslim world, but presents another argument of why Kipchak Egyptian rulers and the conquerors of Desht-i Qipchaq maintained friendly relations [Kostyukov, 1999, pp. 165–166; 2004, pp. 227–230].

The actual situation in Desht-i Qipchaq was in fact far from the idyll portrayed by the Egyptian historian and today's archaeologists. The Mongol conquest not only destroyed states and peoples, but also forced them into the military and administrative system established in Ulus of Jochi. As nomadic, in particular Kipchak, tribes were included in the Mongol ulus and clan structure as dependents, the old clan elite was exterminated or forced out of the land. Mass tribe migration followed, and old clan relations decayed [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, pp. 35–43; Pletneva, 1990, pp. 182–184]. In fact, old clan and tribal structures, tribal cults and traditions had already been abolished during the Mongol conquest and the territorial military administration and accommodation principle was introduced. New uluses and clans were now established to include fragments of Kipchak-Kimak tribes. Archaeological records discovered in Northern Eurasia provide a clear insight into these events. The Kipchak tradition of erecting stone sculptures started to decline in the 14th century, and the number and diversity of burial complexes decreased dramatically. New types of ceremony, as well as those combining old the old styles, appeared as well [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966, pp. 166–193; Kramarovskiy, 1989, pp. 255–273; Kostyukov, 1997].

It was probably then that the old clan and tribal Kipchak ethnonyms ('Burcheviches', 'Toksobiches', 'Yetebich'es, 'Kolobiches', etc.) fell into disuse in the central part of the Eurasian steppes, which turned into the urans of medieval Tatar tribes [Däftäre, 2000, pp. 18–21b], and place-names [Iskhakov, 2002a, pp. 60–67], while new Mongolian names appeared ('Manghit', 'Jalair', 'Baryn', 'Naiman', 'Arghyn', 'Shirin', 'Kiyat', etc.) [Sultanov, 1982, pp. 7–51; Kostyukov, 1998, p. 219]. At the same time, a very small part of the Kipchak and Oghuz-Pecheneg clans were able, apparently in the east of Ulus of Jochi, to enter the new ethno-political system, though in a now-changed form, like Usun—Yushun, Uighur—Yugur. However, rare exceptions prove the general rule: the old Kipchak clan and tribe system now ceased to exist. Even though the term 'Desht-i Qipchaq' still applied to East European and Volga Steppes, as Persian sources suggest, it gradually lost its ethnic definition in the 13–14th century and acquired the meaning of a territory within the Jochid state [Arslanova, 1990, pp. 13–14].

Scholars have often attempted to challenge the idea that the Kipchaks assimilated with the Tatar-Mongol clan and tribal system. The key argument against it as formulated by V. Kostyukov is that the Kipchaks could not have become Kungrats upon entering the Kungrat clan, while the name of the Kipchak clan directly indicates that the former tribal name was preserved—which were 'probably the lucky inhabitants of the small part of the steppe that the Mongols kindly left to its previous masters' [Kostyukov, 2004, p. 239]. The same author believes that Mongol ethnonyms would have been completely dominant if they had been imposed by force, and Mongol tribes would have become the largest ones, which he thinks did not happen. So why did the Jochids register the Kipchaks as Mongols or allow them to do this? He is confident that it is unlikely that 'Turkic clans and tribes replaced their names with those of Tatar and Mongol clans or tribes, and adjusted their genealogy, causing their ancestors to slide into oblivion'. [Ibid., p. 240].

As these doubts are quite serious, the challenging arguments deserve more than just a passing mention. Firstly, there is evidence that

Mongol ethnonyms were hardly used in Ulus of Jochi. It should be noted, however, that we have to compare the early 18th century ethnonyms in Mongolia and those of the nomadic Turks of the Aral Sea Region in the 15–17th century [see: Sultanov, 1982]. Unfortunately, there is no other data. However, it is entirely possible that the ethnonymy of Ulus of Jochi was adequate to that of 13th century Mongolia. As for the ethnonym 'Kipchak' and whether it refers to the 'lucky inhabitants' of the steppe fringe, the very existence of such a fringe is dubious. In addition, the term 'Kipchak' was not a self-designation of any clan or tribal groups in the Eurasian steppes, but rather an exoethnonym. Therefore, it most probably originated with a Turkic thousand, for instance, in the Irtysh River Region, which was included in the military and administrative system of Ulus of Jochi. No tribe of this name is known to have existed in the 12th century.

Secondly, why would the Jochids qualify Eurasian Turks as belonging to Tatar-Mongol clans? The obvious answer seems also to be the most accurate. They severely lacked the military force to conquer the west, so they had to refill their army with members of subordinated peoples. In fact, the medieval military system was inextricably connected with the administrative system, and that of the Chinggisid states was one and the same with the clan system because troops were divided into wings, tumens, thousands, and hundreds even during times of peace. It was not entire Kipchak tribes, but groups of the tribute-paying population, regardless of their clan and tribal affiliation, that the system operated. Before new thousands and Turkic-Mongol clans included the survivors, the old Kipchak tribal structure in the steppe was ruined, and the Turks exterminated, scattered, and depopularised. Why did this occur? It could be said that it was for the sole purpose of ensuring loyalty and complete subjugation, as the initial conquerors were very few in number. In addition, the Jochids could not think of another approach to newly conquered territory unless it was a sedentary agricultural country. By dividing the newly conquered land into wings and uluses, khans assigned

their subjects' land plots to representatives of the 'altyn urug', who in turn divided them into thousands, which they then granted to related clans for further sub-division into hundreds, etc. Expanding their domain and establishing new thousands steppe by steppe in this manner, the Jochids and Tatar-Mongol clans supported them 'processing' the steppe population into loyal subjects and brothers-in-arms. On the battlefield, they shouted the urans of their new commanders, who remained their suzerains.

Thirdly, what caused the Kipchaks to forget their ancestors? Strangely, there is no pre-Mongol clan or tribe name among hundreds of such names pertaining to 15–17th century Turks in the Aral Sea Region. This might be viewed as an unfair turn of events in history, but facts are stubborn even when we do not like them.

In addition, the Kipchaks failed to preserve their tribal system and ethnonymy even when their identity remained basically unchanged in India, Egypt, Hungary, and China. Furthermore, in Egypt the name Toksoba had to be specified as 'of the Tatar people' as early as the early 14th century. This proves that the Kipchaks did not perceive themselves as such while their identity was maintained by the tribal nobility. But it turned to dust as soon as the aristocracy was eliminated. However, there can be no population without authorities and a nobility, a type of special identity. In Ulus of Jochi, these functions were performed by clan solidarity and a Tatar ethno-social and ethno-political identity. At the very least, this conception of events in Ulus of Jochi is consistent with all the facts. A description of how this identity formed and became manifested as actual self-perception is provided below [Izmaylov, 2002, pp. 244–262].

Regardless of any other facts, a large part of the population, especially the aristocracy, wanted to be integrated into the new social system considering the decay of the tribal system and clan relations, as well as aberrations in identity. In the Desht-i Qipchaq steppe, where the Kipchak tribal structure collapsed and the steppe population, held together by the Mongol ethno-political system and the ethno-social structure of Turkic-Mongol clans, was undergoing re-consolidation, Tatar became the gen-

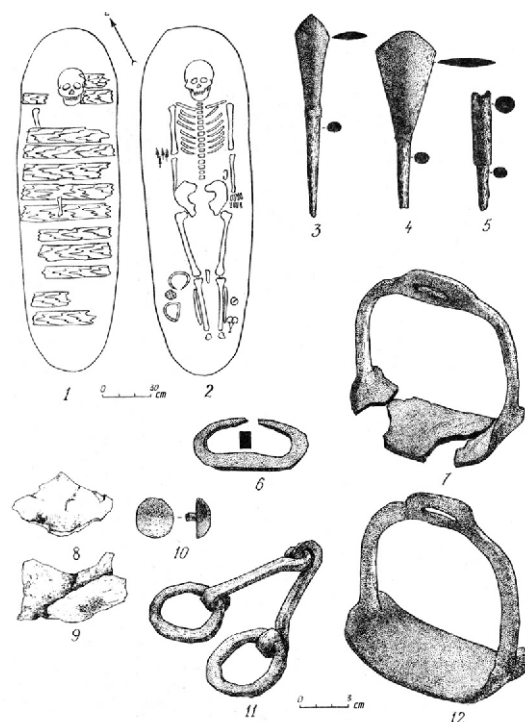
eral ethnonym. To prove this, Rashid al-Din wrote, 'the Tatars are so powerful that... (now) in the country of the Kirghiz, the Kelars and the Bashkirs, in Desht-i Qipchaq, and north of it, in territories inhabited by Arab tribes, Syria, Egypt, and Morocco, all Turkic tribes are called Tatars' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 1, p. 103]. A layer of new elements in Central Asia that originated with Khitan-Jurchen art, which was mostly connected with new imperial state administration traditions (metal paizas, Jochid coins, etc.) and the Chinggisiid chivalry (belt decorations, weapons, munitions, ornamented horse harnesses, etc.), represents this process in ethno-cultural terms [Kramarovskiy, 1989, pp. 260–264; Крамаровский, 1999, pp. 38–46].

It is also possible that some subordinated peoples that assumed the 'Tatar' name and the ruling Mongol dynasty were somewhat mutually hostile. Khans might have supported these sentiments at the early stage of the development of Ulus of Jochi to justify their separatism. Indeed, this might be the reason why in the 14th century the term 'Tatars' was wide-spread only in Ulus of Jochi, while other parts of the empire began to use new ethnonyms, such as the 'Chagataids' (Middle Asia, Khorasan) and 'Moghols' (Eastern Turkestan, India) [Clavijo, 1990, p. 72, 143–146; Bartold, 1964, pp. 35–36, 49].

To sum things up, in essence it was not the Kipchaks who assimilated the Mongols, but the new Tatar or Turkic-Mongol clan system that was able to include the Kipchak, Bulgar, Magyar and other peoples, and impose a new ethno-political identity on them—along with a new ethno-social one on their elite.

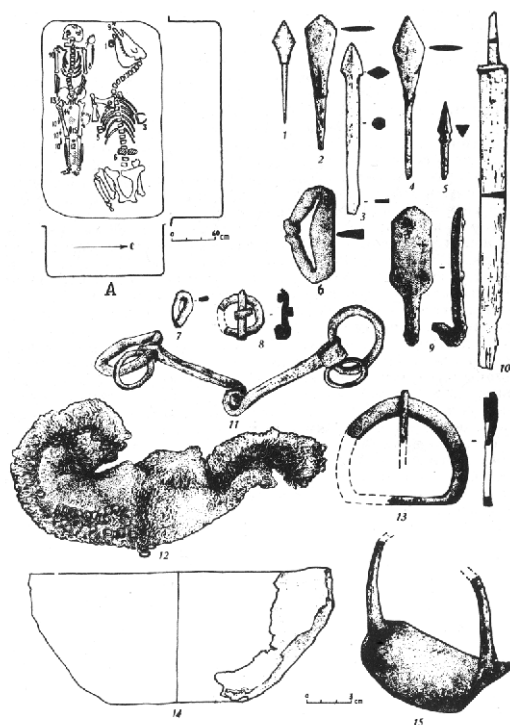
Ulus of Jochi: a Tatar or Mongol State?

Some recent studies and popular scientific works, as well as textbooks in Domestic History for primary schools [Grigoriev, 1987; Grigoriev and Grigoriev, 2002; Egorov, 2003; Russian History, 1999] define not only the Mongol Empire, but the Golden Horde (Ulus of Jochi) that stemmed from it, as 'the Mongol State'. On the one hand, this should be interpreted as the Moscow historians' response to the public Tatar aspiration to cast off the



A Warrior's Burial. Southern Urals.
Early 14th century (according to V. Ivanov)

label of those who established the cruel 'Mongol-Tatar Yoke' in Russia, an aspect that Soviet textbooks traditionally emphasised [Iskhakov, 2003; 2004b]. On the other hand, some historians, in particular academicians, have been trying to revivify the idea that modern Tatars are by no means descendants of the Golden Horde, thus excising that stage of their ethnic life on the pretext of eradicating the negative stereotype in Russia. To prove this, the high school textbook 'History of Russia from Ancient Times until the Late 16th Century' by the Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, tends to term the Golden Horde simply the 'Horde', and its politically dominant population, the 'Horde people', which is sometimes replaced by 'Tatars' [History of Russia, 2000, p. 253]. This all represents a return to the ideas that appeared in the 1940s, as the imperial ideology in its Soviet form reigned in the USSR [Izmaylov, Gibadullina, 1996, pp. 96–114; Iskhakov, 1997, pp. 194–205]. This is why the ethnic labeling of the Golden Horde name, an issue that is closely connected with the es-



Burial from a burial mound of the Tlyavgulovo Burial Site. Southern Urals. Late 13–early 14th century (according to V. Ivanov)

establishment of a medieval Tatar community within the state, is a separate point.

The theory that Golden Horde sources had other terms for the country other than 'the Great State' (*Ulug/Olug Ulus*), as it is called in Khan Tokhtamysh's letter to Jagiello (1393) [Berezin, 1850, p. 66; Grigoriev, 1987, pp. 40–41], such as 'the Mongol State', is primarily associated with Russian historian A. Grigoriev. Thus, we must analyse the expert's evidence in order to shed light on the problem.

To start with, no information is available on any ethnic names for Ulus of Jochi used in the 13th century. The sole genuine letters issued by Khan Mengü Temür to Metropolitan Cyril in 1267, which have only made it to our times in a Russian translation, can not be considered representative [Ancient Russian Vivliofike, 1891, p. 196; Records of Russian Law, 1955, III, pp. 467–468]. However, A. Grigoriev assumed in an early work that the word 'lyudskim' (the Russian for 'those of the people') in the yarliq, which he believed to mean 'to

the baskaks and princes', actually meant 'ulus' as 'people' or 'country', yielding the Russian adjective 'ulusnyj' (that of an ulus) [Grigoriev, 1987, p. 42]. His further speculation went as follows: medieval Russian authors did not know the ethnonym 'Mongol', so they always replaced it with 'Tatar', meaning that the Mongol Empire was formally called the Great Mongol State (*Yeke Mongol Ulus*, Turkic: Ulug Monkul Ulus in the former half of the 13th century). It was not just an ulus, but the Mongol Ulus, that is, the Mongol state and what Mengü Temür's yarliq referred to [Ibid., pp. 39–40, 42]. However, he abandoned this idea in his later works, stating that the Russian editor interpreted the term as 'worldly, secular', meaning 'civilian darugha princes', so the entire phrase thus meant 'cities and settlements of darugha princes' [Grigoriev, 1990, p. 76; 2004, pp. 24–25]. Thus, there is no evidence that authentic sources applied the term 'ulus' to Ulus of Jochi in the 13th century, not to mention an ethnic definition. This is attributable to the condition of the sources.

The situation changed in the 14th century. Apart from the term 'Ulug Ulus', which appeared, as has been mentioned above, at the end of the century in Khan Tokhtamysh's letter written in Turkic using the Uighur alphabet, the ethnic label of the state-organized 'people' of the Golden Horde is represented in two groups of yarliqs by Golden Horde rulers, namely those issued to Russian metropolitans and to Venetian citizens (translations into Latin and the Venetian dialect of Italian have survived) [Ancient Russian Vivliofike, 1891; Grigoriev and Grigoriev, 2002; Grigoriev, 2004]. In both cases it is challenging to interpret the translated terms, including those suggestive of the ethnic label attached to the 'state people'. For instance, the 1357 charter by Khan Berdibek, almost identical to that of Taidula (1351), as well as a somewhat more recent yarliq by Khan Muhammad Bulak (1379), contains the phrase 'to the Tatar ulus and army princes', which also includes other administrative positions in the Golden Horde [Grigoriev, 2004]. The charters that have reached us in Russian were initially written in Turkic using the Uighur alphabet

[Ibid., p. 210, 214]. The phrase 'Tatar ulus and army princes' is curious because its equivalents in Khan Janibek's Venetian *yarliq* (1374) and that of Khan Berdibek (1358) are 'Allo puouolo di Mogoli' [Grigoriev and Grigoriev, 2002, p. 89], and 'del pouolo deli Mogoli' [Ibid., p. 131], respectively, which are literally translated as an address, as is the phrase 'to the Tatar ulus and army princes', a state-organized 'people', in this case, 'to (the entire) Mongol (Moghul) people', structured into various levels of power [Ibid., p. 89]. Therefore, A. Grigoriev was correct in inferring that the element 'to the people of the Mongols' is equivalent to [to the Tatar ulus (people)] [Ibid.]. However, the author's further conclusion that the phrase 'to the people of the Mongols' should be interpreted as 'the formal name of the Golden Horde, which appeared in the genitive case in the original texts of *yarliqs* by Golden Horde and Crimean khans, 'of the Mongol State' [Ibid., p. 90], invokes objections.

Firstly, the *yarliqs* only contain the phrase 'Great ulus' (Ulug Ulus) [Usmanov, 1979, p. 63], and to identify it as an equivalent of 'the Mongol State' was merely a highly disputed finding of A. Grigoriev's quite dubious reconstruction. Secondly, both the Golden Horde *yarliqs* surviving in Russian and in Latin and Italian are translations using terminology not of the authors of the Turkic (sometimes polylingual) original, which was in some cases also translated into a mediator language like Persian [see: Grigoriev and Grigoriev, 2002, p. 89, 92], but of other ethnic and linguistic environments. This brings the problem to light of taking into account the latter's view on the categories translated, in particular those dealing with ethnic nominations. A. Grigoriev faced this issue when analysing the *yarliq* by Muhammad Bulak (1379), which was originally written in Turkic. To quote him, '...we cannot restore the country's name in its form used for the documents executed in Mongolian (which are, in fact, also reconstructions.—I.I.); the name of Ulus of Jochi in it was different (that is, not 'the Mongol Ulus'.—I.I.). The editor of the compilation of Russian translations apparently unified the beginning of the *yarliq's* address form,... adjusting it to the text of Ber-

dibek's *yarliq*' [Grigoriev, 1987, pp. 42–43]. As we can see, the scholar had to limit himself in his assumptions when speculating on the actual name of the state or state-organized people represented in the 1379 *yarliq*. To make the situation even more complicated, we are dealing with the editions of the so-called collection of khans' *yarliqs* to Russian metropolitans, one of which is dated from the first half of the 15th century and a more recent one, dated in the 1540s, which was subjected to editorial changes [Zimin, 1962, pp. 29–40]. To prove this, the phrase 'Tatar ulus (people)' in the 1351 *yarliq* by Taidula and the 1379 one by Khan Muhammad Bulak are replaced by 'Golden Horde (and) ulus (people)' [see: Ancient Russian Vivliofike, 1891, p. 193, 195; Grigoriev, 1842, p. 118, 122]. Even though the phrases are synonyms, this cannot but raise the question of which form is the original. But it is not easy to answer this question because the editors of the former half of the 15th century and that of the latter half of the 16th century might have had different ideas of the above category. How can we find out the meaning of the corresponding places in the Turkic (probably Mongol) original? This was apparently the reason why the editor of the collection of *yarliqs* issued by Tatar khans to Moscow metropolitans A. Zimin preferred to interpret the phrase 'Tatar ulus (people)' in the Golden Horde documents as a translation of the term 'Great Ulus' [Records of Russian Law, 1955, III, p. 473], and not the 'Mongol State', as suggested by A. Grigoriev.

On the other hand, the phrase 'the (entire) people of the Mongols' (*allo puouolo di Mogoli; del pouolo deli Mogoli*) in Venetian sources is not so simple to interpret because we cannot neglect the possible influence of the translators' own ideas. The fact that 'the people of the Mongols' are even mentioned in the sources is in itself unusual. For instance, the Venetian Marco Polo, who spent a long time living among the Mongols in the 13th century, almost always applied the ethnonym 'Tatars' to both the population of the Mongol Root yurt and Ulus of Jochi [Carpine et al., 1997, pp. 194, 197, 232]. Other 13th century European authors (Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, William of Rubruck, etc.) also tended to use the term although not always in a

consistent manner [Ibid., pp. 30, 43–44, 92, 114, 117, 129, etc.; Christian World, 2002, pp. 99–100, 142–144; Yurchenko, 2002b, pp. 108–109, 113, etc.]. A document of Golden Horde origin suggests that the Venetians had ambiguous terminology for the population of the Golden Horde in the 14th century as well. In particular, the Italian translation of Janibek Khan's *yarliq* (1347) contains the following beginning phrase in Latin: 'In nomine Domini et Maomethi, profete Tartarorum' [Grigoriev and Grigoriev, 2002, p. 87]. While the first part of the phrase, as A. Grigoriev and V. Grigoriev rightfully noted, is a theological form of the translated Quranic formulas [Ibid., p. 87], the ending should be translated as 'in the name of God and Mahomet (Muhammad) the Tatar Prophet'.

That is, the translators of the Golden Horde *yarliq* actually understood the Turkic population of the Golden Horde, including its politically dominant clan-structured stratum, as 'Tatar' in the 14th century. Thus, the 'people of the Mongols' and 'the people of the Tatars' (represented by 'Tatar ulus (people) and army princes' etc.) is the same. By the way, the *yarliq* issued by Öz Beg Khan to the Venetians in 1332 is titled *Pactum Venetorum cum Husbecho imperatore Tartarorum* [Grigoriev and Grigoriev, 1990, p. 81]. It is possible that the publishers of the document referred to old archive inventories for the title, as the *yarliq* is kept among the proceedings of the Venetian Assemblies in the *Commemoriali* series. Anyway, the term *Tartarorum* means the same here as it does in the 1347 *yarliq* of Janibek.

Analysing the content of Khan Öz Beg's 1332 *yarliq* to the Venetians, A. Grigoriev and V. Grigoriev arrived at the conclusion that the phrase 'populi Venetorum' in it denoted 'the Venetian people' as an ethnic community [Ibid., p. 91]. If they were right, the term 'pouolo deli Mogoli' ('the people of the Mongols') denotes a similar community in the Golden Horde. It can also be labeled as 'the people of the Tatars' as has already been shown above.

This is why the 'Great Ulus' (Ulug Ulus), if only it can be interpreted as denoting the 'Mongol State', could just as well be translated as the 'Tatar State'.

The Tatars as an Ethno-Political and Ethno-Social Community

When the Jochid empire was flourishing, its cities were developing and an exuberant syncretical culture were forming, while a generally understandable urban koiné and literary language appeared (the 'Volga Turki'), the military feudal aristocracy was being subjected to an intense mixing, and the medieval Golden Horde-Tatar ethno-political community began to emerge. Although the consequences are well-known, the question of how the ethno-political transformation actually worked remains under-studied. However, contemporary ethnological studies and an analysis of the specific medieval mindset suggest that ideological reasons, such as the introduction of a new Jochid ethno-political identity, played a key role in these processes.

One of the historical phenomena arising where religious, political, and ethnic processes overlapped in the Golden Horde period is, beyond any doubt, the development of the Chinggisism ideology as a political cult of Chinggis Khan and his descendants, primarily his son Jochi. Its formation and development is not only representative of how unique this epoch was but demonstrates trends in the development of the ethno-political identity of the population of Ulus of Jochi. It is in fact the formation of a mythologem system with the cult of Chinggis Khan at its core that marked the profound processes and mechanisms of the emergence and development of Tatar ethno-social identification.

It is quite difficult to trace authentic changes in these matters and how they acquired new elements because only more recent interpretations and fragments of the state historiographic tradition of Ulus of Jochi have become available to us. Some scholars are even inclined to deny that any Golden Horde historiography actually existed. They believe that 'Chinggis-name' and other similar works were not part of the historical tradition of Ulus of Jochi but a 'steppe oral historiography' [Yudin, 1992, p. 25]. However, the tradition was not oral because it also existed in literary works by

court historians, who naturally referred to oral narratives without limiting themselves to them. For instance, Ötemish Hajji wrote in 'Chinggis-name' (16th century) of 'chronicles that... (he) has seen...' [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 90], thus indicating that there existed a written historical tradition. It was not specifically steppe either as it existed in cities, in particular, in the Golden Horde khans' court. The ratio of oral historical narratives to historical traditions is also a complicated issue. The surviving texts are quite homogeneous, suggesting an influence of the historical tradition of Ulus of Jochi on post-Golden Horde legends.

It is impossible to provide accurate information on who contributed to and when the independent history of the Golden Horde was founded. Its purpose was clearly to ensure greater legitimisation against other Chinggisid branches and create convincing arguments of the founder's unique qualities and natural greatness. In the 15–16th centuries, and probably even earlier, in the 14th century, the tradition that had become full-fledged by that time acquired a clear political and social meaning.

According to the historical tradition of the Golden Horde, Chinggis Khan is no saint or heavenly patron of the dynasty and state but rather a founding father of the state and its law ('Chinggis Khan's Yassa'), an 'eternal ruler', who only delegates his rights temporarily to other khans. It was within the ideological paradigm that the fundamental concept of an independent Ulus of Jochi and Tatar ethno-political unity formed, and parameters for the dynastic legitimacy, succession to power, and clan and social hierarchy were established. It was not before this united state dissolved that certain khanates and territories (the Kazan, Crimean, Öz Beg (Shibanid) Khanates, the Great and Nogai Hordes) developed new power symbols and legitimisation schemes adjusted to the local power structures, and a more intense influence of Islam and its introduction to these processes (glorifying certain branches of Jochi's offspring—the Toqa-Timurids and Shibaniids—and even non-Jochids, like Edigu's descendants, believing local saints to be patrons of various dynasties, etc.).

As Islam became ingrained in the society's mentality in the 14th century, traditional power mythologems were re-codified into the new concept system of islamised religious and political symbols within archaic ideas of the ruler's charisma in Ulus of Jochi. By adjusting the cult of Chinggis Khan and his son Jochi to Islamic values, the ruling dynasty of the Golden Horde became included in the Islamic system for sacralising and legitimising political power. The nature of this process in the historical tradition, which quite naturally took the form of 'intuitive political action', can be termed the 'Turkic-Mongol tradition within the Islamic paradigm'.

The most important elements of the tradition originated in the formal Mongol history of Chinggis Khan's clan, 'Altan Debter' ('Golden Notebook') [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 2, p. 266]. Its characteristic narrative elements included a chronicle-type genealogy (both mythological—Chinggis Khan's descent from Alan Goa—and historical—Khabul Khagan and his descendants), brief biographies connected with genealogical narratives, 'small' plot forms (encomiastic, didactic, and other narratives), and a relatively unpronounced chronological narrative (often in the form of event recording). However, the historical part is largely focused on Chinggis Khan's life and deeds [Neklyudov, 1984, pp. 223–241; Shastina, 1977, pp. 462–483].

All Turkic genealogies are to some extent representative of the Mongol tradition. Indeed, its most complete description is presented in the Tatar historical collection of works dating back to the 17th century, 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' [Ötemish Hajji, 1992; Ivanics, Usmanov, 2002], which contains nearly all elements of the narrative contained in the 'Collection of Chronicles' by Rashid al-Din, and those probably originating with it, including the mention of the founding mother Alan Goa (as *Alangu*). It is beyond doubt that part of the chronicle was borrowed directly and combined with other Tatar sources [Iskhakov, 2006, pp. 151–156; Izmaylov, 2006d, pp. 99–128]. It is unclear, however, whether this results from a more recent compilation or it is a surviving element of early Golden Horde historiography. At the same time, the source lacks one essential detail—the biography of Khan Jochi and

his descendants (except for Janibek, to which a dastan that was later remade is dedicated).

In Ulus of Jochi, this tradition developed more when the independent state was being formed. The predestined appearance of 'Chinggis Khan's altyn urug' and the transfer of power over part of the state (Ulus of Jochi) to his son Jochi, including 'Khwarezm and Desht-i Qipchaq from the Kayalyk borders to the most remote areas of Saqsin, Khazar, Bulgar, the Alans, the Bashkirs, the Uruses, and the Circassians, and as far as the Tatar horse's hoof reached, became its key element [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 204]. Ötemish Hajji described this as follows, 'Jochi Khan was the eldest of his (Chinggis Khan's.—*I.I.*) sons. He gave (him) a large army and sent him to the wilayah of Desht-i Qipchaq, saying, "May this be pasture land for your horses." He (also) gave (him) the wilayah of Khwarezm' [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 91]. Abu al-Ghazi provided a very similar description: 'Jochi, along with the nökers belonging to him, went to Desht-i Qipchaq. The Kipchak people gathered, and a battle took place. Jochi Khan defeated and killed (all) the Kipchak that he caught... The Kipchaks, who lived between the Itil and the Tin, scattered in all four directions... Having captured some Kipchak youth, Jochi Khan settled himself in the Kipchak yurt. He moved his family and all the ils that his father had given to him there from the Mongol country. People moved to the Kipchak yurt from every Öz Beg urug.' Jochi plays two parts here: the one who inherited Chinggis Khan's charisma, and the one who conquered the territory of Ulus of Jochi and established his country there. 'He had the throne as the khan and ruler of the countries' [Kononov, 1958, p. 44].

Emphasising Jochi Khan's investiture to rule Chinggis Khan's ulus is representative of the concept of noble origin, stressing dynastic relations that suggest charismatic qualities were believed to be inheritable, along with the sanctification of Jochi's and his descendants' power through the cult of the 'Rocker of the Universe'. Gradual saturation with Islamic elements (especially in the 15–16th centuries)

through short excursions (information about the acceptance of Islam by the khans Berke and Öz Beg, biographies of saints, etc.) and tracing khans' and karachibeks' (Edigü) origin back to the saint prophets was a developmental trend of the tradition. This tradition was gradually built in to an Islamic picture of the world and its historiography. Its closeness to folk and epic systems and clear localisation of each clan (microcosm) within the Jochid empire (macrocosm) favoured the dissemination of this tradition and its penetration into the public mind of the Turkic population [DeWeese, 1994, pp. 321–408]. The 'indigenisation' of the state's history emphasising its local tradition and origin was another trend manifested by including clan and tribe histories, local saints' biographies, and those of popular legendary and narrative heroes into state historiography.

Ulus of Jochi united a considerable number of Turkic-Mongol clans, among which a certain hierarchy, enshrined in historical tradition, was established. Their status depended on their relation to Chinggis Khan's clan. The establishment of the clan hierarchy, headed by the Juchids, in Ulus of Jochi was interpreted as not just founding a state but as a social creation to bring the macrocosm to order. The enshrinement of this historical tradition in written form and later in oral (folk) form made it generally recognised and legitimate. This historical tradition worked out a basic set of mythologema and became an ideological justification for the formation of a new ethno-political 'Tatar' self-consciousness. It eventually became most wide-spread among military service class aristocrats (highly Islamised) who were largely vassals to Jochids as members of their clan and ulus system and also often nomadic.

The establishment of a Jochid (Tatar) historical tradition had a major influence on the new mental universum and determined the solidification of Turkic peoples, as well as the formation of the Tatar ethno-political identity. After becoming independent of the Mongol Empire, Ulus of Jochi gained every opportunity to develop and build a state historical tradition of its own. After Islam became its formal religion, it could rely on the broad opportunities offered

by the Islamic historiographic and philosophical tradition as a source of new motives and symbols. Unlike those of a number of Turkic states with a vague social structure and underdeveloped state traditions, the Golden Horde's state ideology (a 'political theology') meant a boom in the Turkic-Tatar sense of identity. The paradigm was authoritative enough to dissolve less well-adjusted and weaker mythologems dating back to the previous epochs, or devour them, which determined the further development of the Turkic historical and political identities of the late medieval states and peoples of Eurasia for centuries. The medieval Tatar historical tradition was powerful enough to become part of other local traditions in various Tatar states in 15–18th centuries, after Ulus of Jochi dissolved.

Thus, the active formation of a military feudal aristocratic stratum and the establishment of material and spiritual symbols of imperial unity as well as a state ideology using both traditional (Turkic and Mongol) mythologems and Islamic ideas and symbols gave rise to a new ethno-political community in Ulus of Jochi that had an identity of its own. As the ethno-political structure of the society became more complex, the meaning of the term 'Tatars' changed, acquiring new semantic shades. In the 14–15th century, it became well-established as a polysemantic term denoting several basic categories of referents [Izmaylov, 1993, pp. 17–32].

1. *Ulus of Jochi (Golden Horde) as the Tatar state.* This is the meaning conveyed by Arab authors ('the state of the Tatars', 'the kingdom of the northern Tatars'), the Russian chronicles, European travellers [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 40; Egorov, 1985, pp. 152–153; Clavijo, 1990, pp. 72, 143–146], and the folk epic 'Edigü' [Edigü, 1990, pp. 121, 124–125]. The stable use of the country's name in various—including authentic—sources suggests that it conveys one of the country's names and refers to it and its people according to the Tatar ruling ethno-social elite. It should be emphasised that the data provided by a number of travellers [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, pp. 140–157] suggests that they applied the term 'Tatars' to both nomadic and sedentary populations, either urban or rural.

2. *The Tatars as a military feudal aristocratic stratum.* Apart from said reports by Rashid al-Din and West European travelers and merchants, evidence for the semantic aspect of the term can be found in Arab sources reporting that a lot of Kipchak emirs, who are termed Tatars, arrived in Egypt during the rule of Baybars (1269–1277). In this same vein, an Arab philologist explained the name of the noble 'Toksuba' Kipchak clan as 'a tribe of Kipchak Tatars' (that is, 'a noble clan from Desht-i Qipchaq'), which was apparently typical [Nadjip, 1989, p. 86]. Historian Ibn Khaldun gave a similar definition: 'the Toksoba Tatar tribe' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, pp. 541–542]. It should be noted that as early as in the late 13th century, the name of one of the most famous Kipchak clans, even in an environment likely to use old ethnonyms a lot, had to be explained, suggesting that the new Tatar self-identification had replaced the old one, and this emphasised the clan's belonging to the nobility, which was more important then. These processes also took place in the sedentary areas of Ulus of Jochi, in particular Rus' and Volga Bulgaria. For instance, many native Russian princely and boyar clans began to include mythical Tatar murzas and princes in their genealogies. Of more importance, however, is the evidence contained in the dastan 'Edigü', which directly represents the ethno-political identity of part of the population of the Volga and Cis-Ural Regions in the 15–16th centuries, where the protagonist often boasts of his belonging to the 'glorious Tatar (Tat) clan' [Edigü, 1990, pp. 70, 108, 128, 135].

The early stage in the development of the military service class is described in sources dating back to the 13th century, when tribes subjugated by the Mongols became their vassals [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, pp. 35–43]. For instance, the late dynastic history of the Khongirad describes their history and mentions them to have been 'accompanied' by a large group of 'other Turks' (probably Kipchaks) [Bregel, 1982]. However, a stratification took place in the existing tribes as the ulus system developed; the imperial military service aristocracy was established. Most likely, members were eager to use the socially prestigious name of

Tatar, evidence of which can be found, in particular, in Rashid al-Din's work. It is beyond doubt that it was the environment that gave rise to the special, supra-ethnic class knighthood culture, including similar types of weapons, horse harnesses, heraldry, and lifestyles and genealogy [Däftäre, 2000], one of the elements of which was their legendary descent from the Tatars [Kononov, 1958, p. 40; Edigü, 1990, p. 5]. Naturally, certain elements of the culture require dedicated research. It is clear, however, that the culture, as well as the self-designation 'Tatar', had a supra-ethnic nature that cannot be reduced to the ethnic and linguistic unity of its carriers in the 14–15th centuries and later on. This is all the more true because the khan's ruling elite of the Ulus remained Mongol and partially Mongolian-speaking until the mid-14th century [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 261, 396; Grigoriev, 1981].

The data suggests that the ethno-social Tatar identity was primarily based on their belonging to the military feudal class, Muslim civilisation, and typically nomadic lifestyle. This self-designation, which helped the Golden Horde's elite maintain its unity, did not disappear when the state dissolved but survived as a social term. It was then used to denote the military and service class nobility in the Volga Region until as late as the 17th century and occurs in Russian sources as 'serving Tatars'. An analysis of this reveals that it was not an ethnos but 'the feudal stratum of non-Russian (mostly Muslim Tatar) feudals', who viewed themselves as opposed to the duty-paying strata ('yasak Chuvashes' and 'yasak Tatars'), that contemporaries referred to [Ermolaev, 1982, pp. 63–67; Iskhakov, 1988, pp. 140–146; 1998, pp. 61–102].

3. *The Tatars as a nomadic, primarily Turkic-speaking people.* This usage of the term 'Tatar' is similar to the previous one, though it is more an exoethnonym than a word used for self-designation. The famous invective by Muhammedyar (mid-16th century), a well-educated Muslim poet, against the Tatars addresses not the ethnos but the nomadic livestock breeders, whose lifestyle the refined urban dweller found disgusting [Izmaylov, 1997b; Iskhakov,

1998, pp. 107–108]. In addition, the epic 'Edigü' contains several mentions of 'the Tatar people' as the population of the Golden Horde steppes [Edigü, 1990, pp. 124–125, 231]. In fact, nearly all European sources of the 15–17th centuries termed the nomads of the Black Sea and Volga Steppes Tatars, though it would be hard to distinguish between this meaning and the term denoting the entire population of Ulus of Jochi [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, pp. 140–157; Herberstein, 1988, pp. 165–167].

It should be noted that to name a country and its people by the ruling elite or clan was common for medieval communities in Middle and Central Asia. The term 'Chagatai' denoting a state, the Ulus of Chagatai, and its nomadic nobility is representative of the custom [Clavijo, 1990, pp. 93–94, 106; Bartold, 1964, pp. 35–36, 49; Stroeve, 1958, p. 216; Kutlukov, 1977, p. 101]. The Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and Moghuls were known under military *druzhina* terms [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, pp. 174–175]. The names picked up use among the public not as a strange, imposed ethnonym, an 'ethnic disguise', or a name coined by the people's neighbours, but as one determined by the functions of the community's social structure, cultural development, and the formation of an ethno-political and ethno-social identity. This is why the processes depended on the increasingly complex ethno-political organisation of Ulus of Jochi in the 14–15th century.

As the Golden Horde dissolved in the late 14–15th century, its ethno-social body split into subcategories, with each ulus acquiring an ethnos of its own. While the macroethnonym and ethnosocionym 'Tatars' remained socially prestigious, the national names of new people derived from those of the khan ('Uzbeks', 'Shibanids', and probably 'Nogay') or an area or capital ('Crimeans', 'Kazan people') appeared. Part of them completed their ethno-social development as full-fledged peoples, while others dissolved and assimilated with other ethnos. However, originating from Ulus of Jochi, most of them preserved such clan structures as *Shirin*, *Kungrat*, *Baryn*, *Kipchak*, *Arghyn*, and *Manghit*, as well as the general term 'Tatars' to denote their military nobility.

**'Muslims' as the Main part
of the Turkic Tribute-Paying
Population of Ulus of Jochi**

Unfortunately, the ethnic self-consciousness of most of the urban and rural population of the Golden Horde and the khanate that appeared on its territory in the 15th century remains under-studied. However, even the scant and fragmented sources available suggest it was fai-based. Most likely, the Besermens, who often appear in the Russian chronicles (especially in the 14–15th centuries), were the sedentary population of Ulus of Jochi. It comes as no surprise that the chronicles do not identify them as Tatars ('robbed... Tatars, and Besermens, and Ormens' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 24, p. 124; Priselkov, 1950, p. 382], 'killed the Besermens' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 192; 18, p. 117], 'killed the Tatars and Besermens' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 170], 'killed the Besermens and Tatars and conquered the whole Tatar land' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 453; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 226]). Austrian diplomat S. Herberstein, who visited Moscow in the early 16th century and collected extensive information on the Tatars, provides similar data. He reported that 'the Tatars are divided into hordes' and 'are all Mahometans; they do not like to be called Turks, which they find to be disrespectful. They are glad to be called 'Besermens', a name the Turks often apply to themselves' [Herberstein, 1988, p. 167]. M. Tikhomirov was the first to take this fact into account. He assumed the 'Besermens' and the 'Tatars' to have been two different ethnic groups, the former descending from the pre-Mongol Bulgars and gradually 'tatarised' by invaders from the Golden Horde [Tikhomirov, 1973, pp. 84–90]. The author mentioned the word Besermyans in Russian sources to have had two apparent meanings, a Muslim, non-Christian people in general, and the people of



An official and a warrior. Painted on silk.
Yuan Empire (1271–1368)

the Volga-Kama Bulgars. This was the main drawback of his work. In his comments on the data on the 1375 campaign of the ushkuiniks, who sold Russian captives to 'Besermens' in Bulgar and went further down the Volga where they plundered Sarai, 'robbing Christian guests and killing Besermens' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 400; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 24, p. 132], he had to remark that the Russian chronicles used the term 'Besermens' to refer to two different communities, namely the Volga Bulgars in the first case, and Muslim Tatars in the second.

We believe this approach to be superficial because the author in reality imposed his ideas of the history of the people on the source, thus complicating the ethno-political situation in the Volga Region in the 14–16th century. It seems more reasonable to rely on chroniclers and their knowledge of the ethnic situation in the Horde when explaining why the two terms are used. An analysis of the reports suggests that it was common for chronicles to write 'Tatars' or 'Tatars and Besermens' when speaking of combat, while the term 'Besermens' was used almost in every case when it referred to civilians. Thus, they did distinguish before the two words, which confirms that the difference was not ethnic but ethno-social. 'Tatars' referred to the military service, while 'Muslims' applied

to the rest of the population. The existence of the 'Besermyan' ethnos in the Upper Kama River Region, partially Muslim and apparently subjected to Muslim influence at some stage, suggests how critically important religious affiliation was in the Middle Ages in the determination of ethnicity [Tikhomirov, 1973, p. 89; Iskhakov, 1980, pp. 23–37; Rodionov, 1984, pp. 140–152].

* * *

In summation, several stages can be singled out in the history of the term 'Tatars'. In the pre-Mongol period (12th century), it was primarily used in the Central Asian steppes by various ethnoses affected by the then-current policy, or in contact with the powerful Tatar tribal union. When Chinggis Khan defeated the Tatars and made them part of the Mongol State, their ethnonym extended to other Mongol-conquered peoples, while remaining prestigious. The ruling clans were eliminated in the Eastern European steppes following the Mongol conquest. State fron-

tiers were broken, and tribes and peoples mixed together. A new ulus system was imposed on the territory. As the social structure developed and became increasingly intricate, the ethnonym 'Tatars' was actively introduced into social use, especially among the clan aristocracy. It was within Ulus Jochi that the Tatars formed a medieval ethno-political and ethno-social community. Later, in the 14–15th century, the term became synonymous with Ulus of Jochi, meaning the ruling elite of the military service class and the clan-organized nomadic population as such, opposing its carriers as the nomads, Muslims, and vassals of the Jochids to the rest of peoples. Most of the country's population apparently used the religious self-designation 'Muslims'. Therefore, the formation of the medieval ethnos was intense in Ulus of Jochi. It had been largely completed by the time the state dissolved. Otherwise, the formation of Tatar ethno-political communities within late Golden Horde states in the 15–16th century would have been somewhat unnatural.

§ 4. The Anthropological Characteristics of the Ulus of Jochi's Population

Leonid Yablonsky

The ethnic history of a number of contemporary peoples of Eastern Europe, Middle Asia, and Kazakhstan is inextricably connected with the medieval Golden Horde state. Cities built on the order of Golden Horde khans boomed in the 14th century, which was important for the state's political and economic life.

Archaeologists have been studying the records for a century. Apart from residential, amenity, and production sites, urban cemeteries have also been excavated. About 1 burials have been exhumed in total.

Scholars have noted Muslim city necropoleis to contain material that suggests the population's social, ethnic, and anthropological structure despite a complete absence of any material items found in burials [Gellakh, 1956; Polyakov, 1973; Khalikova, 1976; Yablonsky, 1978; 1980].

The range of issues arising during a detailed study of Golden Horde Muslim city necropoleis is extremely wide. This is natural because the Golden Horde state, which was in control of vast territories, artificially united a conglomerate of tribes and ethnic groups that were sometimes experiencing different stages of historical development. The population of the Golden Horde did not belong to any uniform anthropological type. In particular, some scholars suggest that ethnic Tatar burials can be singled out at city burial sites in the Golden Horde.

Scholars failed to find any archaeological evidence of Central Asian burial ceremonies in the Volga Region for a long time. This motivated L. Zyablin's assumption that ethnic Tatars and Mongols were actually few in the Golden Horde's population [Zyablin, 1955]. The author

refers to convincing archaeological data and historical evidence to prove this. Information that the conquerors constituted a small percentage can also be found in works by V. Bartold [1928] and A. Yakubovsky [1932].

G. Fedorov-Davydov carried out a detailed analysis of Golden Horde nomadic burial ceremonies. He was able to trace a number of features that might be attributed to the Tatar-Mongols in Muslim burials dating to the Mongol conquest period [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966]. These include side niches in burial pits, special bocca headgear, anthropomorphic bronze figures found in some burials, and a northward burial orientation. However, the scholar also mentions that these traits fail to form a statistically complete burial complex, so they thus remain separate findings.

When describing the appearance of Mongol conquerors, medieval European travellers emphasised features that they did not have themselves, such as highly flattened faces and other indicators of the great Mongoloid race (for the term, see [Yablonsky, 2003, pp. 162–163]). For instance, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine wrote, 'The (Mongols'.—*L.Ya.*) faces look different from those of any other peoples. They are broader than those of others between the eyes and between the cheeks, with the cheeks protruding prominently from the cheekbones; they have flat, small noses, small eyes and eyelashes raised to the eyebrows... Nearly everyone has a tiny beard. However, some have small hairs on their upper lip and chin, which they never cut' [Travels, 1957, p. 26]. A description of the Mongols as it appears in medieval Armenian sources, Armenians being pronouncedly Caucasian, is quoted below. 'They had broad shoulders, muscular arms, large heads, smooth and disheveled hair, narrow eyes, broad foreheads, flat noses, and thin beards [Galstyan, 1960].

Domestic paleoanthropologists have long been finding pronouncedly Mongoloid skulls, and categorise them in craniological series [Debets, 1932; 1936; 1948; Trofimova, 1936; 1949; 1956; Zalkind, 1972]. There is well-known evidence, however, that the Mongoloid anthropological type was present in the Volga Region as early as in the pre-Golden Horde period. This suggests that it is not only the Mon-

gol invasion that made the Mongoloid element present in the Golden Horde's population. It might also have more ancient roots.

It can be challenging to single out Mongol burials, primarily because it is methodologically difficult to attribute them to anything as the burial pits, although generally Islamic, are ethnically heterogeneous.

In a characteristic manner, the urban Islamic burial ceremony in the Golden Horde produced a wide variety of gravestones and burial chambers. In fact, the range is so broad that a typological diagram for the burial ceremony can only be composed using statistical methods [Yablonsky, 1975].

Scholars have attributed the high variability of burial ceremonies to a number of influences, either separate or taken together. The key ones were apparently the deceased's social status and ethnic origin and how islamised the social order which he or she belonged to was. Quite naturally, the differences between rich brick burial vaults and simple soil graves without any ceiling are attributable to the social stratification of the urban community. Vault burials constitute only 7.4% of Muslim urban necropoleis, while simple graves without ceilings make up 56% of those studied. The percentages are representative, to some extent, of the rich to poor ratio.

Two burial ceremony types are attributable to the social elite. These include 1) burials in brick vaults and 2) burials in niche type graves, as Juzjani reported Khan Batu to have been buried in a niche type grave [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884]. Burials in niche type graves have been found in Muslim necropoleis of the Vodyanskoe (Beljamen), Selitrennoe (Sarai-al-Maqrus), and Khan-Tyube archaeological sites.

According to G. Fedorov-Davydov, the number of niche type burials increased dramatically in the steppe during the Mongol conquest [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966]. Niche graves make up a percentage of the total as small as 11.3% in urban necropoleis (of the total number of burials studied), which confirms that ethnic Tatars and Mongols were not common in cities. It is also recognised that both burial ceremony types are of no absolute significance in terms

of identifying their burials. Wealthy citizens could belong, for example, to the Muslim clergy, most of whom the written sources report to have come from Khwarezm [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884]. Niche type burials were widespread in Mongolia as early as in the pre-Mongol period as they were traditional for the local population.

This articulates the challenge of establishing a connection between burial ceremony types and the set of craniological features of the people buried in a certain way to fit them into the historical picture. To make this even more complicated, the accumulated craniological evidence suggests Ulus of Jochi had a motley anthropological composition, which apparently indicates ethnic diversity as well [Debets, 1932; 1936; 1948; Trofimova, 1936; 1949; 1956; Zalkind, 1972; Alekseev, 1967a; 1974; Postnikova (Rud), 1970; 1970a; 1973; Yablonsky, 1978; 1979; 1980].

Most of the large Golden Horde urban Muslim necropoleis could not have emerged before the late 14th century. The burial ceremony remained pronouncedly syncretical at that time. The differences smoothed out gradually following the total Islamisation of the population. At the same time, the anthropological miscegenation of the multi-ethnic and heterogeneous urban population also took place. This is why it is hardly possible to attribute any of the burial ceremony types to an ethnos, and an ethnos to a dominant anthropological type.

Scholars have found that the connection between the burial ceremony and the craniometric traits can only take the form of trends in statistical probability. One method of calculating the non-parametric value of influence in a one-factor dispersion complex has been adopted as an approach to attributing burial types to craniometric traits [Plokhinsky, 1970]. Ranged (qualitative) craniometric features are associated with burial ceremony types. The criterion χ^2 is used to identify the significance of influence for each trait and ceremony type. The matching was done with materials from two well-studied archaeological sites, the necropoleis of Vodyanskoe and Selitrennoe. The archaeological

site of Selitrennoe is remnants of the historical town of Sarai, while archaeologists identify Vodyanskoe as the Beljamen reported in written sources [Egorov, Poluboyarinova, 1974].

The craniological series from the Vodyanskoe necropolis consists of 32 male and 32 female crania. A brief overview of this series has been published [Yablonsky, 1978; 1979; 1980].

The feature used to match was the protrusion angle of the nose and the foreface horizontal profile index as the half-sum of the nasomalar and zigomaxillary angles (these angles demonstrate the flatness of the top and middle section of the facial skeleton).

Calculations have revealed the following trend: people buried in niche graves at the Vodyanskoe archaeological site demonstrate a statistically significant difference from the rest by having a small nose protrusion angle and a high horizontal profile index, that is, the set of traits typical of the great Mongoloid race.

Another statistical method was used to test the data, namely to calculate the qualitative correlation factors. In this case, niche type burials showed a positive, statistically significant correlation with a small nose angle, large zigomaxillary angle, average nasomalar angle, and shovel-shaped incisors (an odontologic Mongol trait). The findings of the previous analysis were confirmed.

Thus, the necropolis of the Vodyanskoe archaeological site tends to feature a correlation between the niche grave trait and the set of craniological data that is characteristic of the Mongoloid race. The 'burial vault' trait has no correlation with any craniological traits at the Vodyanskoye archaeological site (Fig. 1)*. It was apparently not ethnicity but the social role that determined the development of the ceremony type at the necropolis of the Vodyanskoe archaeological site [Yablonsky, 1980].

A study on the materials of the Selitrennoe necropolis yielded different results. The craniological series included 103 male and 86 female crania, and these measurements have

* All the reconstructions are made by the method of M. Gerasimov.

been published [Yablonsky, 1979]. The approach to connecting craniometric traits and burial ceremonies was similar to that applied to the materials of the Vodyanskoe necropolis.

The larger sample yielded a broader comparison range. Apart from nose protrusion angle (Martin No.75(1)) and the horizontal profile index, two brain case types were matched with ceremony types. Module 1 is the geometric mean of the total of three brain case diameters. This is somewhat representative of the brain case size. Module 2 is the quotient of cranium height diameter (Martin No.17) and the geometric mean of cranium length (Martin No.1) and breadth (Martin No.8) when Martin No.17 is divided by Martin No.8. This method is efficient for differentiating crania by relative brain case height.

Individuals buried in vaults in the Selitrennoe necropolis were found to have a significantly different nose bone protrusion angle, which is relatively small when compared to others (Fig. 2).

No statistically significant differences have been found between individuals buried according to different ceremonies in terms of horizontal profile face flatness.

Taken together, these facts suggest that individuals buried in vaults had an outstandingly small nose bone protrusion angle, a relatively large brain case, and a lower cranium, that is, typical great Mongoloid features. Their Module 1 size qualifies them as contemporary Uzbeks and Kirghiz, and their Module 2 is rather Kirghiz and Mongol. Individuals from richer burials clearly tend to have a more Mongoloid appearance.

It is also important to mention that individuals from niche type burials in the Selitrennoe necropolis have a highly Caucasoid appearance (Fig. 3) and are not as Mongoloid as in Beljamen. It was probably the influence of Islam that shaped the niche grave tradition in Old Sarai. These graves sometimes had lahd niches according to the Islamic canon. The deceased has to face the Qibla, or Mecca, which means a southward orientation at the archaeological site of Selitrennoe. In order to emphasise the direction, Muslims often interred the dead body in a position between supine and on

their right side, turning them deliberately onto their right side. A study aimed at identifying well-established burial ceremony types in the Selitrennoe necropolis revealed that only the niche burial ceremony completely adhered to Islamic requirements [Yablonsky, 1980a].

Thus, we find it reasonable to assume that the core of the urban social stratum that produced the niche graves in the necropolis of Sarai came from Middle Asian areas, primarily Khwarezm (they were generally Caucasoid anthropologically). It was in Khwarezm where Islam became wide-spread and well-established long before Mongol conquerors arrived. Written sources suggest that Khwarezmian imams made the greatest contribution to the Muslimisation of the initially multi-ethnic population of the Golden Horde [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884]. Khwarezmians (Caucasians) almost certainly constituted a large part of the Golden Horde's urban population [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950]. And it seems as though it is primarily them with whom the well-established, stable Islamic burial ceremony should be associated.

The findings from the materials found in two necropoleis, Sarai and Beljamen, are therefore not identical. The social and ethnic processes in the urban population of Ulus of Jochi seem to have differed depending on whether they took place in the capital.

Dedicated studies have revealed the anthropological composition of the two cities' population to have been inhomogeneous [Yablonsky, 1979; 1980]. Most Golden Horde citizens were mixed type (Caucasoid-Mongoloid) in the early 15th century, and the Caucasoid component was pronouncedly dominant (Fig. 4). There is evidence that the anthropological mixing took the form of the assimilation of Mongol conquerors both in the capital and out of it. The urban anthropological and ethno-cultural assimilation acquired a rapid pace and gradually put an end to the social and ethnic isolation of the occupants.

However, the process was different in the capital when compared to Beljamen, which is fairly well represented in the materials of the Sarai necropolis.



Fig. 1. A face reconstructed from a man's skull from the necropolis of the Vodyanskoe archaeological site. By L. Yablonsky



Fig. 2. A face reconstructed from a man's skull from the necropolis of the Selitrennoe archaeological site. By L. Yablonsky



Fig. 3. A man from the necropolis of the Selitrennoe archaeological site. By L. Yablonsky



Fig. 4. A man from the necropolis of the Selitrennoe archaeological site. By L. Yablonsky

Firstly, the burial ceremony is more uniform in the Sarai necropolis. Well-established burial ceremony types for both the upper and middle class (vault and niche grave burials) had already formed there by the end of the 14th century. Urban Islamisation was apparently more rapid in the capital. Not only pressure from the central authorities but also Sarai's geographical proximity to the Middle Asian centres of Muslim civilisation contributed to it.

Secondly, vault burials in the Selitrennoe necropolis are clearly associated with the Mongoloid population element, which is less explicit in Beljamen. The original tradition of burying people with Mongoloid appearances in rich vaults, mausoleums, honourable cemetery lots, and in the mosque had been reduced to mere vestigial elements [Yablonsky, 1980a]. It appears as though the conquerors remained socially and economically isolated for a longer time in the capital, but they were probably more numerous and socially influential there.

Thirdly, niche grave burials are very numerous in the necropolis of Sarai, while being only occasional in Beljamen.

In Beljamen, people in niche burials were different from others because they featured the set of Mongoloid traits. In Sarai, niche type graves mainly contain brachicranial (round-headed) Caucasoids. Here the burial ceremony was based not on the ethnic traditions of a certain group of the urban population as was the case in Beljamen. This emphasises what different ethnic groups had in common in terms of religion and social relations.

The paleoanthropological analysis thus suggests that the Mongol invasion changed not only the political order and social structure of the conquered peoples but, to a certain extent, their anthropological features as well. The changes were especially dramatic in sedentary groups residing in cities built by the Golden Horde khan, though there were few proper Mongols among them [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966]. This indicates that the role of non-indigenous peoples in the formation of the physical appearance of the population of the Golden Horde varied greatly depending on the area. The findings of comparing the data for the ne-

cropoleis of Vodyanskoe and Selitrennoe confirm this assumption.

The irregularity of archaeological research at Golden Horde archaeological sites has dramatically influenced the qualitative and quantitative features of the craniological series. However, analysing and comparing craniological evidence from the sites provide more insight into the anthropological composition of the urban population of the Golden Horde, which helps scholars estimate the Mongol contribution to the physical appearance of the Golden Horde population in certain areas of the large state.

The following Golden Horde series were used for comparison: Bulgar (the Rectangle, Middle Volga Region) [Postnikova (Rud), 1970a]; Ukek (Lower Volga Region) [Debets, 1932; Trofimova, 1936]; the Vodyanskoe archaeological site (Beljamen, Lower Volga Region) [Yablonsky, 1978; 1979; 1980]; the Tsarevskoe archaeological site (Sarai al-Jadid, Lower Volga Region) [Zalkind, 1972]; Selitrennoe (Sarai-al-Maqrus, Lower Volga Region) [Yablonsky, 1979]; nomads in the Lower Volga Region (Kalmyk Steppe, right bank) [Debets, 1948]; Polovtsians/Kipchaks (Lower Volga Region); the Khan-Tyube archaeological site (Lower Volga Region); Mizdakhkan (Southern Aral Sea Region, Khwarezm) [Khodzhayov, 1969; Yagodin, Khodzhayov, 1970]; Saray-Jük (Northern Kazakhstan) [Ginzburg, Zalkind, 1955; Ginzburg, Trofimova, 1972]; Majar (North Caucasus) [Alekseev, 1967; 1974]; Upper Julat (North Caucasus) [Alekseev, 1964].

All the craniological series are brachicranial (round-headed) and characterised by facial skeleton flatness near the nose bridge (the nasomalar angle). The crania from steppe mounds in the Lower Volga Region, Saray-Jük, and Polovtsian, are flatter at this level. They have a nasomalar angle of over 145°. The zigomaxillar angle (middle face flatness) varies. The nomadic, Polovtsian crania, and those found in Khan-Tyube have outstandingly flat faces.

Cranial vault height does not vary greatly; the crania have high and broad faces. Those found in Bulgar are the exception. The Mizdakhkan crania have broader faces when compared to others. The deceased population of the

Lower Volga Steppes, Tsarevo archaeological site, and Saray-Jük had relatively broad faces.

Thus, all the crania have similar brain case shapes and sizes. However, they have different face skeleton flatness. The series from Saray-Jük and the Vodyanskoe archaeological site have the smallest absolute values of nose bone protrusion angle, while the Polovtsian found in Mizdakhkan have the largest.

In general, the population of the Lower Volga cities—Saraïs, Ukek, and Beljamen—seems to have had much in common anthropologically. All nomads from the Lower Volga Region were rather Mongoloid, while the population of Bulgar was predominantly Caucasoid.

The comparison materials suggest that the urban population was anthropologically heterogeneous across Ulus of Jochi. Although it was similar, it was not identical, and local combinations of craniological traits have indeed been revealed.

The series found in Khan-Tyube is morphologically very similar to the urban crania from the Lower Volga Region. However, this comes as no surprise because the settlement lay close to the urban centres of the Lower Volga and maintained close cultural, economic, and apparently other types of connections with it.

The Mizdakhkan Khwarezmian crania and those found in the Rectangle cemetery in Bulgar are similar to the crania located in the Lower Volga Region. A number of features suggest that the population of medieval Khwarezm and the Caucasoid brachicranial component of the Lower Volga population belong to the same racial type, namely the Middle Asian interfluvial race (Northern variant). In addition, it should be taken into account that a large number of migrants from Khwarezmian lands might be present in the urban population of the medieval Volga Region. This also applies to the Volga Bulgars, who were actively engaged in the life of Golden Horde cities.

Studies using other methods of inter-group craniological analysis [Efimova, 1983, p. 18] have revealed some series from Volga Bulgaria (the Bolshye Tarkhany, Kaybely, Semyonovka 2, Izmeri, and Rectangle burial sites) to be similar to the population of the Salto-

vo-Mayaki culture and Khazaria, as well as the more recent urban population of the Golden Horde.

The cranium series from Saray-Jük and the Polovtsian series are equidistant from the one discovered in the Lower Volga Region. This confirms the assumption that the population of Saray-Jük was predominantly Polovtsian [Ginzburg, Trofimova, 1972]. At the same time, we find it surprising that the Polovtsian series is so distant from the one found in the Lower Volga Region as there is every archaeological, historical, and linguistic evidence possible that the Polovtsians made up a large percentage of the Golden Horde's urban population. The mixing may have been more intense in the cities of the Lower Volga Region than it was on the outskirts of the Golden Horde. This might have caused the urban Kipchak population to drop from the equation by the end of the 14th century. There is also clear archaeological evidence of urban ethnic mixing. It also must be taken into account that only a small sample from one burial site is representative of the Polovtsians for our purpose. The group is anthropologically unique because it combines a flat horizontal profile with a relatively large nose protrusion level. This combination occurred in the Volga Ural Region long before the Golden Horde was established, and there is evidence that the Kipchak tribes were also ethnically heterogeneous [Akhinzhanov, 1976]. The only way to solve the problem of their anthropological composition is to continue to accumulate craniological material.

The differences between the urban series from the Lower Volga Region and the one pertaining to the steppe nomads are quite apparent. We have at our disposal a large sample of medieval nomads. These crania were found in burial sites located in the Kalmyk steppes. It has already been mentioned that the steppe series is pronouncedly Mongoloid, which makes it separate and distant from the urban Lower Volga series as a whole. Groups that came to the Volga River along with the Mongol troops must have constituted a large percentage of the nomads inhabiting Desht-i Qipchaq. While



Fig. 5. A man from the necropolis of the Selitrennoe archaeological site.
By L. Yablonsky



A man from the Tsarevskoe archaeological site.
By L. Yablonsky

new citizens of Golden Horde cities were mostly craftsmen coming from highly sedentary regions, the steppe was inhabited by traditionally nomadic ethnic groups with nomadic economies. This has to be the reason behind the pattern described by G. Debets: while the urban population of the Golden Horde was predominantly Caucasoid, that of the steppe was characterised by a high Mongoloid percentage [Debets, 1948, p. 272]. V. Alekseev mentioned the steppe population of Ulus of Jochi to have had a brain case shape and facial skeleton size similar to those of Siberian Mongoloids (Fig. 5) [Alekseev, 1967].

Residents of Northern Caucasian cities Marjar and Upper Julat, have a distinct appearance. This can be attributable to a complete or nearly complete absence of any Mongoloid component in the Caucasian crania. The Mongoloid element appears to have made a contribution to the anthropological appearance of the population of the Northern Caucasian cities of the Golden Horde that was below the absolute minimum.

* * *

The establishment of urban centres in the medieval Volga Region is connected with the history of the establishment and development of the Golden Horde state itself. The intense ethnic processes occurring within the Golden Horde, which was expanding into vast territories, was the origin of many contemporary ethnic groups in the Volga Region and Middle Asia.

The physical appearance of the population of Ulus of Jochi resulted from a mixture of two races, Mongoloid and Caucasoid. The Mongoloid component is evident to this or that extent in the appearance of residents of all Golden Horde cities. However, urban dwellers tended to be largely Caucasoid (Fig. 6). The Mongoloid percentage, which has been noted to be present in the so-called Southern Russian Steppes even before the Golden Horde was established [Debets, 1948; Trofimova, 1949; Alekseev, 1971], increased during the Golden Horde period. This is most likely attributable to the migration of part of the Central Asian population. However, genetic studies on the

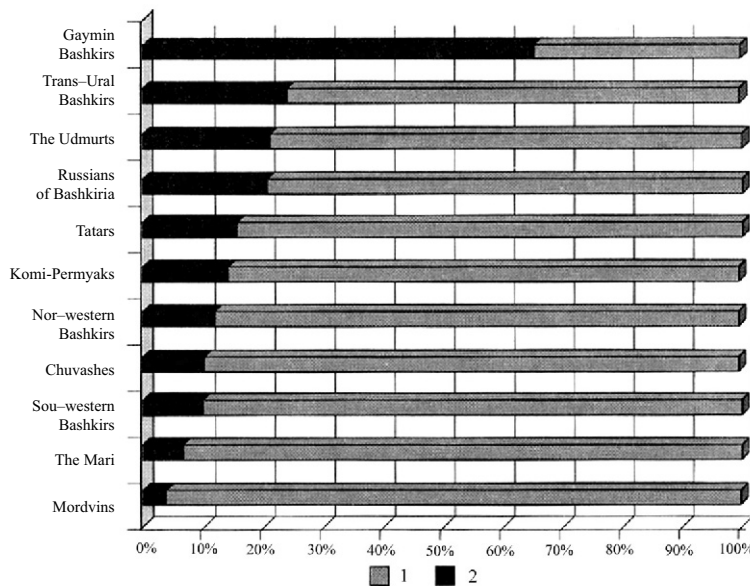


Fig. 7. The ratio between the Caucasoid (1) and Mongoloid (2) components of the mitochondrial gene pool of the population of the Volga-Ural Region [Limborskaya et al., 2002]

modern population of the Volga Ural Region have revealed (Fig. 7) that contemporary Tatars are even less Mongoloid than Russians in Bashkiria [Limborskaya et al., 2002].

There is both archaeological and paleo-anthropological evidence that the invasion of eastern tribes primarily affected the physical appearance of the population of the Lower Volga Region, which was indeed the administrative and political centre of Ulus of Jochi. The total series from Lower Volga necropolises is different from the series discovered in Khwarezm, the Caucasus, and Bulgar (Fig. 8) as being more Mongoloid. As has already been demonstrated for the medieval Volga Region [Trofimova, 1949] and Kazakhstan [Ismagulov, 1970], the Mongol invasion cannot be viewed as a mass migration to the European steppes from the west.

The connection between an individual's ethnic and social status was at first extremely tight in Golden Horde society. It is a common fact that at the early stage of its existence the country's elite was predominantly, and almost exclusively, Mongol and Tatar, while the local nomadic aristocracy was dismantled. However, the mass migration of nomadic tribes causing cities to grow and the khans' policy of the general Islamisation of the population brought about a gradual fusion between the Central

Asian nomadic aristocracy and the urban elite [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973].

This is why in the beginning there was a correlation between a high social status and a Mongoloid appearance; it is precisely the crania found in the 'aristocratic' areas of the Vodyanskoe necropolis that had Mongoloid features. However, by the end of the 14th century, the nomadic aristocracy had become engaged not only in trade and economics but also in intense inter-ethnic processes in the Lower Volga Region.

The Mongol and Tatar's unusual inheritance custom played a major role in changing the anthropological appearance of the Golden Horde's urban aristocracy. To quote Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, 'There is no difference between a son by one's concubine and by one's wife. But it is the father's choice on what he gives to each of them. If he belongs to a princely clan, his concubine's son is as much a prince as a son by his legal wife' [Travels, 1957, p. 30].

It is no wonder that very Caucasoid people were buried in rich burial vaults in the Vodyanskoe necropolis. The son of a Mongol man and, for instance, a Polovtsian woman, was apparently still entitled to a high social status; he could identify himself as Tatar while still having a Caucasoid appearance. It is no less possible that impoverished Mongoloid-look-



Fig. 8. A face reconstructed from a man's skull from the necropolis of Bulgar. By L. Yablonsky

ing people were also present in the urban population.

These complicated processes apparently caused the social and ethnic factors to drop from the equation by the time the Islamic burial ceremony became well-established in urban areas. Features reminiscent of the original cus-

tom and traditions can be traced only as more or less statistically significant traditions.

There is paleoanthropological evidence that nomadic clans preserved their anthropological appearance for a longer time in the Volga Steppe. However, even there, the constant cultural and genetic diffusion of heterogeneous populations eventually shaped the ethnic community that later becomes collectively known as the Tatars. The process was more intense in the large urban centres of Ulus of Jochi than it was in the steppe.

New historical developments began following the dissolution of Ulus of Jochi. However, we can still find traces of traditions and rites dating back to the Golden Horde in the ethnographic materials pertaining to Modern Times. For instance, the Kazan Tatars have been reported to have preserved the custom of viewing lawful and extramarital children as having equal status in the early 20th century. They also continued to bury their dead in niches on their right side, facing Mecca [Zhamensky, 1910]. This and other data suggest that it was in the Golden Horde epoch when the process that put an end to the old ethnic borders among pre-Mongol groups in the Volga Region began. This ultimately resulted in pre-Mongol unions being transformed into a cohesive Tatar community.

§ 5. The Medieval Uighurs and Their Contribution to the Culture of the Ulus of Jochi

Aleksandr Kadyrbayev

The medieval Uighurs played a major part not only in the Great Mongol Empire founded by Chinggis Khan and in Mongol-ruled states such as the Yuan Empire in China and that of Hulaguid Ilkhans in Iran in the Near East following its dissolution but in Ulus of Jochi as well.

By the early 13th century, when the Mongols were first introduced to medieval Uighur culture, it had already existed for over 450 years. But what is surprising in terms of a steppe civilization is that it actually continued to develop after the Uighur State collapsed. Uighur culture

was booming in East Turkestan, the Beshbalyk oases, Kocho, Hami, and the north-western parts of China: Dunhuang, Suzhou, Shazhou and Lanzhou. It was greatly influenced by Sogdian, Tokhar, Chinese, Indian, and Tibetan Buddhism, and sometimes combined it with Manichaeism—the religion of the Iranian world named after its prophet, Mani—and Syrian Nestorian Christianity. The first Uighur Muslims had also already appeared on the historical scene [Kara, 1981, pp. 51–52]. It was the medieval Turkic-speaking Uighurs who taught the Mongols to write, more specifically, Tatatung

(Tatātun-a according to Chinese sources), the Head of Chancellery in the Naiman Ulus, who thus bestowed upon the Mongols the key to the centuries-old and well-developed Uighur culture [Yüan shih, 1958, Yuan 124, p. 27398 (1446)]. This fact is confirmed by Persian and Western European chronicles. To quote Juwayni, 'Since the Tatars (Mongols.—*A.K.*) had no script, Chinggis Khan ordered that the Tatars (Mongols.—*A.K.*) should learn literacy from the Uighurs... and enshrine their laws in manuscripts. Everything written in the Uighur script is known as the Great Book of Yasa... Knowledge of the Uighur language and script is recognised as great learnedness and talent' [The Tarikh-i Jahan-gusha by Juvaini, 1912, p. 40]. In turn, William of Rubruck reported the Mongols to have borrowed the Uighur script, while the 'Uighurs are their principal scribes... And Mangu Khan (Möngke Khan) sends you (King of France.—*A.K.*) a charter in the language of the Moals (Mongols.—*A.K.*) but written in the Uighur script.' [Puteshestviya, 1993, p. 129]. On Chinggis Khan's order, Tatātun created the Mongol script, which is still used to this day, based on the medieval Uighur alphabet. He was also the first to teach the sons of the Ruler of the Universe to read and write. Later, members of Chinggis Khan's 'Golden Clan' had mostly Uighur—Buddhist and Nestorian Christian—teachers. Among the Uighurs who taught Mongol princes descending from Chinggis Khan, Chinese sources mention Tatātun's son Sulokhai [Yüan Shi, juan 124], Kara Inakh Buirug, the teacher of Chinggis Khan's son, Arin Temur, that of Chinggis Khan's brother Otchigin, Nestorian Christian Sibān (Shiban), who taught Khashi, grandson of Chinggis Khan and son of Ögedei Khan [Ibid., juan 134, p. 27493 (1541)], and Tolocha, the teacher of Kublai, who was to become the Great Khan of Mongolia and found a Mongol dynasty in China. Uighur doctors and healers, such as Urunch Hai and his son Jirlakhan, served the Mongols as well. Medieval Uighurs also played a major role in the administrative system that the Mongols established in the countries they had conquered. From the time of the founder of the Mongol Empire Chinggis

Khan to the rule of his successors Ögedei Khan and Güyük Khan, Zhen Hai, whose biography is mentioned in 'Yüan shih', remained an influential figure in the state. His highest position was head of the Mongol government in 1231–1241 and 1246–1248 [Shaomin, 1936, juan 192; Yüan shih, juan 135, p. 27510 (1558)]. Chinese sources on the Mongol epoch mention a total of 300 Uighur high officials serving the Mongols. In 'Yüan shih' alone, 34 of the total 227 darughachis mentioned were Uighur. Rulers of the Uighur Turpan Principality, who were awarded the title of Idikut because Idikut Barchuk Art Tegin joined Chinggis Khan at the head of 10,000 Uighur warriors on his own accord in 1211 and participated in his western campaign, which was particularly helpful in the land becoming part of Jochid Ulus, enjoyed a high status at the court of great Mongol khans [Yüan shih, juan 124, p. 27399 (1447)]. The reason for this is clearly visible in Great Mongol Khan Kublai's declaration addressing the Korean ruler, 'You gave up later, so your rank is lower than that of the wangs (members of Chinggis Khan's clan.—*A.K.*). During the rule of our Taizu (Chinggis Khan.—*A.K.*) the idikut rank was the highest among those who surrendered, and the order was that he is to rank the first among wangs. Arslan Khan (a Karluk ruler.—*A.K.*) was the next to give up, so he ranks lower than them (the idikut.—*A.K.*). You should know this.' [Yüan shih, juan 1, p. 26031(79)]. Chinggis Khan adopted Barchuk Art Tegin as his 'fifth son' and thus granted ulus status to the Uighur Turpan Principality, the ulus being the administrative unit into which Chinggis Khan divided the Mongol Empire when allocating its parts among his sons.

Jochi Khan was on the friendliest of terms with Nestorian Christian Uighur Kurkuz (Kuerkussu in Chinese sources). As a young man, Kurkuz served his ruler, the head of the Uighur Turpan Principality in East Turkestan. The Uighurs enjoyed the high trust of the Mongol khans for a number of reasons and were actively engaged in their conquests and the state building of their global empire. Back at the idikut's court, Kurkuz was able to learn the Uighur script within a very short period of

time. Mongol rulers encouraged knowledge of Uighur as its alphabet was used for Mongolian by promoting those who knew it. This is how Kurkuz was introduced to Jochi Khan as one of his *bitikchi* secretaries. However, before this occurred, Kurkuz had tried his luck in the camp of Jochi's son Batu Khan following the dramatic Mongol westward expansion. At first, Kurkuz had grazed the cattle of a Mongol *noyon*. He had eventually become known as a trusted individual and rose to the level of his associate. Kurkuz had met Jochi Khan while hunting in his lord's retinue. Jochi Khan had received a *yarliq* from his father Chinggis Khan, and Kurkuz read it out to him because nobody in the retinue knew the Uighur script. He had been able to impress Jochi Khan, which enabled his promotion within the Mongols. Jochi Khan ordered that Kurkuz be offered the position of an official (*qatib*) at his chancellery. Being a talented, eloquent speaker and expert in the Uighur script, he was trusted enough to teach Mongol noble children, in particular members of the ruling Chinggisid dynasty, to read and write. His highest position in Ulus of Jochi was as an advisor for a *darughachi*, a Jochid vicegerent in Khwarezm, in the city of Urgench. In the 1220s–1230s, Kurkuz was appointed *darughachi*, or Mongol administrator, first in two Persian provinces, Khorasan and Mazanderan, then across Persia and Mongol-controlled territories in the Near East. According to Rashid al-Din, 'having been entrusted (with Khorasan), Kurkuz brought along *bitikchis* and officials and brought the affairs in Khorasan and Mazanderan into proper order. He took a capitulation, established fixed taxes, and founded workshops. Kurkuz was ordered to manage all the areas across the Amu Darya'. Later in the text, Jochi Khan's younger brother, the Great Mongol Khan Ögedei, successor to the throne of their father Chinggis Khan, 'entrusted (the areas) from Khorasan to the borders of Rum and Diyarbekr to Emir Kurkuz.' One of Kurkuz's sons was a Mongol *darughachi* of Iraq and Azerbaijan tasked with 'controlling the land and establishing fixed taxes' [Rashid al-Din, 1960, 2, pp. 46–48].

Batu Khan, who succeeded to his father's position as the head of Jochid Ulus, appreci-

ated experts in the Uighur scripts, like Muslim Hojja Najmuddin, who was probably of Iranian origin and whom the Great Khan of the then-united Mongol Empire Möngke (in Turkic, Mengu) appointed *ulug bitikchi* in Jochid Ulus. William of Rubruck described their role at the court in 1253. He presented a curious and detailed description of Buddhist and Christian Uighurs, reporting Buddhists to 'pray to the north, clapping their hands and spreading their bodies on the ground while kneeling, their forehead resting on their hands', while 'Nestorians never hold their hands together to pray but stretch them out in front of their chest.' William of Rubruck also described the ceremonies where Möngke Khan and his wives attended Nestorian divine services, which leaves no doubt that the Uighurs played a major part in meeting the Mongol ruler and his associates' spiritual and educational needs [Puteshestviya, 1993, p. 129]. Nestorian Christian Uighur Sauma, who arrived in Rome as a Mongol ambassador, said to the Catholic cardinals, 'You should know this, Fathers, that many of our fathers (Uighurs.—*A.K.*) went to the Mongol, Turkic, and Chinese land to preach' [Istoriya Mar Yabalaxi, 1958, p. 36]. William of Rubruck remarked that Uighurs were on hostile terms with Muslims in the Mongol Empire, which predetermined the tragic future of the Uighurs of Jochid Ulus: 'Saracens (Muslims.—*A.K.*) are so eager to avoid them (Uighurs.—*A.K.*) that they will not even talk about them. This is why Saracens whom I asked about Yughur (Uighur.—*A.K.*) rituals became indignant' [Puteshestviya, 1993, p. 127].

William's report on the Uighurs at Batu's court is as follows. 'Then we spent a month travelling with Batu before we could get a guide. At last, I got a Yughur (Uighur.—*A.K.*), who expected nothing from me and ordered for a charter that he was to bring me directly to the Turkish sultan, hoping to get gifts from him and profit more from the route, though I had said that I wanted to go to Armenia [Ibid., p. 164]. As an adolescent, Batu Khan had a dedicated Uighur script teacher, Bekbuka, a native Naiman highly influenced by medieval Uighur culture.

The number of Buddhist and Nestorian Christian Uighurs at Golden Horde chancelleries was significant in the late 13–early 14th century when Ulus of Jochi became independent following the dissolution of the global Mongol Empire in 1259–1260. The events before and during 1312–1313 when the young Öz Beg Khan took the throne of the Golden Horde and, as an enthusiastic and newly converted Muslim encouraged by his Muslim associates who preached and talked scandal, proclaimed Islam the ruling religion and hurried to 'kill several emirs and noblemen, a large number of Uighurs, that is, lams and magicians, and proclaimed that now Islam was to be professed' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 174]. Öz Beg Khan informed Egyptian Mamluk al-Nasir of this in a personal letter [Usmanov, 1990, p. 70].

The medieval Uighurs made a cultural contribution to the history of the Golden Horde. As evidence of this, Mongol-Uighur birch bark manuscripts have been discovered in ancient Golden Horde towns in the Volga Region. According to Arabic sources, the first khans of the Golden Horde tended to write their letters to Mamluk State sultans in Egypt and Syria in Turkic using the Uighur script. The Uighur script remained in use at the court of Golden Horde khans even after Islam was proclaimed the state religion of Ulus of Jochi. For instance, Khans of the Golden Horde Toktamys and Temür Qutluğ used the Uighur script for yarliqs and charters executed on the banks of the Don and the Dnieper in the late 14th century. The original of Khan Toktamys's letter to King Jagiełło of Poland was also written in Uighur script. Yarliqs by other Golden Horde khans, Mengü Timur (1267), Berdibek (1357), and Byulek (1379), as well as Taidula's charters dated 1347, 1351, and 1354, an inscription on the gold paiza symbolising state power, which served as an identification for higher officials, dating back to 1362–1369, the time of Abdullah Khan, have all survived to this day. They include the names of Khans Tokhta, Öz Beg, and Keldibek. All of these yarliqs and paizas were written in Mongolian using the Uighur script, except for Byuleg's yarliq, which was



Uighur Ruler. Fresco.
Eastern Turkestan. 9th century.

written in Turkic. Golden Horde coins also bore inscriptions in the Uighur script [Sultanov, 1978, pp. 234–235].

The medieval Uighur language and script were also important in their written form not only for the medieval Uighurs and Mongols as the leading ethnos in all Mongol empires in the 13–14th centuries but the Kipchaks as the key Turkic steppe population of the Golden Horde, on whom the khans relied greatly and who began to assimilate the few Mongols of Ulus of Jochi as early as in the early 14th century. To quote William of Rubruck, 'Uighurs are the source and root of the Turkish and Coman (Kipchak.—A.K.) vernacular...' [Travels, 1993, p. 115].

In summation, the cultural, linguistic, and written contact between the medieval Uighurs and other peoples in the Golden Horde, primarily between the Mongols and the Kipchaks, were important. Just like other Turkic peoples, the Uighurs lived in the Golden Horde until at least 1313, though they had no major source to repopulate their community from because the dissolution of the Mongol

state separated them from their country of origin, Eastern Turkestan, which became an arena of internecine wars for other Mongol states, namely the Yuan Empire with its centre in Khanbaliq (today's Beijing) and the Ulus of Chagatai in Middle Asia. The cultural importance of the medieval Uighurs for Ulus of Jochi was also determined by the fact that in

the Golden Horde, as well as in other states that stemmed from the ruined Mongol Empire of Chinggis Khan and his first descendants, the Uighur script was traditionally associated with the khan, which was the sphere where it continued to remain in use according to old traditions and regardless of the new situation until the fall of the Golden Horde.

§ 6. Population of alien confessions in the Jochid Ulus

The Russian Population of Cities in the Ulus of Jochi

Marina Poluboyarinova

Written sources describe the Mongol practice of capturing a large portion of the people in newly conquered countries. Reports on Russian prisoners in particular are especially numerous due to their inclusion in the Russian chronicles. They seemed to disappear in this new vast state, Ulus of Jochi, assimilating with the conquerors and other subjugated peoples. However, there is also some written and archaeological evidence of what happened to them.

Written sources of information on Russians in Golden Horde cities are very diverse. They include Russian chronicles and the lives of saints, spiritual and treaty charters, notes by Catholic missionaries, *yarliqs* issued by Golden Horde khans to Russian Metropolitans, and works by Arab and Persian authors.

For instance, Ibn Battuta, an Arab traveller who visited the Golden Horde in 1333–1334, reported various peoples, including Russians, to live in the city of Sarai (the Selitrennoe archaeological site). 'Each people lives separately in their own plot; they have their bazaars there' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 306].

Most of the Russian residents of Ulus of Jochi were captives. They were a free labour force that the conquerors used to build cities, manage skilled labour, and for war and commerce. According to Catholic monk Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, upon conquering a city, the Tatars left those young men and women whom they wanted to use as slaves for their craft skills

and killed the rest [Travels, 1957, pp. 54–55]. Skillful craftsmen made especially valuable slaves. 'In the land of the Saracens and others, to whom they are superior, they take the best craftsmen and use them to do whatever work they do' [Ibid., p. 58]. Some skillful captive craftsmen could also benefit from good promotions. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine mentioned Russian jeweller Kuzma, Great Khan Güyük's favourite, who made the khan's throne and seal in Karakorum [Ibid., p. 78]. Another Russian, married to the French Paquette, was a builder. However, they all apparently remained slaves, as did the French craftsman Boucher captured in Hungary, whom another Catholic missionary, William of Rubruck, believed to be a slave of Mengu Khan's mother [Ibid., p. 166].

It was not only prisoners of war but also the individuals unable to pay their tributes or debts who became slaves. A 1262 entry in a Russian chronicle reports the abuse of tax farmers in Russian cities [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 1, p. 476]. According to Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, when single men and women, each of the three sons of each family, and the poor had been captured, the khan's official imposed a fur tribute on the rest. Those who could not deliver the tribute were sold into slavery for Tatars [Travels, 1957, p. 55]. To quote William of Rubruck, 'When Russians cannot give more gold or silver, Tatars capture them and their little ones... to watch their animals' [Ibid., p. 108]. Arab author al-Umari reported Russians and Tatars to have sold their children as slaves during famine and drought [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 241]. Russian



Stone icon of hierarchs (?). Bulgar.
13th century (According to T. Nikolayeva)

captives were sometimes sold as slaves by their compatriots, for instance, during internecine feuds or when Novgorod Ushkuiniks raided Russian and Bulgar cities [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, p. 114].

Rashid al-Din reported Tokhta Khan's army to have included Russians, Circassians, Kipchaks, and others [Rashid al-Din, 1952, 1, 2, p. 275]. The anonymous author of the 'Continued Collection of Chronicles' described Toktamys's army against Timur as follows: '...a large army consisting of Russians, Circassians, Bulgars, Kipchaks, and Alans...collected together' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 156]. Speaking of Öz Beg Khan and his capital Sarai, al-Umari wrote that 'Sultans in this state have Circassian, Russian, and Yas slaves' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 231]. This probably refers to contract fighters, who might have been employed in a different period. The practice was pure coercion at first: 'So the Tatars demand them to join their troops against any person that they tell them to go against' [Travels, 1957, p. 55]. According to the Russian chronicles pertaining to the period, the conquerors 'capture people and order them to fight with

them' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 5, p. 190].

The Mongols sold excess slaves, in particular Russians, which was very profitable. There was a large slave market in Bulgar [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, p. 114] and probably all large cities in the Volga Region, as well as in the Crimea and North Caucasus.

The Russian chronicles tend to report Russian princes' stays in the Golden Horde as important historical events. Russian princes were forced to visit the Horde from the first years after the yoke was imposed on them until almost the middle of the 15th century. Batu and his successors summoned princes to show their obedience and receive a yarliq permitting them to remain princes.

When visiting the khan's camp, Russian princes had to perform a number of pagan rites like walking between fires, worshiping bushes, fire, the sun, or idols. They were to kneel to the khan and drink 'black' kumis, which Russians believed to be a sin. To neglect the duties could spell death, as it happened to Prince Mikhail of Chernigov in 1246. 'They also send for land rulers, ordering them to come to see them immediately. They are treated without proper respect when they come... For some of them, they find a pretext to kill them;...they let others come back to attract more and use a special drink or poison to kill some', Giovanni da Pian del Carpine described the conqueror's policy for the princes and rulers of subordinate territories.

If a prince was killed in the Horde, his boyars and slaves often died with him, as was the case with Mikhail of Tver. He was executed in Öz Beg Khan's camp in the foothills of the North Caucasus because he lost his struggle for the title of great prince against the prince of Moscow. In order to ensure princely loyalty, khans often kept not only the princes themselves but also their sons hostages for years on end. Princes probably visited the two capitals, accompanying the khans from camp to camp. A prince's seal found in the archaeological site of Selitrennoe suggests that Russian Prince Constantine visited Sarai. A stone seal



Bronze icon
depicting saints
Kirik and Iulitta.
Ukek District
(according
to L. Nedashkovsky)

bearing Prince Mikhail's name has also been found in Ukek.

The ambassadors of princes, or kilicheis, visited the Horde to bring gifts to the khan, or sometimes for diplomatic purposes, for instance, to receive a yarliq.

Golden Horde khans encouraged foreign trade in their state to a great extent because it was extremely profitable to them. With control over the Great Volga and Don Route, the most important trade roads in East Europe, the Golden Horde restored its international and domestic commercial contacts. Several written sources mention Russian merchants in the Horde. William of Rubruck reported Khans Batu and Sartaq to receive great income from the Crimean saline basins, where merchants from across Rus' went to for salt. Oriental 13–14th century authors also reported Russian merchants to have visited cities along the Volga River. To quote Ibn Abd az-Zahir, 'The Itil River... Russian vessels navigate it'. Al-Umari wrote, 'Large vessels navigate the Itil to the Russians and the Slavs' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 63, 241]. Persian author Hamdallah al-Qazwini described ships arriving from Rus' at Mazanderan along the Volga and Caspian Sea in 1340.

Russian chronicles contain several reports on Russian merchants in the Horde, dated 1319, 1356, 1378, and 1382. The narrative on the ruination of Moscow by Toktamyskh mentions the khan to have sent his people to Bulgar to defeat and rob Christian and Russian merchants, seize their goods, and bring them to him to deal with [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, p. 143]. Giosafat Barbaro wrote the following in the 15th century: 'Every year people from Moscow board ships bound for Astrakhan for salt' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, pp. 148, 157].

The Orthodox Christian Eparchy in Sarai

Marina Poluboyarinova

Contemporaries emphasised how religiously tolerant the Mongol-Tatar conquerors were. As they were pagans at the early stage of the Golden Horde's existence, its rulers patronised both Orthodox clergymen, and Catholics, and Muslims. Maybe the Mongols wanted to make sure that the gods of strangers liked them. It could have also been political circumspection as well. 'Tatars used their military power to subjugate various Christian tribes but permit them to maintain their law and faith,' Franciscan monk from Hungary, Johanca, wrote in the early 14th century [Anninsky, 1940, p. 91]. The chronicle entries on a Russian census for taxation purposes dated 1257 and 1275 specifies that '...Priests, and deacons, and monks shall not be counted.' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 32]. In accordance with Chinggis Khan's Yasa, yarliqs issued by khans to metropolitans relieved the clergy of any duties and taxes: "Those basqaqs, scribes, customs officers, and land tax collectors who see and hear this charter shall not collect any tribute or anything from priests and monks. Shall they collect anything, they must ask forgiveness and die according to the Great Yasa' (from Mengu Timur's yarliq dated 1267 [Priselkov, 1916, p. 34]). The clergy was also relieved of military service. These privileges enabled Russian clergymen to enter the Mongol environment from the first years of the yoke. Quite naturally, they hoped to persuade

pagan conquerors to accept Orthodox Christianity. This was all the more necessary because the Catholic Church was already exerting similar pressure on the East. The Pope wanted the Mongol-Tatars to support him against the Seljuk Turks, Emperor Friedrich II of Germany, and the Nicene Empire. He sent missionary monks to the conquerors to persuade the khans to convert to Catholicism. Some wrote the most curious reports on their travels as far as Karakorum, with descriptions of Mongol customs. However, this was not their main intention. The Roman Church wanted the Russians instead to convert to Catholicism. The Pope's letters to Russian princes, especially Daniel of Galicia, are indicative of this fact. The rumour about the Nestorian Christian sect in Asia kindled the enthusiasm of Orthodox and Catholic Churches.

The Orthodox Christian Church was able to reinforce its connection to the khan's government. An Orthodox bishopric was established in 1261 during the rule of Khan Berke, who had converted to Islam. The first Bishop of Sarai and Pereyaslavl was Mitrofan. He controlled the territory upstream the Volga Region and the Don from Sarai. The bishop's title was 'Bishop of Sarai and the Don Region' in the mid-15th century.

There are several reasons why an Orthodox Christian bishopric was established in the Golden Horde. For one, its Russian population had increased. It now consisted not only of slaves but of princes with their retinues, merchants, and embassies, which sometimes spent years there. The Church wanted to keep all the Russians within their own walls. In addition, the spiritual authorities of Rus' hoped to use the Sarai Bishopric to influence the khans' policy for Russian principalities. The khans would benefit from this by reinforcing their contacts with Byzantium with the help of the Sarai bishops. The second Bishop of Sarai, Theognostus, was the only Russian bishop to attend the 1276 Constantinople Patriarchal Council to execute certain diplomatic orders for the khan and the Russian metropolitan. He also raised questions related to divine service under nomadic conditions. In 1279, Theognostus '...was sent to

the patriarch by the metropolitan and to Tsar Palaiologos of Greece by Tsar Mengu-Timur' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 7, p. 174]. Thus, both khans and Russian metropolitans used the bishops of Sarai to establish contact with the clerical and secular authorities of Byzantium.

Owing to the fact that it was well-established in the Horde, the Russian church was able to resist the Catholic influence. However, a Catholic bishopric was established in the Golden Horde in 1315. Franciscan Stefan became the first bishop, and 12 Franciscan monasteries had been established by the beginning of the 14th century. In 1336 monk Elemosina wrote to the Pope that in the Golden Horde '...the true church has been imposed, and Minorite friars have established their refuges in ten places: five in cities and five in battle camps and Tatar grazing camps... Among the Tatars who graze their herds, the five refuges have the form of felt yurts and move from place to place when the Tatars change their camp' [Golubovich, 1909, p. 135].

The Orthodox clergy probably had to face these same unusual conditions. To prove this fact, Theognostus asked the Patriarchal Council of Constantinople the following questions: Is it permitted to carry consecrated meals from place to place and use them for divine service? What is the baptism procedure for Nestorian and Jacobite converts? What baptism ritual is recommended for Tatars? 'If a Tatar comes and I have no large vessel, where do I immerse him?' [Records of the Ancient Russian Canon Law, 1908, pp. 129, 136, 138].

Another Bishop of Sarai, Ismail, implemented the khan's policy by accommodating Russian princes at a congress in Vladimir in 1296 where the khan's ambassadors judged them. Quoting a 1330 chronicle entry, 'Azbeq Tsar showed mercy to the Bishop of Sarai, granted him everything according to his request, and did no wrong to him' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 10, p. 203]. In 1354 Patriarch Philotheus of Byzantium mentioned the role that the Bishop of Sarai played in the relations between Rus' and Byzantium; both refer to Bishop Athanasios.

The bishop was expected to spend a lot of time in the khan's summer camps in the Volga and Don River Regions. He probably had a permanent residence in either one or both capitals. The chronicle always reports a new bishop to have been appointed 'to Sarai' and not 'to the Horde'. Sarai Berke (the Tsarevskoe archaeological site) lay closer to the Russian Land and probably had a larger Russian population. A. Tereshchenko discovered a lot of personal Orthodox icons and crosses while excavating the Tsarevskoe archaeological site in the mid-19th century [Poluboyarinoва, 1978, pp. 58–71].

The bishops of Sarai had been transferred to Krutitsy Estate, Moscow, by 1480. This determined their title, Bishops of Krutitsy.

Apart from the Russian clergymen who resided in cities, others who visited the Golden Horde for various purposes are also mentioned. Every new metropolitan was to see the khan to obtain a *yarliq* confirming the church's rights, the ceremony of which was to be performed over and over again each time the khan was replaced. In 1357 Metropolitan Alexius arrived to the Horde on Janibek's invitation to heal his blind mother Taidula. Alexius was able to cure her, and she gave him a ceremonial vestment (*sakkos*) and a ring. Metropolitan Pimen visited the Horde in 1385 on his way to Constantinople after 'traveling downstream the Volga to the Sarai onboard a ship' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 150] accompanied by other clergymen.

Priests were able to persuade some figures in the Golden Horde to convert to Christianity. Noble Tatar women who were engaged to Russian princes, such as Mengü Timur's daughter and the daughter of Öz Beg, as well as Tatars moving to Rus' to work for Russian princes, were baptised. The burial at the burial site Mayachny Bugor 1, Astrakhan oblast, studied by E. Pigarev, is of special interest. A buried teenager was discovered in a grave lined with sun-dried bricks and featuring a brick foundation and remnants of a wooden coffin on the grave floor. The body had an alloy cross with lily-shaped points, which suggests Orthodox Christianity. The burial dates back to the later 13–early 14th

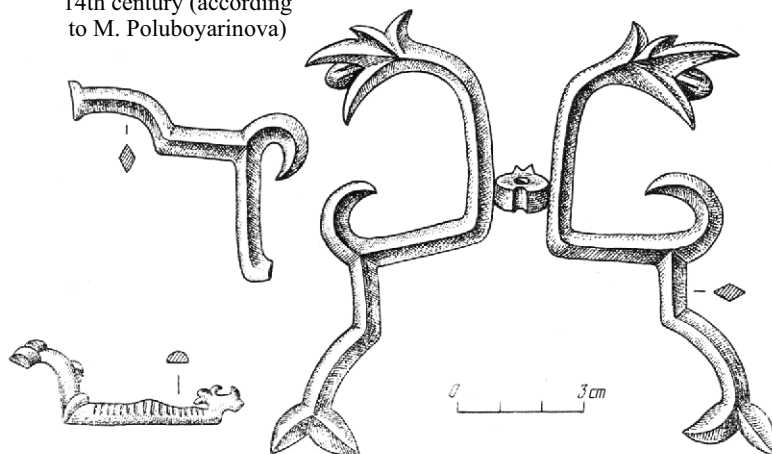


Stone icon of Saint Nikola, Ukek.
12–14th centuries (according to T. Nikolayeva)

century, and the burial ceremony combines Islamic and Christian traditions [Pigarev, 1994, pp. 77–80].

Most likely, Orthodox Christian churches or chapels gradually started to appear in all cities of the Golden Horde with some Russian population. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine reported Güyük Khan to have permitted Orthodox priests to perform divine service 'according to the Greek custom' in a chapel in front of his tent [Travels, 1957, p. 80]. The Chronicles report churches to have existed in the city Bezdezh (presumably the Vodyanskoe archaeological site), where the body of Prince Mikhail of Tver, murdered in the Horde, was brought. The body could only be placed in the church yard, as it was in the Northern Caucasian city of Majar. That is, there were Russian churches both in Bezdezh and in Majar. No remnants of Orthodox Christian churches have been found in Golden Horde cities to date. However, church equipment like *corona lucis* fragments and incense burners have been found. When excavating the Sarai Berke in the mid-19th century, A. Tereshchenko found stone slabs with crosses incised on them, probably pertaining to church buildings.

Details of *coronae lucis*. Ukek.
14th century (according
to M. Poluboyarinova)



The fact that numerous crosses and icons have been unearthed in Golden Horde settlements suggests that most Russian citizens adhered to their religion.

Only archaeology can provide convincing evidence that Russians were present in Golden Horde cities. Now a brief description of Russian-related objects will be provided by site downstream the Volga River.

The Selitrennoe archaeological site (Sarai) has yielded a small number of Russian-related discoveries, mostly pertaining to Orthodox Christianity. A round copper icon depicting John the Precursor as part of the Deesis tier, probably inserted in a church altar cross, has been found. A miniature glass icon of the Mother of God holding the Infant on her right hand is also of interest. Such icons were produced in Venice or Constantinople in the 13th century. However, they occur in the territory of Rus' more commonly than they do in Western Europe. The icon probably belonged to a Russian person. It is entirely possible, however, that it was brought by Catholic missionaries. A fragment of a bronze encolpion cross made in a 12–13th century Kiev workshop has also been located here. The site has yielded several fragments of glass bracelets, Russian in terms of glass composition, and two slate spindle whorls, a commodity that was not traded after the Mongol invasion, but which a Russian woman might have kept.

Poachers recently reported to have found a prince's lead seal at the Selitrennoe archaeological site. The general appearance of the seal suggests that it dates back to the 14th century. It bears an incision stating its belonging to Prince Constantine on the one side and a standing saint figure holding a cross in front of his chest, as well as an inscription reading 'Saint Constantine', on the other.

The Tsarevskoe archaeological site (Sarai al-Jadid) has yielded more Russian objects, mostly excavated by A. Tereshchenko. A whole encolpion cross with a central relief of the Crucifixion and Mother of God images, with engraved crosses and signs on the top and side ends, is worth mentioning. Such encolpions were made in Rus' in the early 13th century. There are also two front panels of two encolpions dating back to the late 12–early 13th century, a copper body cross with spherical beads on its ends (11–13th century), and a stone cross dating back to the 12–14th century. The church ware includes a bronze chain and a corona lucis fragment. Part of a church chandelier and an incense burner lid, that is, church ornaments, have also been mentioned.

Further excavations at the Tsarevskoe archaeological site yielded nothing but rare Russian ceramic fragments and a folding cross head piece [Matyukhina, 2000, pp. 216–217, Fig. 39:2].

The Vodyanskoe archaeological site (Bel-jamen). Russian ceramics were found here in 1963 during the first examination of the site by an expedition to the Volga Region. Excavation revealed that Russians and, most likely, Bulgars were the first constructors and inhabitants of the relatively large city. Russians lived in the central and south-eastern part of the surviving area. Russian dishware made up 45% of the total ceramics in the bottom layers. Two

semi-dugouts with Russian ceramics and a copper cross have been discovered at this site. A cemetery, most likely a Christian one, has also been studied here.

The excavation and surface discoveries include several body crosses of various shapes dating back to the 12–14th century, a bronze Crucifixion icon, an encolpion fragment (re-cast), and a six-blade corona lucis holder. A miniature light blue cast glass icon depicting St. Nicholas and bearing a Russian inscription is a rare Russian antiquity and dates back to the 13–14th century.

A double-faced stone casting form used to cast two round dangles, one bearing the so-called Maltese cross and the other a six-foil rosette, was found at the same site. Both ornaments are typical of Russian dangles. A tamga of two arrows is chiseled on the side edge of the form; such signs occur on individual Golden Horde ceramics. The tamga could have belonged to a jewellery shop owner from the Golden Horde, or it probably belonged to a non-Russian craftsman.

The front panel of a copper encolpion with a Crucifixion image in the centre, saints on the side ends, and a cross on the top one was found at the Vodyanskoe archaeological site recently. It is a two-dimensional combination of engraving and drawing. The cross has flaring ends. It probably dates back to the latter half of the 12–early 13th century. Pig bones have also been found at the Vodyanskoe archaeological site, suggesting that Christians, probably Russians, were present here.

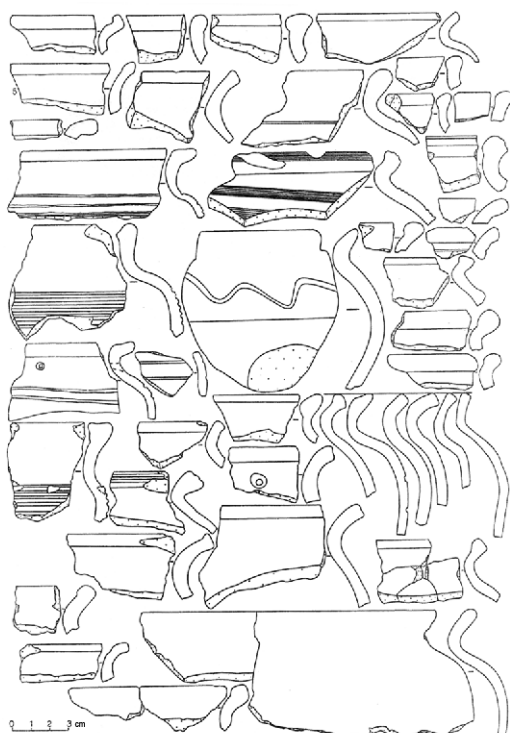
The Uvek archaeological site (city of Ukek) and the nearby territory. Old excavations yielded a quadrifoil folding cross with images of the Crucifixion and Mother of God and Child on the throne (14th century), a round-top icon of Saint George and the Dragon, and a fragment of an encolpion cross bearing a Crucifixion image. The two latter objects are production rejects. L. Nedashkovsky published a fragment of an icon with defects, and a prefabricated chain for a chandelier or a cross from Uvek [Nedashkovsky, 2000, Fig. 30, 18, 25, p. 109]. These findings suggest that crosses and icons were produced in Uvek for Orthodox Christian citizens.

A 12th century bronze cross, a rectangular icon of St. George (not earlier than the 14th century), and half of a quadrifoil folding cross cast in the same form as the above one were found at the same site. Noteworthy stone articles include a jewellery Saviour icon (14th century), a St. Nicholas jewellery icon (14th century), a pink slate jewellery Myrrhbearers icon, a jewelry icon depicting the Saviour, Mother of God, and a saint, and a Byzantine-produced decorative icon of an archangel. Old publications mention an oval seal with an animal image that bears the name of its owner, Prince Mikhail. L. Nedashkovsky published a copper ring with a solar sign (swastika) on it, a bronze kolt, a fragment of a kolt casting form, two glass rings with a circular cross-section, which are usually classified as Russian-made articles, a corona lucis chandelier, and an incense burner. M. Kramarovsky published a bone seal, found at the Uvek archaeological site, bearing a reverse inscription in Russian, 'Semyon's seal' [Kramarovsky, 1999, pp. 39–40, Fig. 2]. Such bone seals occur among Russian antiquities and date back to the latter half of the 13–14th century. Two similar seals have been found in Bulgar, while Russian ceramics have also been found in Uvek.

Berezovka settlement researched in the 1950s by A. Alikhova was located on the Usa river near Samara Bend, where there was a portage. It was a small settlement from the latter half of the 13–14th centuries. Besides, the Tatars, Russians and Bulgars also lived there. Russian ceramics made up 52.9% of the total. Two Kievian cross engolpia from the early 13th century, a stone cross worn next to the skin from the 12–14th centuries, and a bone cross with crosses at the ends from the 12th century were found here.

An above-ground house was excavated in Berezovka. Russian ceramics, a bone cross, and an earthen house belonging to Russians were found there. Pig bones were found at the site. The settlement is dated to the latter half of the 13–14th centuries, and evidence of Russian presence can be seen at all levels.

Russian ceramics can also be found in other settlements of this period along the Usa river: near Pechera Vyselki village and Rublennoe



Russian ceramics. Ukek. 13–14th centuries
(according to L. Nedashkovsky)

lake. Russian ceramics and engolpia were found in a dugout researched by A. Alikhova in a Golden Horde town called Mokhsa (modern Narovchat).

An engolpion from the early 13th century was found in the settlement at Gubino village, on the right bank of the Volga river, and a zmeevik from the 13th century with an image of St. Theodore Stratelates was found near Balakovo village.

The most findings related to the Russian population from all Golden Horde cities are in Bulgar. This can be explained by its close proximity to the borders of Rus' and the strong ties between Bulgar ulus and the Russian State since the pre-Mongol period. Orthodox relics and ancient Russian ceramics are most commonly found here [Poluboyarinoва, 1993]. Crosses and icons have been found in Bolgar Archaeological Site since the 19th century, for example, a stone icon with an image of St. Nicholas and the seven sleepers of Ephesus dated back to the 13th century, a bronze

church ripidion of the 12–13th centuries, a copper icon with the image of the Virgin, and a fragment of a cross.

Twelve Bulgar stone cross pendants (12–14th centuries), metal cross pendants (11) of different types including five with wedge-shaped ends (12–early 15th centuries) and other ones are known from among Russian relics of that time. Eight cross engolpia have been found, both unbroken and fragmented ones. A bronze one decorated with a relief, coloured enamel depicting St. Nicholas by Zaraisky is the most noteworthy. It is a full-length image of the saint with uplifted hands. There are columnar Russian inscriptions containing his name on both sides. The engolpion was found at the 'Greek chamber'. This is a Christian cathedral not far from the Armenian settlement behind its walls.

An unbroken engolpion cross from the 14–15th centuries was recently found on the bank of the Volga by the settlement. It has a stepped centre and four-way ends [Faskhutdinov, 1999, pp. 94–95]. Fragments of two engolpion crosses from the 12–13th centuries and 14–15th centuries, tops of two more crosses, and a one-sided cross cast from the imprint of an engolpion from the 12–13th centuries are also in the collection. A stone icon pendant with a partly preserved image of two saints was recently found at the settlement. The inscription 'Eupathy' was near one of them.

As far as church adornments are concerned, a six-blade carrier of the chain holding a corona lucis, some parts of a corona lucis, and an incensory from the 15th century were found in Bulgar.

The Russian finds in Bulgar are not only religious items. There were also two bone seals similar to the Russian seal from Uvek and findings on the Russian territory dated to the middle of the 13–early 15 centuries. Bracelets made of Russian glass, various types of glass beads, jewellery in the form of metallic three-bead temple rings and signet rings with solar symbols (gammadions) on the shield could be trading items. Several Russian coins from the late 14th –middle of the 15th century are evidence that they traded with Rus'.

The Russian ceramics found in various quantities in almost all excavations are one of the most massive finds. They are triple-fired pots made of gray clay or white bowls with an addition of coarse sand in the puddle clay. Besides these, there are similarly shaped pots made of a different type of puddle clay that are better fired and less ornamented. Apparently, these vessels were influenced by local Bulgarian pottery.

The Russian ceramics were found in the Bolgar Archaeological Site in several Early Golden Horde dwellings (middle of the 13th century–early 14th century), where a stone cross and slate spindle whorls were also found. A small number were also found in its cultural layer. Its fragments made up from tenths of a percent to 4.3% of the layer in the late Golden Horde period. Dwellings and middens were studied. Russian ceramics made up about 50% there, for example, in Zarechny district, or about 40% in the town centre.

The topography of the findings of this earthenware crockery allows us to outline the areas where Russians dwelled in Bulgar. It turned out that it is impossible to distinguish areas in the town, within the limits of the ramparts, where only Russians lived. Dwellings with a high percentage of Russian ceramics and other Russian items can be found across the whole town, except for the districts where adobe buildings belonging to the Golden Horde nobility were concentrated. Both Muslims and Russians were scattered throughout Zarechny district, which had been settled since the middle of the 13th century. Many people dwelling in houses with Russian ceramics were craftsmen: jewelers, metallurgists, and bone carvers.

Of the late Golden Horde layers, 13 dwellings can be classified as Russian ones with various confidence levels. Four of them are ground-based, the rest are dugouts and half-dugouts. In three cases the ground-based houses have cellars, one of them have a clay oven on wooden forehearth casing. Four dugouts were 1.4–1.7 metres deep and measured 16,521.5 square metres. The walls were panelled with logs, planks and fences. The hearth was in the centre or in the corner. There were pillars supporting the roof. There were five half-dugouts: four of them were fit to live in, and the last one

was used as a utility room. They are 0.65–1.2 metres deep and measure 16–24 square metres. One of them has an oven in the centre, and the other ones have hearths. The walls are panelled with planks and fencing. There are pillars along the central axis and the edge of the foundation pit. The details of construction of the dugouts are similar to those found on Russian territory, including North-Eastern Rus'.

Recastings of the sides of an engolpion depicting St. Prince Boris (the original dates back to the 12–13th centuries) and a fragment of a cross with a stepped centre similar to the one described above (14–15th centuries) were found in Aga-Bazaar, a trade port of Bulgar. Moreover, three stone icons were found there: one with two saints, one with St. Stephan (with an inscription on the back), and one with a saint warrior (fragment, inscription is faded).

The lower end of a cross engolpion depicting two saints (14–15th centuries) was found at the **Bilyar Archaeological Site**. These finds could originate from the Bilyar Settlement 3.

The finds of the Golden Horde records mentioned above show that orthodox church items and ceramics are the most reliable sign of the presence of a Russian population there. Separate Russian items as well as pig bones, which could only be left by Christians in the town, are indicative as well. Personal things have been found. Cross pendants, engolpia, and icon pendants are typical of Russian lands, where they were initially produced. Most of these items are recurring. The image becomes even more unclear in subsequent castings; rough edges can be often seen on them. The production of crosses and icons in this way in the provinces explains the fact that Russian relics items dating back to earlier times are found by archaeologists in layers of the 14–early 15th centuries when artisan centres where the originals had been produced had ceased to exist or produced other types. One can also see later finds, which might have been brought from Russian towns in the 14th century to sell to countrymen living in the Golden Horde. These were also copied. Stone casting molds to produce icons and crosses, for example, in Uvek, are evidence of local production of Christian relics.

Without a doubt, details of coronas lucis, incensories, and holders and chains of lamps are Russian church utensils.

Ceramics were the most traditional part of family life in all periods. Russian earthenware crockery differed dramatically from Golden Horde ceramics in colour, quality, and shape. Russian potters could make it using their own approaches for preparing puddled clay, moulding containers, and firing. Russian pots with puddled clay closer to Bulgar ones and with better firing can be found in Bulgar. These containers could have been made by Bulgar potters in small workshops specially for Russian inhabitants or by Russian masters borrowing the technique from the Bulgars. It is noteworthy that the same type of ceramics was found in Uvek [Nedashkovsky, 2000, p. 111].

Besides these mass materials, unique finds such as seals and pens of princes and other people also point to the presence of Russians.

Different metal and glass jewellery of a Russian type could have belonged to Russians or be merchandise. Copper signet rings with solar symbols (gammadions) on the shield and traces of light enamel sometimes depicting a hand can be found in Golden Horde layers especially frequently. These signet rings were produced in Novgorod workshops until the late 14th century. Probably some finds from the Volga Region were cast in the provinces in imitation of goods bought from Novgorod merchants.

Especially many finds connected with Russians were found on the territory of Bulgar ulus of the Golden Horde. This can be explained not only by the close proximity of Rus' and Volga-Kama region but also the pre-Mongol relations between the two countries, including trade relations.

Jews in the Golden Horde

Igor Volkov, Aleksandr Kadyrbaev

It is known that there was a Jewish presence in Eastern Europe long before the Mongol conquest, but it was mainly concentrated in the Black Sea Region and Middle Asia. It was due to the fact that Jewish communities had an important role in international trade.

According to written (mainly epigraphic) sources, Jewish communities were known in Phanagoria and Bospor from at least the 3rd century CE [Danshin, 1993; Solomonik, 1997], but the majority of available sites allow us to give a double interpretation. In particular, most headstones, of which there are around 60 in Taman [Solomonik, 1997, p. 18], have no dates in the inscriptions or reliable stratigraphic dating [Danshin, 1993, p. 71]. There are few written sources from later periods. The postscript of Pentateuch from Karasubazaar synagogue dated back to 905 mentions Matarkha, Karakuban, and Tokht [Ibid.], but this source may be a later forgery. Jewish travellers of the 11–12th centuries noted the presence of Jews in Crimea. Possibly the 'Khazars' who prospered in Tmutarakan under Russian princes were adherents of Judaism. However, not all those who professed Judaism at that time were ethnic Jews. For example, Jewish traveller rabbi Petachiah from Regensburg met Jewish sectarians and Karaites among Kipchaks in the Dniester region in the 12th century. Some researchers connect them to the emergence of Turkic Karaims in Crimea.

There are many names referring to Jews (mountain Jews, Tats) in the toponymy of north-eastern Caucasus. Their communities date back to the epoch of the late Sasanids—rulers of Iran—right before the Arabic invasion in the middle of the 1st millennium CE, particularly in Derbent, and became stronger under the Khazar Khaganate. Judaism became wide spread in the Caucasus due to the Byzantine empire's policy of forced christianization of its Jewish community when many Jews took refuge in the Khazar Khaganate fleeing from 'Rum (Constantinople.—*I.V., A.K.*) to the land of the Khazars' [Alikberov, 2003, pp. 454–460]. It is known that the ruler and nobility of the Turkic Khazar Khaganate, which included the territories that later became the possessions of the Golden Horde (Lower Volga Region, North Caucasus, Southern Rus'), turned to Judaism back in the late 8–9th centuries, in which Jewish merchants played a part.

There is evidence of a Jewish community in Rus' from the 10th century, since the reign of the great prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich, who

brought Christianity to Rus'. There was a rich trade quarter in Kiev [Short Jewish Encyclopedia, 1982, p. 253]. Relations between the Jewish community and Orthodox population varied. The wealth of the community that engaged in usury and money-lending were a constant source of envy. The religion of a community that did not believe in Jesus Christ and opposed Christianity also caused discontentment among the people who had already converted to Christianity by that time. In 1239 when Mongol troops stormed and occupied Kiev, the Jews suffered just as all other citizens and fled west to Poland and Hungary. However, there were still Jewish communities left in the Ancient Rus' Kingdom of Galicia–Volhynia that did not suffer much from the Mongolian conquest, possibly because the tactics of the conquerors had changed by that time.

Jewish communities settled widely in the main towns and trade points along the most used caravan routes leading from China to Europe to a certain extent because of the Mongol conquests and the formation of the Mongol Empire. After Mongol conquests, significant changes occurred related to the large groups of people's resettling from the East to the West and from the West to the East. Apparently, Jewish (Hebrew) communities became involved in these migrations. In any case, an ambassador of the Roman Pope named Giovanni da Pian del Carpine went on a lengthy journey through the steppes of Eastern Europe and Central Asia to Karakorum (the capital of the Mongol Empire) in 1242 names the Jewish among people subordinate to the Mongols [Travels, 1993, p. 51].

This is not surprising, because the multi-ethnic cities of Ulus Jochi and the people and the ruling Golden Horde elite consisting of Chinggis Khan's offspring, who complied with the requirements of Yassa concerning tolerance towards representatives of different confessions, were non-judgmental towards the Jews, unlike the majority of European Christian countries, where the Jewish were considered exploiters, malicious sorcerers, black magicians, and poisoners. In the Golden Horde there was a privileged regime for the priesthood of all religions, including Orthodox Christianity and Judaism, which was even preserved after Islam had been

adopted by Öz Beg Khan as an official religion. The priesthood was free from paying tribute, and its church possessions were protected by the Golden Horde authorities, which is a little uncommon for a Muslim empire because 'the unfaithful', that is, 'non-Muslims' were obliged to pay a tax called 'dzhizya' for the right to practice their religion in Islamic states. But Ulus Jochi was an exception to the rule.

The presence of Jewish communities in various Golden Horde towns was noted by the first European travellers. For example, in 1253 William of Rubruck reported about the town of Samaron, located between Derbent and Shamakhi in the Caucasus, lands which were disputed by the khans of Ulus of Jochi and Mongol rulers of Iran and the Middle East—Ikhans of Hulaguids—where 'many Jews lived...' [Ibid., p. 166].

The Jewish communities notably consolidated in the districts where they traditionally lived in the Northern Black Sea Region and Western Ciscaucasia, of which there is evidence. After the stable centralised power of the Golden Horde khans had been established, the Jews started to be regularly mentioned in notarial acts concerning the Azov Sea Region, and there was a Jewish quarter in Azak itself called Giudecca in the Venetian manner. The source of migration is clear—that is, Crimea and the Black Sea Region in general. The most significant Jewish colony was located in Sevastopol (Sukhumi) [Karpov, 1990, pp. 298–299]. 'The charter of 1449' registered a significant number of Jews on the territory of Kaffa [Solomonik, 1997, p. 10].

From the 13th century the number of Karaims in Crimea began to increase. They lived there with Rabbinic Jews. For example, I. Schiltberger visited Crimea in the early 14th century and wrote that 'four towns situated on the seashore depend on Kaffa. There are two types of Jews, there and two synagogues in the town and four thousand houses in the outskirts' [Schiltberger, 1984, p. 45]. At that time Karaim communities were known not only in Kaffa but also in Solkhat, Qırq Yer (Chufut-Kale), and Mangup. The Karaims were mainly handicraftsmen and small traders in Crimea like the Orthodox Jews.

The exotic religion could spread even among Italian colonists. It is noteworthy that it was not always reflected in the names of its adherents as it was in antiquity [Danshin, 1993, pp. 68–69]. For example, most of the Jews mentioned in Italian sources have Muslim or Christian names: Yusuf, Ismail, Johannes son of Andrey [Karpov, 1990, pp. 298–299, app. 172–174].

The possessor of Matrega and then inhabitant of Copa, Zacharias de Ghisolfi, is even more illustrative. It is absolutely impossible to recognise him as an adherent (or at least follower) of this religion on the basis of his name. It is known that he was Vincenzo's son and nephew of Simeone de Ghisolfi from the marriage of Vincenzo and Bike-khanum, Adygean prince Berozokh's daughter [Lavrov, 1957, pp. 17–18]. However Russian sources mentioning his correspondence with Ivan III call him a 'Taman prince' [Sbornik Imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva, 1884, pp. 73, 77] and 'Cherkas' [Ibid., p. 114] and a 'Frank' [Sbornik Imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva, 1895, p. 309] and a 'Jew' or 'Zhidovin' [Sbornik Imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva, 1884, pp. 41, 71–72].

Vivid evidence of how wide spread the Jews were at the lower reaches of the Kuban is from the late 15th century when Giorgio Interiano lived here. His essay, which was first published in Venice in 1502, provides a rather detailed ethnographic description of the Adyghes living in the Kuban and mentions: 'They don't have any script and don't use either their own or a foreign alphabet. Their priests serve in their own way using Greek words and inscriptions without understanding their meaning. When they happen to write someone, although it happens rather seldom, they mainly have to use Hebrew and Hebrew script, but they tell news to each other in oral form, via messengers [Adyghes, Balkars and Karachays, 1974, p. 48]. Later the evidence of Jews in sea towns of Taman and Temryuk became regular.

There is little archaeological evidence of the presence of Jews in the western part of the Jochid Ulus. One is a fragment of an amphora that is most likely from the middle of the 13th century from the outskirts of Anapa [Volkov,

2002, pp. 42–45]. There is a Jewish inscription with the name 'Itskhak' on the fragment.

The evidence of the presence of Jews to the east is fragmentary. For example, while describing Majara, Ibn Battuta noted: '... I saw a Jew who greeted me and spoke Arabic. I asked him where he came from, and he said that he was from Andalucian (Andalussian) Lands, that he came from there by land, not by sea, and that he was going through Constantinople the Great, Roman lands, and the Land of the Circassians' [Collection of materials referring to the history of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 288]. This traveller also reported about a Jewish quarter in Sarai. The geographic essay by al-Umari stated that there were only 100 houses of Jews and 100 houses of Christians in Khwarezm, and they were not allowed to have more [Ibid.] Most likely, 'Christians' means Syrian Nestorians in this context. This information was reproduced almost literally in 'Geography' by al-Qalqashandi [Grigoryev, Frolova, 2002, pp. 282–283]. Although the reasons for these limitations are not quite clear, it is evident that they were connected with the adoption of Islam as an official religion under Khan Öz Beg. At the same time, it is obvious that these communities had a lot of privileges in the possessions of the Jochids, particularly, they could practice and spread Judaism without limits and engage in economic activities that were traditional for them.

The role of Jews in the Horde policy in Rus' was rather significant. It was connected with the fact that the khans of the Golden Horde started recruiting Jews along with Muslims serving Mongol khans and charging them with the function of darughachi, meaning they were in charge of collecting taxes from the people in ancient Russian towns, which intensified the hatred toward the Muslim and Jewish communities. This affected all the Muslims and Jews during anti-Horde uprisings. In the latter half of the 13th century, when the Mongols established their power in Rus', Kievian princes invited Jews to settle in Kiev with their permission [Solzhenitsyn, 2001, pp. 4–5]. In the 15th century, right before the collapse of the Golden Horde, Russian chronicles mention the Jewish

tax collectors in Kiev that have significant possessions. At that time, in 1470 (or 1471), Moscow Orthodox hierarch Joseph Volotsky reported in 'Book on Heretics' that a Jew called Skharia came to the suite of prince Mikhail Olelkovich from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the lands which were subordinate to the Horde.

The Jew was well versed in black magic, sorcery, and astrology. Orthodox priests accused Skharia of preaching Judaism, which was adopted by several Orthodox priests under the influence of his speeches.

Thus, the Jews played a role in the history of the Golden Horde. Probably it was a reflection of the tradition originating from the Khaganate to a certain extent. Although Jews were not seen in the inner circle of the khans ruling the Jochid Ulus, their representatives became intermediates between the inhabitants of the Horde and Orthodox populations of the Eastern Slavs that they were obliged to collect taxes from. However, the Jews were not only darughachi, tax collectors, usurers, and merchants in the Golden Horde; they were also doctors, astrologers, and priests able to convert adherents of other confessions to their religion, and they left a mark on the symbiotic culture of the Golden Horde.

After the Jochid Ulus had collapsed, the Jewish population moved to quieter districts—towns and places of southern boundary regions of the Polish-Lithuanian state as well as Crimea.

Armenians

Igor Volkov

It is well known that Armenians made up a significant part of city dwellers in Crimea. Numerous literary works cover this issue [Jacobson, 1956; Mikayelyan, 1965; 1974; Korkhmayan, 1978; Dombrovsky, Sidorenko, 1978, pp. 55–78]. Although the emergence of the first

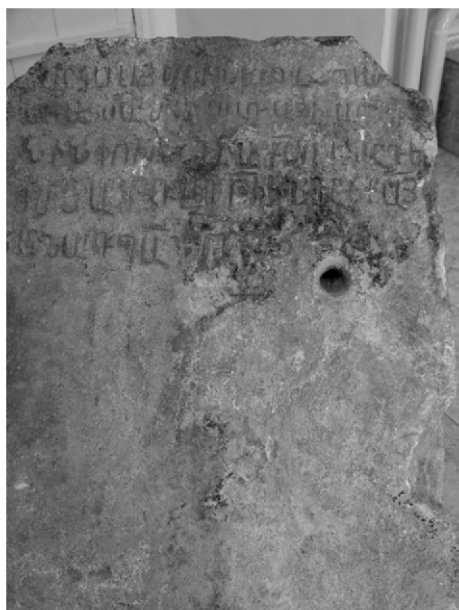


Armenian headstone. Crimea. 14th century. Hermitage Museum

resettlers was in the pre-Mongol period, it is evident that the mass movement of the Armenians to Crimea from Transcaucasia began in the 13–14th centuries in connection with the occupation of these regions by the Hulaguids [Jacobson, 1956, p. 60].

There was an Armenian colony in Bulgar, at the northern boundary of the Golden Horde. 'The Greek chamber,' which has the ruins of an Armenian church and adjoining territories with a burial ground with prevailing 'Armenoid type' of the buried, was archaeologically researched [Smirnov, 19578, pp. 343–344]. A series of Armenian headstones was found in Volga Bulgaria. Some of bore Arabic inscriptions [Ibid., p. 331]. The founding of this colony may date to the 10th century, just as Novgorod the Great and Kiev. Meanwhile, real finds date to the 13th century.

The public architecture of the Golden Horde continues the traditions of Seljuk style almost across the whole state [Smirnov, 1958, pp. 330–331; Zilivinskaya, 1991, pp. 12–22]. The architectural decor of the Golden Horde is also similar to Seljuk-style sites. It is noteworthy that the Armenians played an important role in the formation of the Seljuk style [Marr, 1934, pp. 36–37; Orbeli, 1978, pp. 4–5]. For example, Tagavur ibn Stephan built a Seljuk madrasah in Malatia, architect Baluyet worked in Iconia [Ibid.] Kaloyan (Galoyan), Geluk ibn Abdallah, and others can be also added to this list [Khachatryan, 1987, p. 43]. It is plausible that there were many more Armenians among the architects mentioned in the inscriptions of Asia



Armenian headstone. Bolgar.
Mid-14th century. Bolgar State Historical
and Architectural Reserve

Minor, because Muslim names were easily understood in their environment [Grenard, 1901, p. 551]. This phenomenon was wide-spread in Crimea in a similar form—there Turkic names started appearing in Armenian epigraphics [Jacobson, 1956, p. 58].

It is known that there was an Armenian quarter in Azak. Three memorable entries of Armenian manuscripts in Azov report about the existence of at least one Armenian church in Azov constructed in the honour of Grigory the Illuminator [Fomichev, 1992, p. 49; Memorable entries, 1950, pp. 329–330]. It is known that Ter Sargis was the senior priest there under Khan Öz Beg. He was a son of priest Ter Manuel who apparently served here as well. There was a scribe Terter Yerevantsi working at the church of Grigory the Illuminator, and he left one of the entries. Moreover it is known that Armenian merchants suffered during the conflict of 1342 between the Venetians and Tatars. After their bilateral relations had been restored, the khan established a special tax on Venetian goods to recover losses [Sbornik veneciansko-genuë`zskix gramot, 1860, p. 183]. The Armenian church and congregation in Azov are mentioned in the description of the

conflict that took place in 1355–1356 between Metropolitan of Alania Simeon and priests of Tana [Drevnie akty', 1867]. It is reasonable to assume that there was Armenian architecture in Golden Horde Azak.

Not only architectural decorative elements but also carved stone articles in towns of the Golden Horde reflect features of the Seljuk style that spread across Crimea and Transcaucasia. Probably this is due to the carvers who came from Transcaucasia and Anatolia, which included Armenians. Similar ornamental patterns were used to decorate numerous headstones from Majar and Azak. Golden Horde articles carved from a mix of gypsum and clay also have identical analogs in Armenia, in Dvina [Fedorov-Davydov, 1976].

Researchers have studied the similarity of Golden Horde ceramics and Transcaucasian and Siberian samples several times [Jacobson, 1950, pp. 112–114; Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, pp. 126–128]. A potter with the Armenian name of Sarkis worked in Sarai al-Jadid. Most likely he had resettled from Armenia [Kramarovskiy, 1978]. Finds with the brand of this master potter come from Tsarevskoe, Selitrennoe, and Vodyanskoe archaeological sites, and identical items without the brand are well established as far as Azak. Consequently, there were master potters from Transcaucasia and neighbouring regions there as well.

A striking example of resettlement is the movement of the Armenian community recorded in a memorable entry of one of Matenadaran's chronicles [Mikayelyan, 1974, pp. 13–14; 1965, pp. 17–27]. In the 1290s a significant number of them migrated from the territories subordinate to the Hulaguids to the Golden Horde, to the Volga. They founded a new colony at a new place near Ak-Sarai. In 1299 this community moved again, this time to Azak, and in the 1330s they moved to South-East Crimea where the colonies of this population had got a foothold much earlier, in the 1280s [Sidorenko, 1988, p. 116]. As it was mentioned above, some of the Armenians continued living in Azov after that. Scribe Terter Yerevantsi left Yerevan for Azov shortly before 1341. He went there by sea through Kaffa [Memorable entries,

1950, pp. 329–330]. Some of the resettlers also stayed in Sarai (that is where the gospel was written that was brought to Azov in 1319) [Ibid.]. Unfortunately, the actual ratio of the local population to migrants in the 14th century cannot be determined based on these examples.

There is clearer evidence for the 15th century when, for example, Armenians made up around 65% of the population while the Greeks, Karaims, and Tatars made up only 15%, and the Genoese, around 4% [Abramyan, 1973, p. 25; Mal'owist, 1939, p. 40]. The town of Azak was not a temporary refuge of the Armenians. Their large community existed there at least up to the 1395 pogrom by Timur.

The epigraphics of Stary Krym provide for interesting observations. The most significant collection of headstone inscriptions comes from this site. Some of them indicate the origin of the dead. In total there are 18 cases of this kind, only 10 of them are from Crimea, in the other 8 cases the people were migrants from Asia Minor, Iraq, and Middle Asia [Akchokrakly, 1927; 1929]. Certainly, even if the nisba is indicated, the origin of the dead could still be in question; there were cases when this extra part was added to the name because of frequent trips made to an oversea town [Goytein, 1981, p. 42]. But it appears these mistakes were corrected with Crimean nisbas of migrants who settled successfully. For example, Husein, son of Aivaz the Crimean, was mentioned on one of the headstones of Stary Krym [Akchokrakly, 1929]. The emigrants of the second generation got a local nisba [Akchokrakly, 1927].

After the Jochid Ulus had collapsed, and most Volga towns had been destroyed, the Armenian population moved to quieter regions like Crimea and the Kazan Khanate where they had an Armenian sloboda as well as to towns and areas in the south and sou-eastern part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. A rather significant Armenian community formed there over the course of time. They preserved some elements of the urban culture of the Jochid Ulus. For example, the members of this community corresponded and composed documents in the Tatar language (Volga Turks), but they wrote using Armenian graphics [Abdullin, 1974, pp. 166–185; Garkavets, 1981, pp. 76–80].

This cultural-linguistic phenomenon could have started only in towns of the Jochid Ulus, and it is an important sign of the Golden Horde's civilisation.

A Kipchak-type language dominated in towns of the Jochid Ulus, but there were many migrants there, and the wide-spread occurrence of this language was mainly explained by the multi-ethnicity of the resettlers. In this environment Tatar became the urban lingua franca.

Catholic communities

Mark Kramarovsky

Kaffa became the centre of the Latin presence in Golden Horde Crimea starting in the 1260s. Apparently, the Latin community built a church of Virgin Mary in the 13th century. It was destroyed in 1308 [Balard, 1978, I, p. 206]. Two cathedrals dedicated to Virgin Mary, two cathedrals of St. Domenic, a cathedral and chapel of St. George, and churches of St. Laurenty, St. Anna, St. Nicholas, St. Catherine, St. Daniel, St. Anthony, St. Cross, St. Jericho, St. Angel, St. Lazar, St. Simon, St. Kiriak, St. Christ were mentioned in registers of Massaria Kaffa of 1381 and 1386. Churches of St. Michael, St. Francisco, and Johannes were situated in communes. The charter of Kaffa of 1449 lists 18 cathedrals, adding cathedrals of St. Agnes (received this status in 1318), St. Mary Magdalene, St. Clara, and St. Mary Coronato to the ones mentioned above [Ibid., p. 213; Charter, 1863, pp. 704–706]. The people's assembly was the highest legislative authority in the city (Kaffa received city (civitas) status from Pope Johannes XXII in 1322). The assembly was in charge of construction, water supply, and budgetary matters in the commune. It consisted of a large council (24 members) and small council (6 members). They were elected for one year from amongst Latins and representatives of the non-Latin community in a ratio of 5:1. Two treasurers were in charge of the public treasury, they were obliged to keep cash receipts and payments books. In the latter half of the 14th century clavigerii (custodians of the treasury) were replaced by *massarias*, who were members of the large council. The small council controlled the activities of



Sudak fortress

functionaries, who were supervised by *sindiks*. The consul was the head of the executive power. He was appointed in Genoa for a year or two. Judicial authority in the colony also belonged to him. The cavalry and the captain of the communes kept the order in the town. The captain relied on hired guards, including the cavalry headed by the captain of the *Orguziis*. In the 1420s they started to mint their own bi-language coins in Kaffa. When Constantinople fell (1453), control over Kaffa and Crimean colonies of the Genoese passed to the Bank of St. George. Subsequently, the cross of St. George, the official symbol of Latin trading posts, made way for the image of St. George.

The Latins appeared in Solkhat in the last quarter of the 13th century. The acts of Genoese notary Lamberto di Sambuceto working in Kaffa for three years (since July 1288) give an idea of his Solkhat clients [Balard, 1973, pp. 138, 151]. Wax trader Barnabo di Mogniardino, owner of a tailor workshop Francesco and his wife Julianna, smith Paolo da Piacenza married to a Russian woman called Francescina, etc., were among them. Probably by the 1290s there was already a Genoese quarter as inhabitants of Genoese Solkhat were mentioned in several documents. A consulate subordinate to Kaffa defended Genoese interests. According to the *Ordo de Kaffa* of 1316, the consul of

Solkhat was assigned by Kaffa as an exception to the rule, he was not chosen in the provinces, probably because the community was small in number. As contradictions between Solkhat and Kaffa intensified, life became less safe for the Latins in the city, so during the period of open war of 1385–1386, which was called *Belum de Sorcati*, the Genoese quarter probably did not exist. Anyway there are apparently no Latins among secret informers of Kaffa 'resident' Pietro from Valencia acting on behalf of the consulate. It is hard to determine the location of the Latin quarter on a map of the medieval town. Judging by paintings by Jacques Baltasar de Traversa (page from the collection of the Cayot Gallery in Paris), the skyline of Eski Qirim Crimea featured a Genoese tower in the early 1780s. It was crowned with a viewing platform with merlons on consoles, which was typical for the 14th century. It is natural to believe that the tower, which did not survive to our days, once belonged to the complex of the Genoese town church, which was the centre of the Latin quarter. It is suggested that it was situated not far from the road leading to Kaffa between the buildings of the Islamic and Jewish communities. The city church (Oderico, historian of the 18th century called it 'Castello Kirma') was captured by the Crimean Tatars in 1430, and after Carlo Lomellino was defeated



Aspers of Ulug-Muhammad and Hacı Giray

in 1437, it ceased to exist. Oderico provides evidence of a fragment of an inset flagstone with a Genoese cross on it and the emblem of the consul depicting a heraldic lion. A Greek inscription made apparently no later than 1464 says that this flagstone was taken from 'Kirma Castle.' The list of indisputable material evidence of the life of the Latins in Solkhat is rather short. Probably a bronze seal of a metalworker and smith (judging by the hammer and anvil depicted) should be classed with the Latin group of finds [Kramarovsky, 2005, p. 123, cat. No. 710]. Two other finds are a glass key-chain made from smalt (?) with an image of an Eurasian eagle-owl on it. The bird is sitting on a three-part flower and spreading its wings. The find from Solkhat originates from one of supplementary constructions of a glass-making workshop. We do not have sufficient information to state that the workshop belonged to a Latin glass-maker, but we cannot exclude this possibility either. The other find is a fragment of a glass container handle painted with enamel (not published). Let us remind you of the find of the Italian glass cup with enamel and heraldic shields at the outskirts of Solkhat at Bokataş II settlement [Ibid., p. 124]. It goes without saying that there were also Latins in other towns of the Golden Horde, including Sarai, where a Catholic episcopacy was operating; in 1364 Trebizond Minorite Cosma was a bishop. The Latin component is not very convincing in the ceramic complex of towns and settlements of the Golden Horde. An amphora fragment with an imprint of a European (maybe Venetian) seal with an image of lion on it and a round Latin inscription 'Lagoon of St. Mary...' was found at Selitrennoe archaeological site [Volkov, 1992]. A small group of Italian din-

nerware (two milk jugs) of the mezza maiolica type was found in Azak [Belinsky, Maslovsky, 1998, pp. 28–32. Fig. 7; Kramarovsky, 2005, p. 124. cat. Nos. 613, 619]. Fragments of chandelier containers from Valencia were found in Belgorod-Dnestrovsky, Azak, and Crimea [Kravchenko, 1986, pp. 99–103; Koval, 1998; Teslenko, 2004]. Latin silver articles, including imported sets of belts, containers, and catholic crosses for signet rings produced here, are presented more significantly in the treasures of Crimea and burial sites of the North Caucasus [Kramarovsky, 2001, pp. 120–124. 140–156, 157–161]. A golden signet ring with an emblem of the famous Genoese Spinola family stands out in this group of finds on the Mangup Plateau [Ibid., pp. 162–168, Fig. 84].

The Orthodox community is one of the most significant among Christian communities of the Golden Horde towns. The Greeks, Russians, Turks, and representatives of other ethnoses who adopted Orthodox Christianity became an integral part of the population of the Golden Horde. Greek communities prevailed in Crimea. Byzantine Kherson remained a powerful centre of Orthodox religion. The town of Gothia was active until the late 13th century. A basilica from the early Middle Ages and a chapel attached to it in the 13th century, a cathedral of Donors with frescoes that were possibly created by a Constantinople artist, and the remarkable Cathedral of Three Horsemen in the rock (the middle of the 13th century) were known before the destruction of Eski Kermen in the late 13th century [Jacobson, 1964, p. 101]. St. George was portrayed as triumphant dragon-slayer who set captives free in the paintings of this cathedral [Stepanenko, 2003, pp. 452–457].

The active life of Christian communities was confirmed by excavations at archaeological sites in Bakla, Tepe-Kermen, Alushta, whose territory increased to 3 ha in the 13–14th centuries [Myts, 1991, p. 152]. The repairs done in the 14th century in the church of John the Baptist in Kerch-Vosporo are noteworthy in this context. Neither a Russian layer nor Russian ceramics were found in these towns by archaeologists. The Orthodox community of Solkhat is most indicative from the standpoint of its close proximity to Islamic quarters. As we remember, Evlia Çelebi marked five town quarters for the Greeks and Armenians. There were hardly more than two Greek quarters in the 14th century. One can judge the location of the Greek community on the town map by the cathedral in the north-west sector of the archaeological site next to the Armenian quarters. This is a basilica-type cathedral without pillars and with one nave. It looks rectangular, measuring 4.55 x 6.74 m; its walls are 0.87 m thick. The semicircular apse goes along almost the whole width of the building. It consists of the main space and vestibule. The vestibule measures 4.1 x 5.1 m, its walls are 0.6 m thick. The southern wall of the cathedral has two arcosoliums and ossuary niches. Both arcosoliums are constructively similar, but the eastern one is larger. Both of them have pointed endings outside [Kramarovsky, 2005, p. 124]. The ossuaries were used as family tombs. One side

of a cast bronze engolpion of Kievan type was found in one of them. The Basilica was located on the site of a cemetery, and probably it was used as a chapel. Its foundation and lower masonry cover burials predating the church that have no inventory. The archaeological evidence allows us to date the cathedral back to the middle of the 14th century—beginning of the 15th centuries. A row of burials revealed on the side of the apse contained several skeletons (about 3–4), which means there was not enough space to develop a necropolis during the period when the Islamic community dominated the town. It appears important that a large settlement near the south-east boundary of Bokataş II was settled by Orthodox, judging by the funeral ritual, and most likely by Christianised Turks. A trade suburb with a developed pottery district and necropolis was situated there [Kramarovsky, Gukin, 2004]. In 2004 a man's burial from the 14th century with one side of a Syrian-type engolpion from the 12–beginning of the 13th centuries with a Greek inscription was found here [Kramarovskiy 2005, p. 75, draughtsmanship]. A bread stamp with an image of an equal-ended cross made from fired clay was found in the cultural layer of the settlement along with 14th-century coins, including those from Byzantium, Trebizond, Bulgaria, and Epirus-Lepanto. There are grounds to conclude that there was a Christian church in this settlement.

CHAPTER 6

Military Science in the Ulus of Jochi

§ 1. Armament

Mikhail Gorelik, Iskander Izmaylov

Weapon system: traditions and innovations. The Jochid Ulus emerged as a result of military campaigns and conquests, and it also collapsed in battle. The whole history of the medieval empire in the latter half of the 13th century—beginning of the 15th centuries was a history of wars, internecine feuds, and battles. It is not surprising that this epoch was a time when an original weaponry system, military art, and mastering military technological innovations were begun and developed.

It started strictly on the basis of Turkic-Mongol weaponry traditions brought from the east, mainly from Central Asia. But the environment of Eastern Europe with its developed artisans and trade relations, especially with the Islamic Central Asia, invariably affected the development of the weaponry of the Golden Horde as well. The conquerors faced powerful and advanced military and weapon-making traditions in Eastern Europe. It is typical that many features of weaponry and military science of the different peoples and states of Eastern Europe turned out to be comparatively similar, despite the ethno-confessional differences and isolation of states. They united and resisted the central Asian tradition brought and implemented by conquerors.

Indeed, whatever military tradition of Eastern Europe we examine, we see almost the same type of defensive armament everywhere, and the offensive weaponry is very similar. Certainly this refers to, first of all, the equipment of the main military force of that time, which was the cavalry *druzhina* of the chieftans of these lands—the Khwarezmshahs or Dagestan rulers, Russian princes, Bulgar emirs, Kypchak khans or the beks of Chorni Kolbuki, Alanian *ardars*, or Circassian *pshis*.

In the late 12–beginning of the 13th centuries we see how chain armour dominated in defensive armament with the addition of lamellar short armor, sphere-conical helmets with chain barmica, board tear-shaped, circular, or triangular shields. The types and the shapes of battle-axes and clubs, spears and bows became more and more similar. The preference of a sabre or sword was not so much a ethno-cultural distinction (although it is certain that sabres were preferred in the south-east, especially in the steppe, while swords were preferred in the north-west of the region) but more of a local one. Often ornamental-stylistic traditions changed as world military-political circumstances changed.

In the period of conquest and formation of the military-administrative and clan system of the Jochid Ulus, a new set of weaponry began to emerge. This happened because, as the troops of Batu were replaced by conquered peoples, they encountered local military traditions. It is noteworthy that when local military contingents were incorporated into the military system of the Jochid Ulus, they clearly prevailed. It is not without reason that Rashid al-Din directly indicates the Turkic-Tatar (mainly Kipchak)—not the Mongol—forces dominated in the Jochid army. It is also characteristic that Russians and Circassians were mentioned among the troops of Batu. Excavations of the last decades revealed a very rich image of military equipment of the principalities of Rus' and Northern Caucasian societies. The weaponry uncovered in excavations in trade centres of Bulgar Ulus was also very diverse. It is not a coincidence that we observe that Bulgar cities and handicrafts revived shortly after Batu-khan's conquest, and then

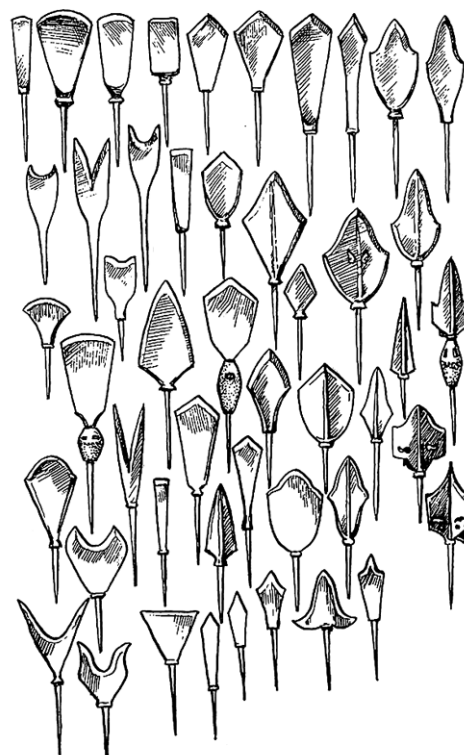
they grew rapidly. It is typical that a syncretic combination of Central Asian elements and local traditions can be traced back in types, forms, and appearance of articles. Apparently, this happened at the same time migrants settled in Bulgar cities, including Russian and especially Armenian artisans among whom gunsmiths are known. But most artisans were brought from Muslim areas of the left side of the Jochid Ulus, especially from the badly damaged Khwarezm.

If the ethnocultural masses described above participated in cultural exchange in the field of weapon making, relying on their own traditions and adopting (willingly, or as necessary, or by force) the Tatar imperial tradition, then the Mongols were its safekeepers and advocates, as well as the Turkic-Tatars taken to Europe by them who were bearers of the new military culture. It was they who made up the nomadic population of the Horde steppes and the basis of the military force of the Golden Horde. Unlike city-dwelling Muslims, they remained pagans for a relatively long time (at least some of them in the latter half of the 13–beginning of the 14th centuries) and were the basis of the military service class—that is, professional soldiers. They lived for war; obviously, the duration of their lives was shorter than that of city-dwellers because they died in battle or from wounds.

As a result we observe the formation of syncretic Golden Horde weaponry (its description is below; see [Gorelik, 1983; 2002]).

Ranged weapons. Archery was one of the most important combat techniques of all the Chinggisid states, which was mentioned by foreigners rather frequently. For example, Marco Polo, who spent almost all his younger years in China at the court of the great Kublai Khan, particularly noted that they 'mostly used bows and arrows because they are great archers' [Kniga Marko Polo, 1990, p. 181].

The bow used as a ranged weapon and the main weapon of the Horde cavalry was mainly the central-eastern Asian, 'Mongolian' version. It differed from other types because of its special bone strips—medial frontal and middle side. Compound bows reinforced with these strips were quite powerful and reliable



Arrowheads. Jochid Ulus.
13–15th centuries (according to M. Gorelik)

due to the stiff girder connection in the centre and flexibility of the shoulders, which were made with flexible horns and various types of wood. Judging by archaeological findings, this type of bow was first created in the steppes of Central Asia and it appeared in Europe in the early 13th century. But it was most widespread in the Jochid Ulus in the 13–15th centuries. At the same time, they started using a compound Middle Eastern bow there that gradually replaced the Mongolian one. It was usually made from several types of wood and soft horn, was easier to produce, and was somewhat inferior to other types of bows in its combat qualities.

In the 13–14th centuries Central Asian arrowheads were widely used that were two-horned, sesame-leaved ones that were rather large, which is typical for the Mongols. Apparently Kirgiz three-blade perforated and Jurchen chisel-like arrowheads were used not as often. By the late 14th century the arrowheads were much smaller, and even earlier on the outskirts of the steppe. Gradually by



Quivers and stone plates. Jochid Ulus. 13–14th centuries (according to M. Gorelik)

the middle of the 14th century the number of types of arrowheads noticeably decreased, and around 20 types of triangular shapes of the same length became the most popular.

In the majority of cases Golden Horde quivers of the 13–14th centuries were long narrow cases that fit the entire arrow. Arrows were put in with the arrow-head up. The quiver was in the Central Asian style, it widened at the mouth, was covered often with a round fan-like top and had a hanging system made mostly from bone plates. The exterior of the quiver was covered with bone plates, richly decorated with engravings, with paint, and plant and zoomorphic designs. Bone could be replaced with gilded silver in luxurious articles and design of bone facing could be openwork, delicate, or with golden foil [Malinovskaya, 1974].

In the late 14–beginning of the 15th centuries this type of quiver was replaced with quivers that were rectangular flat cases that held the arrows fletching-side up. These quivers were half as long as the arrow shafts. A similar quiver shape typical in the 10–12th centuries for Khitans, Jurchens, Tatars, and Chinese cavalry was also brought to Europe by Mongol troops and apparently was widely developed there as in other Eurasian countries conquered by the Mongols. Later this type of quiver became predominant in Northern Eurasia.

The leather case was usually decorated with carved bone as well as metal plates. The Saadak set (a leather case and quiver) was attached

to the sword-belt, which was usually fastened with a hook. Although a blade belt was usually the dress uniform, there are also dress examples of shooting and saadak belts. For example, there is such a saadak belt in the Simferopol Treasure.

It is completely covered

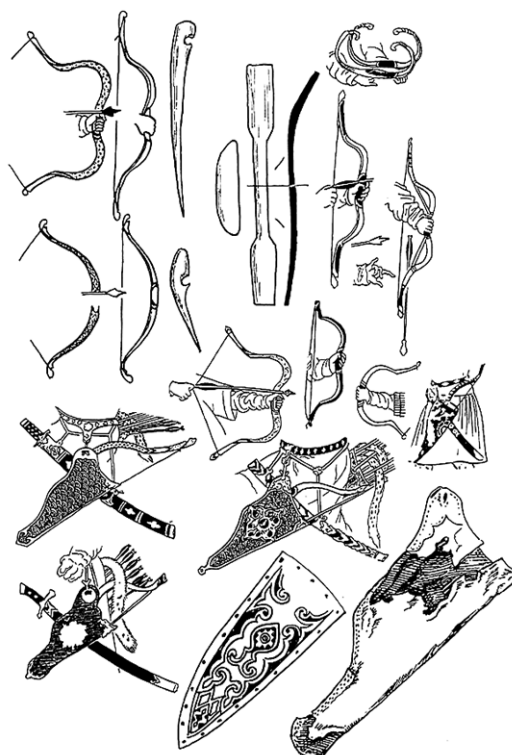
with golden oval plaques, the pendant badges, and end plates (one of them has a hook) are made from carved and engraved gold framing heart-shaped insets, and the receiver is cast from gold in the form of a sculptured rosette.

Close combat weapons. As in the past bladed weapons, especially sabres, played a special role in close combat weapons. In the period of conquests, Batu's troops used swords (a weapon with a straight, two-edged sword and a handle that is coaxial to the sword), broadswords (a weapon with a straight blade, one-, one and a half-, or two-edged, with a deflected handle), and sabres (a weapon with a curved one- or one and a half-edged sword usually with a deflected handle). But the sabre became the most wide-spread in the armament of the Jochid Ulus, gradually replacing swords and broadswords almost everywhere. According to Central Asian tradition, the blade of the horde's sabre usually had a 20–30 cm long shank on the top and a rhombic section in this part. By the 14th century they had started forging the end of the blade in the form of faceted bayonet in the Kuban River Region steppes of the Jochid Ulus. Such a sword was called Circassian and was wide spread up to Central Asia. A traditional Central Asian feature of Golden Horde swords was that the chape is crossed by a special collar with a tongue covering the blade top by 10–15 cm. This collar protected the index finger of the warrior as it covered the lower tine of the cross-guard as well as the opening of the scabbard. Fullers, sometimes

double ones, cut along both sides of the sword along the edge were typical for Golden Horde swords; in addition, they were staggered relative to the fullers on the other side. That made the sword more durable and lighter. A modern analysis of the steel of Golden Horde swords testifies to their high quality. They were made from Damascus steel and even from cast steel. Over the course of time the Golden Horde sabre blades became more curved. In the latter half of the 14th century they acquired a well expressed yelman—the lower third or quarter of the sword became wider.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, sabres of the Golden Horde era had cross-shaped narrow rhombic cross-guards with ends that stretched down. The asymmetry is a typical early Mongol sign of the Horde cross-guards—the lower tine is longer than the upper one. Later in the 14th century the ends of cross-shaped handguards become flatter or were crowned with decorative balls. This type of cross-guard replaced all the various pre-Mongol handguards and defined the style that has continued almost to modern times due to the simplicity and universality of the hand protection and the wider variety of fencing manoeuvres that are possible.

A sabre as a bladed weapon was a weapon of professional soldiers—the serving nobility. Describing the weaponry of the Mongols, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine wrote that 'the rich have swords that are sharp at the end, cut only with one side, and slightly curved' [Journeys, 1957, p. 50]. This tradition of using sabres remained in the Jochid Ulus where 'Damascus sabres' were also mentioned in Russian sources as well as depicted in miniatures. Moreover sabres were much more prevalent than other bladed weapons. The sabres served as not just a weapon but also as a symbol of nobility and wealth of the owner, indicating he belonged to the Tatar nobility. It is not without reason that a valuable belt granted by the khan on which the sabre was hung was an symbol of particular esteem. The sabre usually had a special 'magic' name like a combat horse (for example, the shining sabre of Tokhtamysh called 'Alzhasman' that chopped off heads from the Tatar dastan 'Edigu').

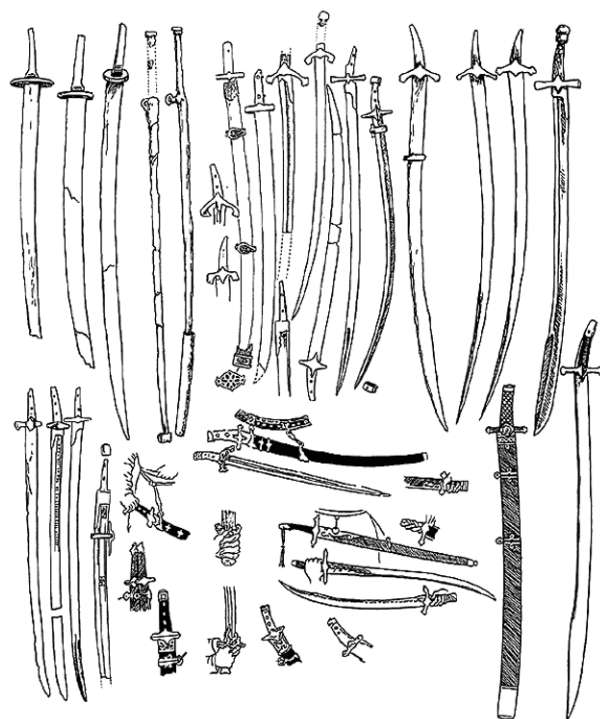


Bows and a quivers. Jochid Ulus and Iran.
13–15th centuries (according to M. Gorelik)

Parts of a scabbard that usually looked like clips with adjustable rings for fastening to the belt, according to the Central Asian tradition, were also preserved. This type of fastening to the belt, which became fashionable in Eastern Europe in the early 13th century, came from Central Asian to a large extent. Later this type of scabbard fastening became typical for Tatar warriors and countries influenced by their military fashion.

Combat knives with 20–30 cm long blades brought by the Mongols were very typical equipment for a Golden Horde warrior. Straight daggers—weapons with two-edged blades—were used less frequently. The latter have been extremely popular in the North Caucasus up to modern days. Apparently, curved short sabres (maximum 60 cm long) that were attached to the hilt with pins were an additional or probably child's weapon. Some have been found that were remade from a part of a real sabre.

The lance—an offensive pole weapon—was used by the Golden Horde as one of the



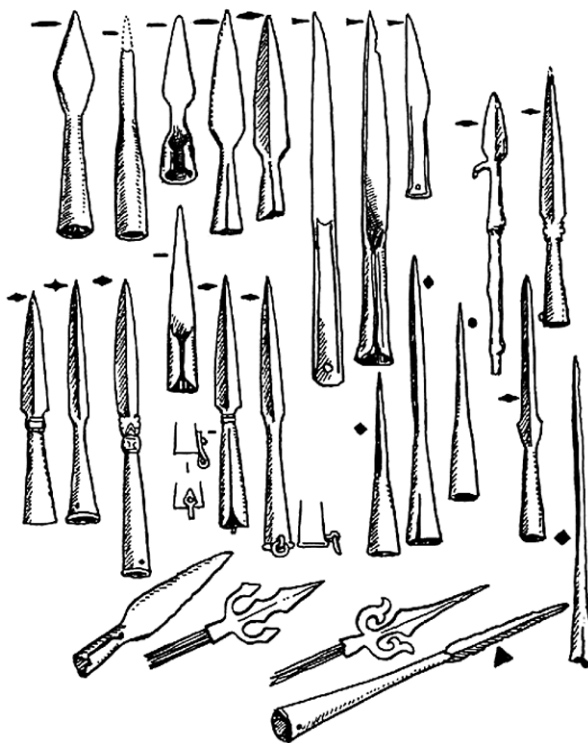
Sabres. Jochid Ulus and Iran.
13–15th centuries (according to M. Gorelik)

replaced by other forms of lengthened lances over the whole Tatar-Mongol oecumene—from the Danube to the Pacific Ocean and the Persian Gulf. They were extended leaf-shaped or lengthened triangular, rhombic in the cross-section, or flattened with an axial rib. These tips were more universal and caused more extensive wounds, whereas a faceted pike was specially intended for piercing through armor. However, different types of tips of spears continued to coexist until the early 15th century.

As far as strike weapons are concerned, maces and bludgeons were wide spread, according to illustrative [Gorelik, 1979, pp. 30–63; Gorelik, 2002, pp. 66–67] and written [Kniga Marko Polo, 1990, p. 81] sources.

Maces came in various forms in the 13th century and first half of the 14th century. They were made with spherical tips and had driving edges and barbs sticking out in the form of various polyhedrons.

most important second blow weapons. Russian sources often mention the combat uses of lances by the Tatars who 'hacked some with swords and lifted others with lances' or 'hit hard with lances.' These recollections along with images, mainly Persian miniatures, suggest that lances were used by mounted warriors who used ram attack and acted as a concentrated group. There were fairly diverse types of lances. For example, they used the tetrahedral lances preferred by Central Asian warriors. Sometimes they made notches at the edges, and a small hook was welded to the base of the head according to an oriental tradition brought to Europe by the Mongols. Traditional narrow-bladed pikes were used along with similar tips in the Middle Volga Region [Izmaylov, Nedashkovsky, 1993, pp. 73–74, Fig. I, 1,2]. Wide lances with laurel-leaved leather and a notch on the blade—rogatinas—were found here as well. Since the latter half of the 14th century narrow-bladed and faceted types of tips gradually started to be



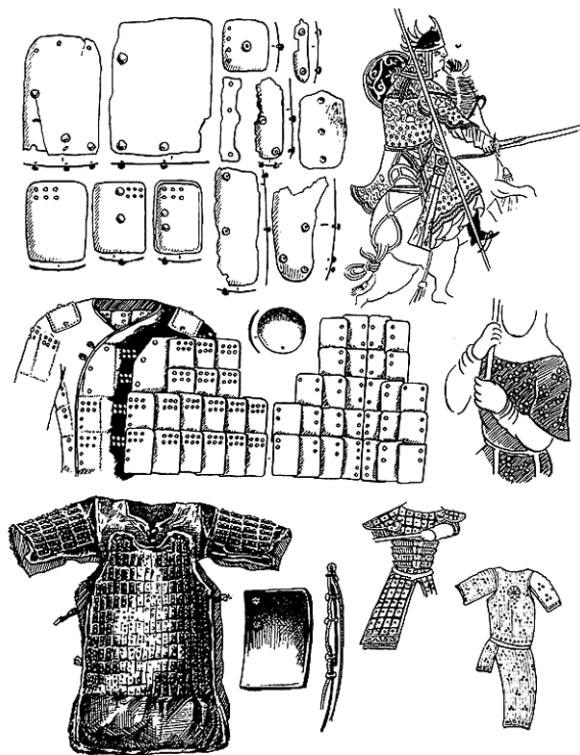
Spearheads. Jochid Ulus.
13–15th centuries (according to M. Gorelik)

These versions started to converge in the 14th century as they were superseded by pommels featuring seven to eight concentrically projecting flat facets known as shestopyors or pernaches. Most often these bludgeons were made from bronze and iron, but in the 14–15th centuries a great many pommels were made from steel plate [Galkin, 1963; Izmaylov, Nedashkovsky, 1993, p. 74, Fig. 1, 4]. Bronze clubs from Bulgar with pyramidal barbs projecting on three sides and a beak-shaped projection on the fourth side are typically found. This type of club continues pre-Mongol traditions, but the 'beak' makes them more similar in use to war hammers—klevtsy. They were used for puncturing armour on account of their weight and pointed shape. Many examples of steppe clubs have extended hilts—this is also traditional for Central and Eastern Asia.

Bronze biconical octahedral bludgeons and spheric iron ones with immobile metal hasp are particularly worthy of note [Izmaylov, Nedashkovsky, 1993, pp. 74–75, Fig. 1, 5]. The variety of materials typically used



Bulavas and bludgeons. Jochid Ulus and Iran.
13–15th centuries (according to M. Gorelik)



Kuyak and armour plates. Jochid Ulus.
13–14th centuries (according to M. Gorelik)

to make the ends of bludgeons in the pre-Mongol period (horn, bronze, and iron) was gradually replaced by iron. Obviously, the appearance of square steel bludgeons with cut off corners and a mobile metal flail fastened to a combat weight belongs to the 15th century.

As far as axes are concerned, their combat role on the steppes of the Jochid Ulus noticeably reduced. Both archaic Central Asian puffin axes with narrow blades and special hammer-like picks and Jurchen-style wide-bladed axes that could also be thrown gradually fell out of use. The military use of the axe did not lessen in the foothills and plains of the North Caucasus, nor in the sedentary regions of the Volga-Kama Region. In the Volga Region there was a noticeable increase of the use of the battle axe in a prestigious, parade role as a symbol of power. Richly decorated patterned puffin axes were produced here for the first time. Gradually they came to the forefront of the applied arts in



Combined armour reconstructed with the help of Iranian miniatures. 13–15th centuries (according to M. Gorelik)

the Tatar Volga Region. In general, universal military axes with tapered wedge-shaped and elongated blades continued to be of great importance. They were almost the same in shape as non-military ones but were half the weight. The use of such puffin axes has been recorded in written sources as part of the equipment used by mobile Tatar warriors.

Defensive armour. Defensive armour was actively developed in the Golden Horde. The developments mainly related to metal armour. In the 13–14th centuries armour was assembled from bulky rectangular plates (sometimes with oval or scalloped sides) with openings along the sides. They differed in the size of their component parts, which could be either lamellar (made from relatively small plates) or laminar (made from large plates). In terms of the methods of fastening armour plating, laminar armour plates were connected using leather straps. With lamellar armour, the plates were fastened onto a cloth or leather base layer using rivets and straps.

Kuyaki (brigandines) were assembled from large plates and fastened onto a leather or cloth base layer. All of these types of armour consisted of breast- and backplates connected by side-pieces that reached the hips. They attached to the side and shoulders. Changes made to these means of defence during the Golden Horde were mainly improvements to mobility, impenetrability, and reliability. Special pauldrons and long faulds to protect the thighs featuring wide cuts at the front and rear to facilitate a comfortable horse-riding position as well as armour plating to protect the throat and face are characteristic features of armour at this time.

At the same time, written sources often mention leather armour. For example, Marco Polo described the equipment of Tatar warriors in the following way: 'they have a coat of mail on their back made of boiled solid buffalo leather or that of some other animal' [Book of Marco Polo, 1990, p. 81]. It is likely that leather armour was constructed in the same way as metal armour and consisted of the same plates, only they were made from multilayered leather.

The full body armour that had been brought to Eastern Europe made a great impression on the Europeans. A typical account is given by the author of the Galician–Volhynian Chronicle, which describes the Europeans' surprise at meeting Daniel of Galitsia's army, who were fully equipped in the 'Tatar manner,' on the battlefield: 'the Germans were surprised by the Tatar weaponry... the people were furious, and one could see his majesty among the regiments and the gleaming weaponry' [Complete Collection of Russian chronicles, 2, p. 814].

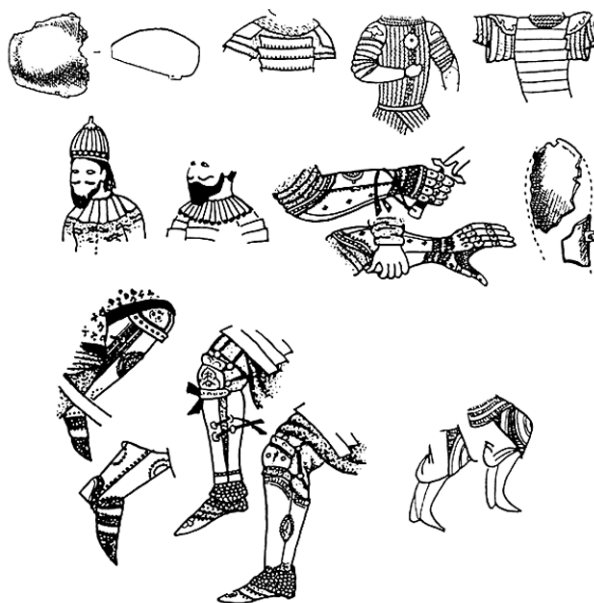
At first, lamellar armour was used, but from the latter half of the 13th century the local chain mail tradition had an increasing influence on the conquerers. In the 14th century we see the two types of armour being used simultaneously: chain mail as under armour covered by lamellar armour. This matches the pre-Mongolian East European tradition, only lamellar armour in the Golden Horde had a Mongolian structure and fit. Nevertheless, chain mail gradually superseded both lamellar and laminar armours. It ceased to

be used following a brilliant innovation by Golden Horde weapons makers in the late 14th century: they invented a way of linking iron plating with iron rings instead of straps. Very quickly chain mail-plate armour became prevalent all over the Middle East and Eastern Europe. Its functional properties—strength, flexibility, relative lightness—were unrivalled. There is a reason why all the names given to this sort of armour go back to the Iranian word 'bekhter' meaning 'best.' Its only disadvantage was that it was very labour-intensive to produce and was owned therefore by noble warriors.

Due to its simple method of production and highly protective properties, Mongol armour became very widespread. Its textile base layer had iron plates attached to it from the reverse side. Usually these were brigandines—kuyaks—as well as prototypes of European brigandines, which were made from large steel plates.

Use of folding wrought iron vambraces brought by the Mongols as well as plated-mail cuisses also spread. Folding wrought iron greaves were also connected by mail. It should be noted that the 14th century Horde inventions contributed to the creation of the full plate-mail armour that spread through the Middle East in the 15–17th centuries, having influenced the development of armour in Rus', the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and Hungary.

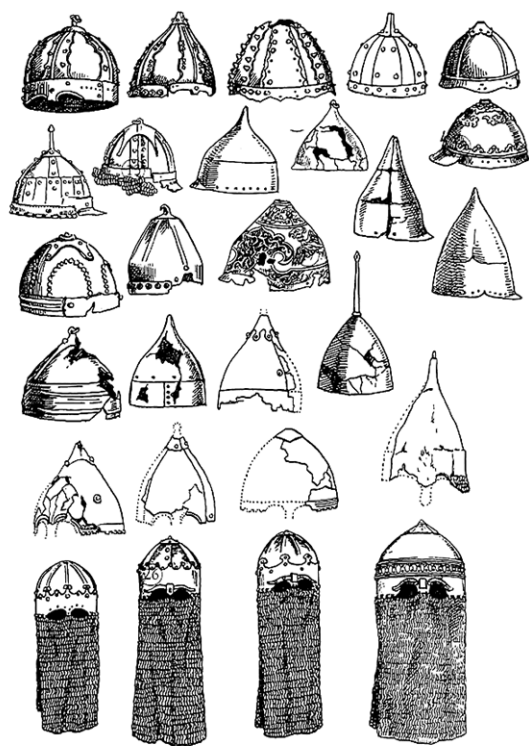
With regard to helmets, it might be said that the traditions brought to Eastern Europe by the Mongols took over completely. Among archaeological finds, helmets with Mongol characteristics—visors, spikes, with rings on the crown for attaching ribbons—are regularly encountered. However, the helmets became more technically refined. They began to be welded from a hat band and a three-, two-, or even single-piece crown. Decoration of the rim of the hat band, or connecting sideplates, often engraved, is a typical Horde characteristic. Finally, single-forged helmets also appeared. By the middle of the 13th century the horde itself was developing systems for protecting a warrior's face. First, there was



Pauldrons and poleyns reconstructed with the help of Iranian miniatures. 13–15th centuries (according to M. Gorelik)

the half-mask system described above, also known as the 'eyebrows-nose' system. Second, there was a visor in the form of a mask. All known depictions of Golden Horde visors of the same type show a face with almond-like eyes encircled by bulbous eyelids, eyebrows pointing in opposite directions, a slightly open, smiling mouth, a huge hooked nose, and usually a long pointed moustache. Sometimes there was also a beard, and onto the trailing edge of the hinged part of the mask bronze ears were cast. This type of visor became so popular in the Islamic East that it was reproduced in north-western Iran, eastern Anatolia, in the Caucasus in the 15–16th centuries.

The warriors of the Golden Horde adopted the Mongol rod shield completely. After Italian colonies sprang up in the Black Sea and Azov Regions of the Jochid Ulus in the 13th century, the Kuban River Region adopted the Western European system of attaching iron to a shield base made of organic material. In the same way, round shield bosses were fastened to a base by overlaid iron crosses whose ends would be bent to fit the boss. Holes would be then be made in them, and in the openings rivets and rings would be inserted to which the ties and straps of the handle would attach.



Helmets. Jochid Ulus. 13–15th centuries
(according to M. Gorelik)



Horse armour. Iranian miniatures
and reconstruction.
13–15th centuries (according to Gorelik)

The edges of shield bosses, according to the traditions of Golden Horde craftsmen, are also decorated with inlaid toothed patterns. The shield bosses were supplemented with radial decorations made from iron rods flattened out in places where they were attached to the base. This not only made the Mongol rod shield more solid but leather board shields as well. It should be noted that over time Mongol rod shields became prevalent all over the East from Tibet to Turkey and from China to Egypt. In addition, the radial decoration that first appeared in the Golden Horde was further developed in the Caucasus and Tibet.

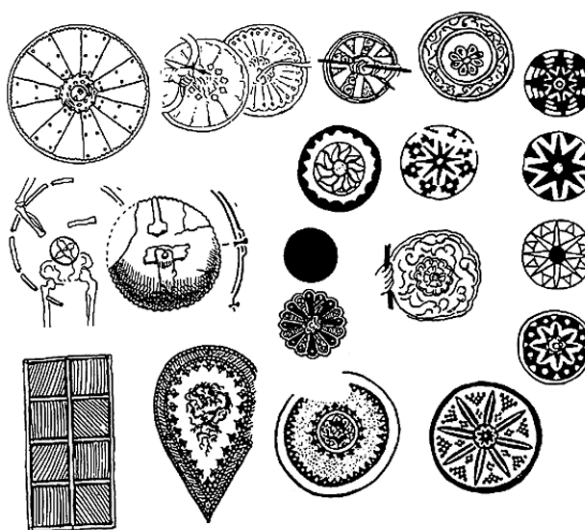
Significant changes occurred in the 13th century regarding horse equipment and armour. The saddle became lighter, and the bridle became more complicated due to the inclusion of Central Asian iron parts. Chain mail (on a thick, soft lining) came to be used as horse armour. Once it was developed, plate-mail armour became the best protection for a

Tatar knight's companion in combat. Armour made of leather plates and strips, especially quilted armour made from soft materials, was used even more frequently. Here is a typical description of this type of armour from the Galician–Volhynian Chronicle: 'The Germans were surprised to see Tatars in visors with faces on them and horses with leather armour' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 814]. This soft armour, covered with patterned textiles, framed by tassels and edging, decorated with metal plates, could have adorned a horse of a man of high nobility. Horse armour always included a mask called a 'nalobnik.' They were made of forged iron or hard leather. The leather would be painted and the iron engraved with patterns. The iron masks could also be covered with patterned leather. Mascots, hackles, plumage, and metal appendages to the bridle and harness completed the horse's decoration.

As we have seen, weaponry in the Jochid Ulus developed in the 14–15th centuries, and

a whole range of original inventions were created. These innovations were of importance around the world, gaining popularity in large areas of Asia and Europe among very different peoples—from Russians and Poles to Chinese and Arabs. Handicrafts and military traditions were intertwined with the traditions brought by Mongols.

However, after the invasion of Aksak Timur in 1395, a decrease in armour production in the Lower Volga Region and probably also in the Northern Caucasus must be noted. On the other hand, in the Middle Volga Region, Crimea, and the Caucasian Mountains there was a great increase in activity, which was further enhanced by an influx of master armourers fleeing the carnage.



Shields. Jochid Ulus. 13–15th centuries
(according to M. Gorelik)

§ 2. Military architecture

Ayrat Gubaydullin, Iskander Izmaylov

Questions about how cities looked and functioned during the Golden Horde period are closely related to the state's approach to town planning. The reasons, times, and places that they were built varied across the vast territory of the Golden Horde state. One town planning method was typical in central regions of the Jochid Ulus, for example, the towns of Sarai, Sarai al-Jadid, Beljamen, Majar, etc. These towns were built in one go, in a short period. At the same time the majority of the cities in Khwarezm, Bulgaria, and the Crimea continued to develop, many of them having been founded in the pre-Mongol period.

In keeping with this, their building traditions and military architecture were different. The majority of the towns that were rebuilt in the Jochid Ulus initially had no defensive features, whereas those in other traditional centres had already existed and been evolving since long before the Mongol period.

The differences were mainly dictated by the towns' geographical and geopolitical positions. In general, new towns were built in the centre of the Golden Horde and therefore did not fear outside threats. In various ways

'outlying' settlements were threatened by outside enemies, even if only hypothetically. Threats could come either from other states or surrounding peoples. With their fortified embankments and ditches, walls and towers, the fortresses in the 'border lands' could guard internal (and external) trade routes, agricultural areas, and other internal administrative, spiritual, and craft centres. Thus, they prevented anyone from entering the state and at the same time had to defend themselves, if necessary. The various political and economic processes that took place here in the Jochid Ulus period were inseparably linked to the same processes in neighbouring territories. There are many opportunities to discuss their interrelations and mutual influence with regard to the development of military defences at that time.

There is one important problem that clearly must be discussed with regard to this. It has become a historiographical fact but is no more convincing as a result. It relates to an opinion that is often to be found in historical texts, according to which in the Jochid Ulus there was allegedly a 'prohibition' on constructing fortifications in conquered countries, includ-

ing Bulgaria. There are quite a few instances of this misconception. The most persuasive advocate of this point of view and, clearly, the first person to formulate this hypothesis clearly was G. Fedorov-Davydov [1994, pp. 42–44]. A. Khalikov [1978, p. 92; 1989, p. 128] was among the Kazan archaeologists who were on his side and keen to 'prove' this hypothesis based on Bulgar material.

It should be noted that this statement is presented as fact in most academic literature without any supporting evidence. Only in the work of G. Fedorov-Davydov [1994, pp. 42–44] are the ideas fleshed out and justified. Essentially there are two pieces of evidence. The first is a reference to information provided by Marco Polo who wrote (in Ramusio's version): 'There are so many traitors and unfaithful people who are ready to rebel in all areas of Catay and Manga [Manza] and in the rest of his (the great khan's—*A. G., I.I.*) domain that it is necessary to keep troops everywhere where there are big cities and many people... and the cities are not allowed to have walls and gates so they cannot prevent troops invading' [Book of Marco Polo, 1990, p. 260]. The second indisputable fact is that Golden Horde cities in the Lower Volga Region and part of the Southern Aral Region did not have any fortifications up to the latter half of the 14th century.

However, both of these pieces of evidence are false. For example, there is a contradiction in Marco Polo's story. Having mentioned the 'ban,' he constantly refers to various towns, fortresses, and castles with 'high walls and towers' while travelling through the Chinese provinces [Ibid., pp. 56, 60, 65, 67, 117]. City walls and especially border fortresses in China during the Yuan dynasty are well known in historical literature as well (see, for example: [U Han, 1980; Bokshchanin, Nepomnin, 2002]). In other words, if there was such a prohibition, it was in place for a very short time. In addition, it would need to be proved that such a prohibition was universally applied throughout the empire from the Amur River Region to the Dniester River Region.

Concerning this question, it is possible that two political tendencies that had differ-

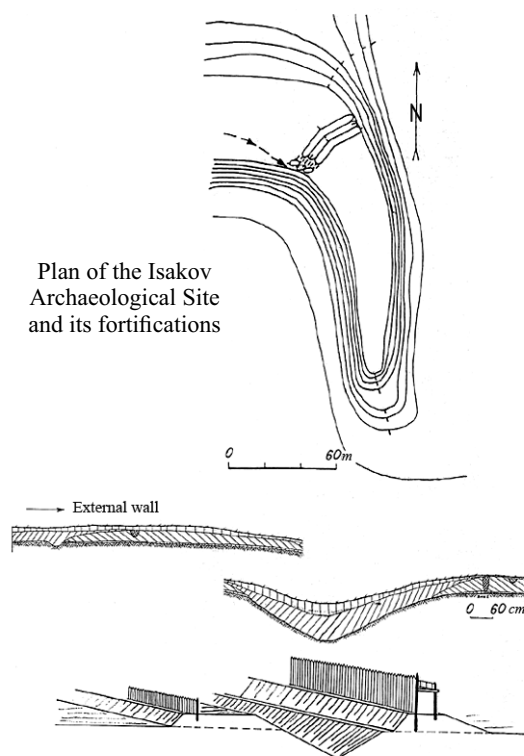
ent aims and occurred at different times have become mixed up. The practice of destroying town fortifications was in general actually quite customary in the medieval world. However, this usually occurred right after conquest. Once the new rulers' power was established, a gradual liberalisation of policy took place, and the vassal territories erected walls around their towns and built castles because of independence but not always separatism. The reason was more likely to have been an increase in internal strife and internecine feuds. Rus' was a typical example of this phenomenon. According to the archaeologists' data, many towns were destroyed there, and Giovanni da Pian del Caprine wrote an eyewitness account saying that 'the Mongols destroyed towns and fortresses' 'in the lands of Ruthenia' [Travels, 1957, p. 45]. Later, during the 1259–1260 campaign in Poland, the Tatars forced Prince Daniil Romanovich to demolish the fortifications of the main cities of Galicia and Volhynia [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, pp. 848–855]. This is evidence of a prohibition of a sort, but at the same time in the southern Russian lands, in Kievshina, new fortified cities continued to exist or were rebuilt (for more details see: [Belyayeva, 1982, p. 27]). Later, as far as it is possible to judge from sources, the building of new fortifications by the rulers of the Jochid Ulus in southern and north-eastern Rus' was not controlled. There was a similar situation in Bulgaria after the Mongol conquest. During the conquest the major cities that were stormed were destroyed, and it is probable that some of them had their fortifications dismantled. However, after the division of the united state into several emirates, there followed a period of stabilisation when fortified towns and fortresses were either rebuilt or continued to develop. This is particularly true for those in the Cis-Volga Region.

It is fair to say that enormous fortified towns such as Sarai, Sarai al-Jadid, Hajji Tarkhan, Ukek, Beljamen, etc., existed in the Lower Volga Region, and their archaeological remains have been studied. Medieval towns covering such a large area seldom had defensive fortifications, for example, the Golden Horde town of Bilyar (the second and third

ancient Bilyar settlements) in the Trans-Kama Region, the second ancient Bolsheatryasskoe settlement ('Tysyachedomny Shungat') in the Cis-Volga Region, the Russian-Urmat ancient settlement in the Zakazanye, and others are also known in the Middle Volga Region. But is this evidence of a prohibition? Clearly not. Constructing fortifications was extremely expensive, and the townspeople only erected walls when absolutely necessary. While the Jochid Ulus was flourishing, there was no such need in the Volga Region because there were no active military operations in that area for almost one hundred years, and the state itself was so powerful that an enemy invasion was unimaginable. The following statement by a Tatar merchant is characteristic of the mentality. In answer to a question from Italian diplomat and negotiator, G. Barbaro, who had been admiring the walls of the Genoese colony in Tana, he replied 'Bah! Only those who are scared build towers!' [Barbaro and Kontarini, 1971, p. 148].

All this throws the 'prohibition' theory into doubt. It is likely that there was a whole host of reasons that led to the development of military-defensive architecture or slowed down its construction. In any case, there were no all-encompassing prohibitions, and various implementations of military science were dictated by the particular military-political situation. In this sense, Bulgar Ulus fortifications, especially small towns and castles, did not represent any internal threat to the Golden Horde and its army despite their having defensive constructions. They served as strongholds on the borders between separate domains.

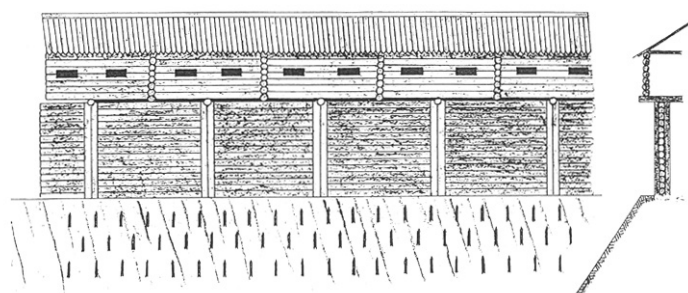
Fortifications continued to be built in the border lands of the Bulgar Ulus all through the Golden Horde's reign. A good example is to be found on the right bank of the Volga—the Cis-Volga Region. This region is characterised by its unusual 'mountainous' relief, which takes the form of a continuous ridge—known historically as the 'Mountain side' ('Tau-ile'). This upland area extends over all the territory from the village of Upper Uslon (opposite to Kazan) to Samara Bend and also covers the area where the Penza Oblast now is, near the ancient settlement of Gorodishe.



Rolling plains are also present. The alternating landscape of plains and 'mountains' means the Cis-Volga Region is complex topographically but also creates natural barriers that are almost impassable for an enemy advancing from the south or south-west. At the same time, the Cis-Volga Region is a comfortable place to live and farm.

Access routes to the Cis-Volga Region from the west, south-west, and south are to be found in the valleys of the Sviyaga River and its tributaries, for example: Tsilna, Bula, Kubn,' etc. This is where the overwhelming majority of Bulgar Archaeological Sites were built. They were constructed there not only for convenience but also with a more important role in mind: defence. The Bulgars' fortified settlements 'locked down' these valleys, thus forming an unbroken defensive chain.

In Golden Horde times control over the Sviyaga valley and its tributaries was not lost. In this period fortified settlements moved in a north and north-easterly direction. The main areas into which the Golden Horde settlements expanded were in the middle and lower reaches of the Sviyaga River. All the rest were con-



Reconstruction of the wall. Bulgar. 13–14th centuries
(according to A. Gubaydullin)

centrated in separate groups at Samara Bend (what is now the Penza Oblast) or were drawn towards the Volga. Thus, the main territory was protected from the west by Tigashevo, Staroyanashevskoe, and Bolshetoyabinsk Archaeological towns controlling the Bula River valley; from the south-west by the ancient towns of Chuvbezdinsk and Gorodishchensk (Kala-Yelginsk); from the south by Staroaleyskoe and the first and second ancient towns of Krasnosundukovsk, which were built on the Sviyaga River.

However, when the Jochid Ulus began to weaken, and internecine wars flared up, the situation started to change. The towns of the lower Volga began to be fortified and surrounded with walls and ditches. In the period of the 'Great Zamyatnya' some towns that had never previously had walls began to be surrounded by them. In the latter half of the 14th century ditches appeared around the ancient towns of Tsarevo (Sarai) and Staroorkheyskoe. The remains of the walls in the ancient towns of Narovchatsk and Uvek are only partially preserved, making their reconstruction more difficult. At that time, no later than the first half of the 14th century, the Bolgar Archaeological Site had walls, ditches, wooden walls, towers, and dragon's teeth to defend itself [Khovanskaya, 1958, pp. 319–320; Krasnov, 1987, pp. 99–123].

The ruins of one of the largest and most significant centres in the Jochid Ulus—Bol-

gar Archaeological Site—can serve as an example. In Golden Horde times it grew significantly from a 25 ha fortified area in pre-Mongol times to nearly 400 ha in the 13–14th centuries. In the first quarter of the 14th century an embankment and ditch with fortress walls and additional fortifications were erected around it [Khlebnikova, 1987, p. 70]. They were largest at the southern and

sou-eastern ends of the site so as to protect the most vulnerable side. In antiquity, this was where the main roads leading to the city met. Bulgar was well protected not only by man-made defences but also by nature itself. To the west there was an area of marshland and small lakes. Bulgar started to erect fortifications while the Jochid Ulus was flourishing. This clearly indicates that the attitude towards fortifications, especially in the sedentary areas of the Jochid empire, was changing. As the townspeople could not rely on the power of the entire state to defend them, they had to start erecting fortifications on their own. However, if military-engineering traditions had been preserved in the Bulgar Ulus, this practice did not exist in the Lower Volga Region. This is the reason why fortification in the cities of the Lower Volga Region was a relative concept. They could not be adequately protected because they were spread over such large areas. As a rule, the inhabitants of Lower Volga cities only attempted to fortify individual areas in the borderlands—defensive areas that were most at threat from cavalry attacks.

For these reasons, military architecture and military engineering as a whole only developed slightly in the Jochid Ulus. This was due to a whole range of factors. Hardly any fortifications were erected, except for in the borderlands and in settled agricultural regions, and the town walls themselves were not part of a system of tactical defense.

§ 3. Organisation of the Army

Iskander Izmaylov

The structure of the military organisation: the command and the army. The military organisation of the army of the Jochid Ulus still remains poorly studied due to an insubstantial source base and the negligence of historians in regard to this issue. At the same time, historical materials provide significant information on the characterisation of the military organisation and the army of the Jochid Ulus.

An analysis leads to the conclusion that this military system was derived from the military-administrative structure formed in the Jochid Empire. The basis of this system consisted of a hierarchically organised system of possessions of Tatar clans. A characteristic feature of it was the intertwining of the military and administrative systems. Such an organisation of military affairs was traditional for the Turkic-Mongol statehood.

According to Arab sources, 'the administration of military and civil matters is the same (in general) as in the state of Iraq and Iran. It is based on a (certain) number of emirs, laws, and officials. However, the emir of a given ulus and the vizier (Dasht-i Kypchak) do not have the right to give orders (at their discretion) as the emir of the ulus and the vizier in that state do' [Grigoryev, Frolova, 2002, p. 299].

In a sense, this is confirmed by the words of Arab officials who, having analysed diplomatic correspondence, came to the conclusion that Öz Beg Khan 'was only paying attention to the affairs of his state in general, without delving into the details of all the circumstances. He was satisfied with the reports that came to him, and he did not give consideration to particular cases in regard to tax collection and expenditure [Ibid., pp. 299–300]. In other words, one can say that although formally the Khan was the Commander-in-Chief, as a rule, he did not take part in military operations. Even when it is reported that the Khan went on a military campaign with the army, it did not always mean that he directly supervised the troops. Moreover, when the Khan decided to command the troops on his own, this led only to a military

disaster, as evidenced in 1285 and 1286–1287 when Tula Buga actually suffered defeat in the military campaign against Hungary and Poland.

Based on the information that we have, ulug karachibek (beklyaribek) was the actual Commander-in-Chief. Official interstate correspondence by Egyptian sultans was addressed to him specifically as to 'the champion of warriors and fighters for the faith, the leader of armies, the associate of monarchs and sultans, the sovereign sword of the faithful' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 348], clearly emphasising the military component of his functions and powers. It is the bearers of this title and position who, as a rule, led the Golden Horde troops during large-scale military campaigns. Under Berke Khan and his descendants, such a military leader was Nogai; under Öz Beg Khan, Kutlug-Timur; during the period of the Great Troubles, Mamai; and in the early 15th century the military leader was Edigu. They spent their lives in campaigns and battles, carrying out the planning and instruction of troops on the battlefield, often risking their lives and suffering from wounds. For example, during the battle against the Hulaguid troops in 1256 Nogai was wounded in the head and lost one eye.

The military organisation of the Jochid Ulus itself was feudal. A characteristic feature was that all the Tatar clan representatives were the social elite of Golden Horde society. As a rule, they had a semi-nomadic way of life, and their everyday life differed little from that of tax-paying people. However, they had one important privilege that distinguished them from the rest of the population—they had the right to bear arms and participate in military campaigns. The relation to military service is what made a person a true Tatar—that is, a representative of the military elite. Outside the clans and the military, no other ethnosocial structure or self-identification existed. Of course, there was a significant class differentiation within the clans, which determined the place of each individual in the social hierarchy and military

organisation. Nevertheless, they had one thing in common—all of them were included into the clan system and belonged to a military-service class by virtue of origin, various merits, and family relations.

The structure of the Tatar military-service class is represented perfectly in the *yarlyks* of the 14–15th centuries. Forming the upper class of society and being the military command of the highest rank were the right and left wing *oglan*s—sultans from the Jochid clan, next came the *ulusbeks* and the *darugabeg*s, followed by the *beks* (emirs) in thousands, hundreds, and tens (for further details: [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, pp. 89–93; Usmanov, 1979, pp. 206–210]). In general, the analysis of *yarlyks* makes it possible to reconstruct the military system of the Jochid Ulus as a hierarchically organised structure based on the decimal system: from tens till *tumens* (i.e., units of ten thousand) under the command of *beks*, emirs, *ulusbeks*, and *oglan*s. The troop management structure is described by Marco Polo, who was himself an administrator in the Yuan Empire. 'When one of the great Tatar tsars goes to war, he puts himself at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men, and organises them in the following manner. He appoints an officer to the command of every ten men, and others to command a hundred, a thousand, and ten thousand men, respectively. Thus ten of the officers commanding ten men take their orders from him who commands a hundred; of these each ten, from him who commands a thousand; and each ten of these latter, from him who commands ten thousand. By this arrangement each officer has only to attend to the management of ten men or ten bodies of men; and when the commander of these hundred thousand men has occasion to make a detachment for any particular service, he issues his orders to the commanders of ten thousand to furnish him with a thousand men each; and these, in like manner, to the commanders of a thousand, who give their orders to those commanding a hundred, until the order reaches those commanding ten, by whom the number required is immediately supplied to their superior officers. A hundred men are in this manner delivered to every officer commanding a thousand, and a thousand men, to

every officer commanding ten thousand. The drafting takes place without delay, and all are implicitly obedient to their respective superiors. Every company of a hundred men is denominated a *tuc* (according to Pottier, *tuc* = banner), the company of ten thousand is known as *astoman*, a thousand men is known as *min*, a hundred men, *yuz*, ten men, *on*' [Book of Marco Polo, 1990, pp. 81–82, 256].

In pure form, however, it is unlikely that such a system existed, even under Batu Khan. It is quite obvious that this is the general scheme of military-administrative division that united contingents, roughly corresponding to tens, hundreds, and thousands. In fact, such units could be larger or smaller than the stated number. This system was traditional for the military-administrative division of Turkic-Mongol empires of Central Asia, existing apparently since Hunnic times. It was based on the mobilisation principle which allowed conscripting clan militia troops divided into wings and according to the descending decimal system. For example, eyewitness accounts state that when the ambassadors of the Egyptian sultan were in the Jochid Ulus, 'they left the Crimea for the steppes, where they saw the leader of ten thousand horsemen, who controlled this area.' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 63]. At the same time, it was not necessary for all the troops to form in proportion to the area in an administrative-territorial system and *fiefs-iqtas* in the steppe territory, which was divided into *ulus*s between clans. Some of the troops (apparently the majority), despite their territorial location in the steppe, received proceeds from various taxes and duties from sedentary territories—Crimea, the Bulgar Ulus, Khwarezm, and possibly also from Rus'. By receiving proceeds from these territories, the clans could keep significant military forces.

However, there is no detailed picture of how military contingents were formed in practice, who organised the troops, etc. One can only suppose that the leaders of the clans (who were also *ulusbeks*) organised mixed contingents composed of their personal vassals and militias of other defenders given to their corps. It is not excluded that in practice there was a certain

rotation of clans and their premises, and consequently the composition of the troops changed.

In the opinion of G. Fedorov-Davydov, in the second half of the 14th century certain social shifts took place in the Jochid Ulus, which complicated this system. Unfortunately, now it is difficult to establish with certainty whether this was due to the development of feudal legal relationships, the natural and social crises of mid-14th century, a change of clan structure, or due to a redistribution of uluses. Whatever it was, at this time it is clear that the role of clans and the local aristocracy increases considerably. This is when they use their right of ownership of uluses to transform them into hereditary independent principalities. Arab sources provide a clear illustration: 'as for the size of their warriors' wages, according to Shuja-ud-Din Abdur-Rahman, if one person had a plot of land (iqta), it would be handed down to his sons. He also says: the emirs have populated lands. Some of the lands bring 200 thousand dinars of income or less—up to 100 thousand dinars per annum. As for ordinary warriors, they only have money that they receive. All of them are equal, and each man receives 200 dinars per annum.' [Grigoryev, Frolova, 2002, p. 300]. Massive resources allowed some emirs to maintain considerable military forces. For example, Arab sources mention 5 emirs in 1299 who kept 30 thousand horsemen with full armament [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 113]. In other words, the clan aristocracy not only received massive incomes but also usurped the military system under its command, having turned ordinary nobility into their vassals, owing service not to the khan or the empire but to a particular ulusbek and head of the clan. One can agree with the opinion of Israeli historian A. Polyak that the Golden Horde's feudal system was based on a desire to provide the vassal with an annual income corresponding to his rank: 'In the Horde we find a simplified form of this system: the emirs receive fiefs-iqtas, ordinary warriors receive only money. Since the composition of a military-feudal class there was more constant, the ikta inheritance system was steadier' [Polyak, 1964, pp. 56–57].

The military service hierarchy and its gradual differentiation on the level of incomes had a great impact and influence on the evolution of the weapon system. In the early period of conquest the system, judging by archaeological materials, was fairly homogeneous since victorious wars contributed to the capture and concentration of prestigious armaments. Noble warriors stood out with a specific set of belts, costume parts, and cups made of precious metals (see: [Kramarovsky, 2001, pp. 10–108]). However, at the end of the 13–14th centuries there is a gradual differentiation of the weapon system. Some corrections in such estimations must be made due to a significant amount of Islamic non-inventory burials; at the same time, we can identify burial groups containing prestigious categories of weapons. The social elite, as in other countries of medieval Eurasia, stood out by the use of defence weapons (metal coats of mail, helmets, arm shields, shields, as well as equestrian armour) and prestigious weapons (sabres, spears, Saidak kits, etc.). Burials with such weaponry are frequently found in mausoleums or semi-subterranean tombs of the Sagan type. All this indicates that the army gradually differentiates, and the dividing line separates expensive and prestigious weapons from ordinary weapons. The rest of the troops were armed with remote combat weapons and universal close combat weapons (spears, axes, knives). In this regard, it appears that the social division considerably reflected a gradation of troops of the Jochi Ulus, consisting of mounted armour-clad warriors—begs and emirs and ordinary mounted archers—batyrs and Cossacks.

It should be emphasised that there was a practice when during military campaigns the commander would arm a certain number of warriors at his own expense. It is evident that in the Jochid Ulus such a practice was widespread since the clan aristocracy had substantial resources. Such military servants most probably received payment for service, obviously originating from the same clan as the bek himself, and formed the basis of his military contingent, the backbone of the territorial militia. Apart from the warriors themselves, there were also servants in the army. According to



Light-armed horseman, the 14th century
(reconstruction by M. Gorelik)

some sources, one mounted warrior had at least two servants.

Military conscription was universal for the entire military-service class, which was the tradition for Turkic-Mongol nomadic societies. The common practice was military service with weapons, horses, and equipment for campaigns. The advancement of troops for a campaign and the organisation of troops to the theatre of military actions itself were already taught in the army of Chinggis Khan. The troops of the Jochid Ulus learned these principles fairly well. Especially, since the unity of the empire remained intact, and the efforts of the entire staff of bureaucrats and employees of various classes were aimed at resolving this task.

The training of troops for military campaigns was also of great importance. According to Arab sources, before setting off on a campaign, every horseman had two servants, thirty sheep, five horses, two copper pots, and a wagon' [Grigoryev, Frolova, 2002, p. 299]. Apparently, this was the necessary equipment for regular troops, and it included mobile workshop gunsmiths, blacksmiths, leatherworkers, etc.

Moreover, every noble emir and nobleman not only had a special marquee but a whole court of servants, including 'dwellings, families, family members (khavash), possessions, and livestock' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 75].

The Tatars themselves like all steppe herders were modest and endured combat conditions well, even when they had to separate from their string of carts. According to eyewitness accounts, the Tatars were extraordinarily modest and hardy. As explained by Marco Polo, 'when they set off on a long journey or go to war, they do not take harnesses with them but will take two leather wineskins with milk for drinking and a clay pot to boil meat. They also take a little tent for shelter in case of rain' [Book of Marco Polo, 1990, p. 82]. The same was written by Venetian writer Giosafat Barbaro: 'each of them (i.e., the Tatars.—I. I.), when separating from his people, takes with him a small goat-leather bag filled with millet flour, kneaded into dough with a small amount of honey. Several wooden bowls were always taken as well. If they do not have enough game—which they usually found in these steppes, being wonderful huntsmen and primarily using bows—they would use this flour, preparing from it with a small amount of water, a sort of drink; that is how they got by' [Barbaro and Kontarini, 1971, p. 142]. Modesty, ability to endure deprivations, and discipline made the Tatars warriors who were able to make rapid and long transitions, overcome great distances, and suddenly burst into enemy territory, without any strings of carts. According to Marco Polo, 'a Tatar will often leave for one whole month without taking any food with him; he will feed on mare milk and wild animals that he hunts for himself, his horse will graze on grass, that is why he needs neither barley nor straw. They are perfectly obedient to their chiefs, if necessity arises, he will stay up all night on horseback armed, whilst his horse will graze on grass. No people upon earth can surpass them in fortitude under difficulties, nor show greater patience under wants of every kind. They are maintained at small expense. They are fitted to subdue the world [Book of Marco Polo, 1990, p. 81]. In another passage, developing this idea, he presents new evidence

showing that 'should circumstances render it necessary, they can march for ten days together without victuals and without lighting fires, during which time they subsist upon the blood drawn from their horses, each man opening a vein and drinking from his own cattle. They also have dried milk thick as dough; they take it with them; they will place it into water and stir it till it turns into liquid form, then they drink it' [Ibid., p. 82].

In this connection, the question of payment for military service is very difficult. It seems that payment for participation in wars and campaigns differed depending on social status and the branch of service. It is possible that military service was never paid for by the state, ulus-begs may have made payments using their own resources.

Most probably, military duty consisted of several different services. Campaign service included not only participation in a campaign but the implementation of it, including support of troops that passed by. In this regard, some terms of khan *yarlyks*, expressions such as 'all those in charge,' or 'those carrying out a specific task' [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 215, 221], may apply to the campaign service organisation. The guard service, in addition to the usual frontier service and military-police service, was a showcase of the nearest reserve, which was always in readiness to march. The frontier service and the military-police service are specially labelled in several *yarlyks*: 'bukaul tutkaul,' 'bukaul chiri,' 'yoasaul bukaul,' 'karaul-chagdaul,' which corresponds to 'burulazhnik and zastavshchik' [Ibid., p. 214]. The troop service included people, weapons, horses, and equipment—that is, it was fully prepared for long campaigns and warfare. It is typical that in khan *yarlyks*, even *tarkhanniy yarlyks*, the military service is not mentioned, thus leading to the conclusion that it was regulated by tradition, custom, and statutes of the *Yasa* of Chinggis Khan. The service was the unconditional responsibility of each serving Tatar having no exceptions.

Unfortunately, the condition of sources does not allow completely restoring the duration and the connection of the service with land keeping or the acquiring of proceeds from a certain territory. One can only assume that, in

addition to unpaid service, the begs and their warriors received some compensation (*ukulka*, *ogliga*), perhaps in the form of an increased share of the spoils of war. As military historians note, during the Middle Ages 'money is an indispensable medium between the authority and warriors' [Kontamin, 2001, p. 105]. It is unlikely that something different existed in the Jochid Ulus. This circumstance had several important consequences. First, it made any war an extremely costly and expensive venture. Second, the military campaign had to be fast-paced, swift and have a specific objective that would promise to compensate for war costs. Third, the war had to be a victorious one, and it had to generate income. It is evident that when a campaign failed or suffered a setback, any military leader, including the khan, could lose control over his subjects, as the case was with Khan Tula Buga after his military campaigns failed.

The khans of the Jochid Ulus tried to achieve constant military readiness with the help of regular military gatherings and troop inspections. It is obvious that such were the gatherings of the aristocracy during the *Kurultai*, when the khan's accession ceremony to the throne took place, and then the oaths of loyalty on their part and the reissue of *yarlyks* for land keeping, various other feudal domains and positions. For example, during a reception of the Egyptian sultan's embassy in 1262 the Berke headquarters held an inspection of the army 'which was in full armour' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 64]. The relocations of the khan's court across the territory of the country served the same purpose, as military gatherings were also held. As a rule, such military gatherings even occurred at different locations during the most important calendrical or Muslim celebrations. Such celebrations were accompanied by military games, various competitions, and inspections. An eyewitness, the traveller Ibn Battuta, describes such a military gathering of emirs. He said that he had seen a reception in the headquarters of Khan Öz Beg where 17 emirs-tumens were present. Ibn Battuta explains that 'the chief of the *tumen* is the person who has 10,000 horsemen' [Ibid.,

p. 299]. During this gathering competitions were held, and each of these 17 emirs pledged their allegiance to the khan and received generous presents from him.

During a campaign it is obvious that a gradual replenishment of forces occurred. First came the troops of several reliable and nearby ulusbeks, having assembled for inspection in the khan's headquarters. Troops were distributed into corps (known as kuls or kols), which were replenished afterwards at the expense of approaching forces. The basis of these kuls was formed by the most capable and well-armed militias united by clan affiliation and fraternity. Other detachments, arriving in small groups, joined one of the corps. These reserves apparently gathered in several locations and joined troops on the move. In other words, it was a kind of march-mobilisation, where forces did not accumulate in one place at once, which would make their supply more difficult. They were dispersed and additional troops joined the corps, gradually increasing their number to the required proportionality of units. It is very likely that the military leader and his entourage were responsible for the assembly of troops and the roll call, the commander of the kul, on the other hand, was in charge of military uniform and the quantity of troops in smaller units. The commander of the kul was appointed apparently by ulug-karachibek and confirmed by the khan. Usually it was one of the oglans, but he always had with him one of the noble emirs who commanded a significant unit or had military achievements and glory. At the same time, oglans did not always become tumen commanders. For example, during the campaign against Tabriz in 1385, Khan Tokhtamysh sent 9 tumens into battle led by 12 oglans [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 151].

Each combat unit (kul, koshun, etc.) had warriors grouped around flags and banners of their commanders. Various sources constantly indicate that each tumen commander had his own flag. The khan's banner had nine horse tails, the army commander's banner had seven, the kul commander's banner had five, and the koshun commander's banner had three. In addition, each unit had the flag of its command-

er—that is, yelenge (khorunga). The flags also differed in size and colour. Most likely, the flag of the khan was blue or green and depicted the Jochid tamga and Muslim symbols—inscriptions in Arabic font, containing phrases from the Quran.

The troops set out on a campaign in strict order and moved apparently in separate columns, with outposts moving far ahead and to the sides of the advancing troops. For example, the Venetian G. Barbaro wrote that the advance guard had appeared several days before the main forces reached Azak, led by the khan Kichi Mohammed. The guard units were responsible for tracking down the enemy and exercising control over the adjacent territory. They also carried out raids (ilgar) for the purpose of capturing food and plunder on enemy territory, as well as demolishing the neighbourhood.

A characteristic feature of the nomadic way of life—and a significant part of the Tatar nobility led such a traditional way of life for at least several months in the year—was their military exercises. Annual military gatherings played an important part in these exercises, they were part of drive huntings, which was one of the most important ways to gain clear and consistent actions of significant equestrian units operating on a huge territory. Individual trainings consisted of combat horse trainings, fancy ridings, and arms exercises. Among them, the most important were glaive throwing and archery on horseback. In particular, Ibn Battuta pointed this out when he noted that during the military gathering in the headquarters of Khan Öz Beg 'shields were placed for shooting for each tumen leader' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 298]. The Tatar art of archery practice always evoked admiration from strangers, who always distinguished it from other competitions. Giosafat Barbaro, who saw it during a visit to Tana in 1436, gives a fairly detailed description of this competition: 'in these places the competition is as follows,' he wrote, 'to a wooden beam, laid horizontally on two wooden posts (a device similar to the gallows), a silver bowl is placed on a thin string. Archers competing for the prize have arrows with an iron part in the form of a crescent with sharp edges.

The horsemen ride with bows on their horses towards the gallows device, hardly eluding it, and the horse continues to gallop in the same direction. Then they turn back and shoot into the string; the one who cuts it off, making the cup fall, wins the prize' [Barbaro and Kontarini, 1971, pp. 155–156]. Another kind of competition practiced by the aristocracy of the Jochid Ulus was equestrian polo—that is, "ball game" (refer to: [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 64]). With certainty, other kinds of martial arts such as wrestling, arms exercises, etc., existed and were also used for military training.

The Tatar warriors were not only wonderfully trained but possessed courage and fortitude. In the words of Marco Polo, the Tatars 'fight extremely well and very bravely' [Book of Marco Polo, 1990, p. 81]. Giosafat Barbaro wrote that 'military men are extremely brave and courageous, so much that some of them are named 'Talubagater,' which means crazy man of courage. Such a nickname is born among the people, just as we have 'wise man' and 'handsome man'... These heroes have one advantage: whatever they accomplish, even if at some extent it goes beyond common sense, it is considered right since it is done for the reasons of courage, and it seems to everyone that the heroes are just doing their job. Among them are many who in cases of war battles do not value life, do not fear dangers but rush forward and do not hesitate to beat up the enemy in such a manner that even the shy ones are inspired [Barbaro and Kontarini, 1971, p. 146]. Further, this Venetian traveller describes an incident illustrating his words when five Tatars attacked a hundred Circassians, who were intending to attack a neighbourhood of Tana. As a result of the rapid Tatar incursion the Circassians fled, leaving around 40 people killed or captured [Ibid., p. 147].

One cannot help but cover the issue of military training. If training for the possession of military weapons required regular exercising and physical conditioning, the mastering of tactics needed targeted training. In fact, we have no information on the art of war in Tatar literature. However, since such literature was widely spread in the Islamic East, it is possi-

ble to assume that various treatises on military affairs were used for better acquaintance with the canons of military science. These sciences along with sciences on state administration (for example, 'Mirror of Princes,' parts such as 'Blessed Knowledge' by Yusuf Balasaguni and 'Instructions for Lords' by al-Ghazali) were part of the teaching literature collection of the aristocracy of all the Muslim world.

Other types of sources, which seem to have been used in military science education, are various historical chronicles, compositions, and genealogy. They narrated events, describing various incidents of military history, preserving the experience of failures and successes on the battlefield. Various epic legends (for example, 'Edigu'), dastans (for example, 'Kisekbash kitaby') also helped to create the warrior. All of them established the ideal of chivalrous behaviour and put forward the norms of courage and military valour.

Number of troops. It is clear that throughout its history the number of troops in the army of the Jochid Ulus varied. It is difficult to address this issue not only because of a small number of sources but also because of the approximate nature of the data provided there. Several Arab sources of the 14th century report that 'their troops were (so) many (that) it was impossible to count them' [Grigoryev, Frolova, 2002, p. 299].

At the same time, they noted that only one verifiable source remained concerning the number of Golden Horde troops, when a mutiny began, and Sultan of Mawarannahr Esen Buga opposed Tokhta Khan and the Great Khan: 'Then (the khan) sent against him a great number of warriors, one soldier from every group of ten, and their size reached 250,000 of those who had been counted. And this is not taking into account those who joined voluntarily' [Ibid., p. 299]. This information may be found in an encyclopedic work by al-Qalqashandi based on works by al-Birzali, al-Dhahabi, al-Umari, and al-Asadi (see: [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 174, 206, 240, 446]). A different version of events is presented by al-Ayni, a historian of the mid-15th century, who indicates that the number of Tokhta's troops reached 150,000

horsemen [Ibid., p. 514]. In other words, the indication of a large number of the Jochid Ulus troops was traditionally conditional and relative in terms of descriptions found in Arab historical-geographical sources.

According to other reports of Ibn Wasil, when the war against the Hulaguids began, Khan Berke, having learned about the enemy's invasion, 'made an appeal to his army, asking everyone who was 10 years old (and older) to get on a horse. There were so many people, neither beginning nor end could be identified' [Ibid., p. 74]. At the same time, it is also known that Qalawun's army was allegedly made up of 600 thousand warriors, which makes us suppose that the number of Tatar warriors was close to this figure.

Arab merchant Ibn Battuta, an eyewitness of the troop gathering in Khan Öz Beg's court, specifically indicates that the military gathering in 1333 had 17 emirs, commanding 10 thousand horsemen: 'in attendance were 17 emirs, commanding 170 thousand riders; (however) the Khan's army is larger than this' [Ibid., p. 299]. Despite such a significant figure, the army of the khans of the Jochid Ulus could be significantly larger because apparently the number of such ulusbeks, who commanded tumens, could reach 50–60 people. For example, the ambassadors of Khan Janibek, who arrived in Cairo during Sha'ban in 758 (20 July–17 August 1357), informed him of his victories in Khorasan, they also reported that 'the army of this sultan reaches 700,000 riders' [Ibid., p. 448]. But there is relatively few reliable data confirming this information at our disposal. We can only state that various sources indicate an uneven total number of the Jochid Ulus troops.

During the war of Khan Tokhta with Nogai their militias reached 200 thousand horsemen. It should be mentioned that the basis of Nogai's troops was made up of 17 noble ulusbeks and emirs [Ibid., p. 111]. At around this time Rashid al-Din pointed out that during a struggle between Khan Tokhta and Nogai their troops numbered 30 tumens—that is, their total number could have reached 600 thousand horsemen [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 71]. Marco Polo roughly described the same situa-

tion, who noted that Tokhta's army consisted of 20 tumens, and Nogai's consisted of 15 tumens, the total number being 350 thousand horsemen [Book of Marco Polo, 1990, pp. 205–206]. During the 1265 campaign Berke Khan's entire army was composed of 300 thousand horsemen [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 100]. A Persian source, *Tarikh-i Shaykh-Uvays*, notes that the ruler Tabriz Malik Ashraf pointed out the great number Janibek's army, saying 'this son of Öz Beg Khan, tsar from Chinggis Khan's uruk, has a huge army of 300,000 men' [Ibid., pp. 102, 530].

At the same time, detached units functioning as advanced, outpost, or offensive detachments for action in specific areas could also be of different sizes. The advanced detachments of Tokhta Khan exceeded 10 tumens—that is, around 100 thousand men [Ibid., p. 83]. During Öz Beg Khan's campaign to Azerbaijan in 1318–1319 the military leader Isa Kurkuz was in charge of eight tumens [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 521]. The military leaders Toktamyscha Isa-beg, Yagly-biy, and Kazanchi led a significant number of troops (an army of 9 tumens) to the walls of Tabriz in the winter of 1384–1385 [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 109, 151]. The advanced detachment of Nogai during the campaign against Hulagu in August 1262 had up to 30 thousand warriors [Ibid., pp. 74, 99], and during the campaign against the Hulaguids in 1264–1265 Nogai's corps consisted of 50 thousand horsemen [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 152].

Thus, although the total number of troops varied, it is impossible to trace the actual number. First, units numbering ten thousand men (tumens), a thousand men, a hundred men, and ten men did not indicate the actual number of warriors but the fundamental mobilisation possibility. And in different years the figures could be either larger or smaller than the roster strength. Second, there are doubts concerning the figures themselves used by Eastern sources because it is unclear whether they describe the size of the whole army or only the warriors. If

only warriors were taken into account, then the total size of the entire army could be 0.75–1 by million men, which is impossible. Therefore, the total number of men liable for military service as well as the size of the whole military-service class of the Jochid Ulus can be calculated only theoretically—that is from 0.6 million in the mid-13th century up to 3 million in the end of the 14th century. Possibly, the total number of warriors during particular military campaigns could have reached 300 thousand, but the army of the Jochid Ulus had this number of troops only in occasional years, during emergency situations, wars with the Hulaguids and Aksak–Timur. In other military actions the number of the corps was significantly lower.

The largest military unit was the *tumen* consisting of 10 thousand riders. It is evident that ideally each *ulusbek* had to provide such a unit in order to wage war. But during fighting in certain areas, trying to solve tactical and even strategic objectives, corps (known as *kuls*) could participate, consisting of 3–5 *tumens*. Based on medieval sources, such units conducted almost every military campaign in the latter half of the 13–beginning of the 15th centuries as well as being responsible for battles and sieges. But their number strongly depended on recruitment and mobilisation possibilities of *uluses* and therefore strongly varied in time and space.

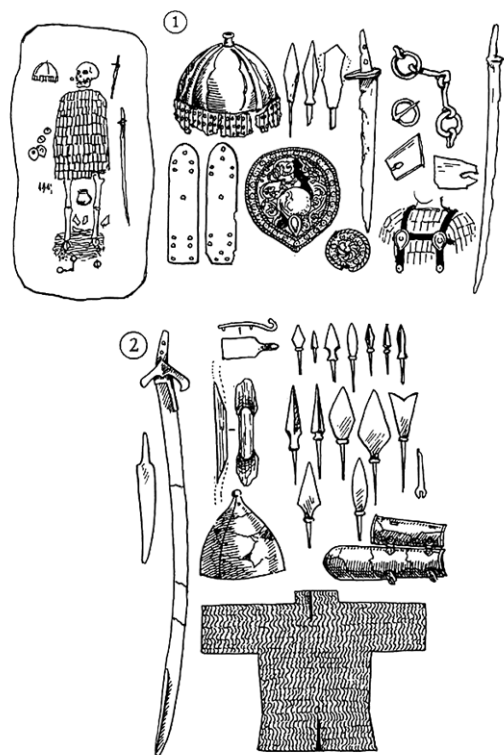
As a rule, troops of several *ulusbegs* participated in combat operations against neighbouring countries such as Byzantium, Poland, and Lithuania, as well as against rebellious Russian principalities. The *ulusbeks*' estates either bordered on the theatre of military operations or their incomes depended on money coming from these territories. Most likely, the khan appointed his emissary, usually an *oglan* with an assigned corps, which became the backbone of the future army (for example, *oglan Tudan* and his 'Dyudeneva army'), or appointed one of the *ulusbeks* (in the second half of the 13th century Kurmyshi, Burundai, later Nogai).

Speaking of the recruitment of troops, we must mention the presence of contingents of dependent countries in the Tatar army, in particular, from Rus'. For a long time in Russian historiography it was thought that Russian troops were not sent for help to the Horde due to the

intercession of Alexander Yaroslavich, who entreated this mercy of the Khan, but this fact is valid only from certain logical assumptions and late biographies of St. Alexander Nevsky. In fact, the only real evidence of this tribute is the participation of several Russian princes in the siege and seizure of the Alanian city of Dedyakov. Although the entourage of these Russian princes consisted of many servants and even members of militia detachments, there is no evidence that they were called for war and took part in combat operations. At the same time, Russian people served as Tatar troops. One of them even found his way to the pages of medieval chronicles, having killed Nogai himself, who as a true Chinggisid had the right to an honourable death [Ibid., p. 114]. However, neither his status nor his place in the military hierarchy is known. Most probably L. Gumilyov is right to a certain extent, when he concluded that some Russian soldiers could have served the Tatar khans and for some even 'the road to wealth and ranks' was open [Gumilyov, 1970, p. 398]. Nevertheless, this was the path of a mercenary. In order to actually receive access to ranks and wealth, the Russian man had to join a given clan. There is much more information on joint military actions of Tatar and Russian troops against Poland and Lithuania. But these are joint campaigns against an external enemy, threatening the interests of southern Russian principalities as well as the Golden Horde itself.

It is possible, according to archaeological data, that some representatives of Mordovian princes actually served as warriors in Golden Horde armies and even had marital relations with the Tatar nobility (see [Golden Horde, 2005]).

The troops: combat arms and military equipment. The *cavalry*, consisting of heavily armed warriors, is unanimously recognised by contemporaries and military historians as the symbol of the Middle Ages. It was the armoured cavalry, consisting of third-generation professional warriors that dominated the battlefields at this time, and they also determined the core of development of armaments and warfare. At the same time, the cavalry were the most privileged warriors, forming the



Weapon systems from Tatar burials of the 13–14th centuries (according to M. Gorelik)

stratum of military-service nobility. In these conditions the formation and development of medieval cavalry is inseparable from the processes of emergence and strengthening of the knighthood—the aristocracy and their military servants.

All this relates to the army of the Jochi Ulus in full measure. As a rule, sources describing the Tatar army claim that the words 'warrior' and 'horseman' are used as synonyms. For example, Marco Polo directly indicates that during battle the Tatars do not dismount [Book of Marco Polo, 1990, p. 256]. During the initial stage of its history, the empire of the Chingisids was created as an empire subordinate to the military-service class, led by the 'Altyn Urug.' In other words, the basis of the socio-political and military-administrative system of this state was formed by hierarchically organised equestrian detachments of Tatar clans.

The most important condition for the formation of huge masses of cavalry was the presence of trained horses. The horses, which were numerous in the Jochid Ulus, with this

being confirmed unanimously by all travellers, allowed for the recruitment of mounted warriors. Horses were continually and easily replenished into the army. In terms of providing horses and their regular care and maintenance, the Jochid Ulus represented a unique phenomenon in medieval Europe where these problems were extremely important. It is clear that noble warriors had stronger, taller, and thoroughbred horses, while ordinary warriors used ordinary steppe horses. The plain steppe horses were excellently prepared for combat operations. According to Marco Polo, the Tatars 'have trained their horses extremely well, and like dogs they move in every direction' [Ibid., p. 82].

Noble warriors arrived for service surrounded by servants (not less than two), with several interchangeable horses and in full arms. At the turn of the 13th century this arms complex consisted of a spear, a cavalry sword, a Saidak kit with a bow and quiver, as well as protective equipment such as armour, a helmet, arm shields, greaves, and a shield. Apparently, some warriors had equestrian armour, especially in mid-13—the first half of the 14th centuries. In order to characterise this arms complex, it is particularly important to note that it is related to specialised weapons and advanced equipment of the mounted warrior. Faceted spikes, Indian clubs, flanged maces, axes, and spike hammers were specific weapons able to increase the effectiveness of the onslaught, break through armour, and stun the enemy.

More noticeable progress is seen in the enhancement of defensive weapons. Apart from chain armour, lamellar plate, and leather armour, known even in pre-Mongol times, there are also modern types of munition: scale armour, chain armour with flat rings (baidans, kuyaks), brigandines, and several combined types of armour. A distinctive feature of this period was the widespread use of horse armour (koyars).

All this clearly shows that the Jochid Ulus had a fighting equipment complex typical for armoured cavalry. This fighting equipment complex was a fusion of Mongol-Tatar traditions and local combat practices, when numerous equestrian detachments were used, and the outcome of the battle was decided during the

clash of heavily armed mounted warriors—that is, who first would deal a blow to the enemy's ankle with a spear. The battle itself came in several stages, and mounted warriors were able to conduct rapid and prolonged battles with the enemy.

We are able to describe the weapons of noble warriors fairly well, however, this is not the case when talking about lightly armed cavalry. There is no doubt that the bulk of the army was formed by warriors—small owners of *iqtas*, military servants, etc., who only had a small number of weapons for fighting at close quarters and protective equipment. It is obvious that they had the whole range of weapons in various combinations, and the most important among these were throwing weapons. This military class differed from medium and lower strata of the military service class due to the non-systematic use of bladed weapons and the occasional use of protective metal equipment. Another feature that distinguishes the armament of the main part of army from specialised units was the versatility of weapons used.

By and large, the fighting equipment arsenal of lightly armed cavalry included a bow and arrows, a combat knife, a battle axe, sometimes a spear, a bludgeon, and a shield. Armour most probably consisted of leather armature and a helmet. Within this set of weapons apparently there could be some differences due to the complex social structure (local militia and warriors equipped at the expense of the feudal lord, etc.), which are difficult to discern as of now.

Most probably, the main part of the army was formed by lightly armed detachments of mounted archers. Their importance on the battlefield was quite crucial since they were responsible for initiating combat, showering the opponent with arrows, and causing considerable damage. It seems they were active on the flanks, covering mounted armour-clad warriors during attack. They were also charged with pursuing the enemy. They played a most pivotal role during campaigns—they were responsible for combat security, outflanking enemy territory, neutralising enemy reserves, and surrounding and blocking fortified enemy locations. In general, we can say that victory on



Armour, 14th century
(reconstruction by M. Gorelik)

the battlefield and the success of a campaign largely depended on the actions of this Golden Horde detachment. It should also be noted that for a several number of reasons this medium lightly armed cavalry unit was instrumental for the military affairs of several post-Golden Horde states.

The *infantry*, by their very nature, did not form particularly important or significant part of the army of the Jochid Ulus. In circumstances where the armoured cavalry was the most powerful unit, the infantry, in its turn, had a modest, supportive role. In the history of the Jochi Ulus warfare there is virtually no information on any regular use of the infantry. Even for the siege of urban fortifications dismounted horsemen were mostly used. For this reason, there is no information in regard to infantry armaments. There are descriptions with some unclear information about the possible presence of the infantry on the battlefield during the battles on the Kondurch (1391) and the Terek (1395), which mention Tatar field defensive installations in the form of ditches and fascines,



Mounted knight-at-arms, the 14th century
(reconstruction by M. Gorelik)

and apparently traces of protection. Perhaps in this case military servants and dismounted cavalry were charged with protecting the camp and such defensive installations. There are also belated and vague references to Muslim, Yas, and Genoese groups fighting alongside Mamai in the Battle of Kulikovo. Even if we admit that this information is accurate, it is an isolated case. Either way, the infantry did not play a decisive role—it had supporting and protective functions.

Perhaps an exception is the territory of Bulgar Ulus where, starting from the second half of the 14th century, some changes are noticeable in the composition of infantry equipment. These include wide oblong-triangular, oblong-foliate, and laurel-leaved spears, axes with tapered blades, as well as universal combat pole-axes.

The increasing significance of the infantry is related to a number of factors. One of these factors is the intensification of internal tension as well as the strengthening of the economic

and political independence of cities, which needed effective defence. Apparently, it was the big cities that formed infantry militias. Since the infantry could not fight against heavily armed cavalry in an open battle, it was mainly used for the defence of fortifications, during river battles, and during the use of firearms. Undoubtedly, it played a crucial role during the performance of engineering works. In this regard, we can notice an increase of its role in military affairs.

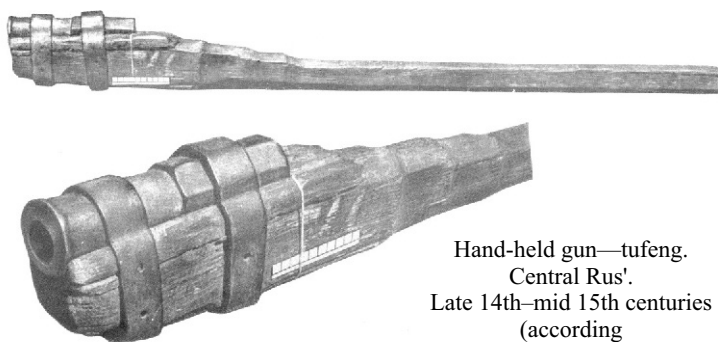
The *navy*, as a separate military force, was virtually absent in the Jochid Ulus. There are numerous testimonies when in response to Italian pirates and naval forces of the trading republics of Venice and Genoa, the khans and the rulers of uluses went on overland campaigns against the enemy ports and colonies their, forcing them to ensure the protection of the coast themselves. The navy emerges only in the latter half of the 14th century in the towns of Bulgar Ulus. It was able to resist the onslaught of pirates and Russian princes. These tendencies to increase the significance and consolidate the river fleet appeared later, in the 15th century, during the period of the Khanate of Kazan.

Artillery was the most important military and technical novelty of the 14th century, which, as it developed, began to determine the nature of the further development of military science in the world. Fire artillery arose from a combination of two discoveries of the preceding time—invention of the powder and large-scale casting of bronze and later even of cast iron. The first veracious information about composition of powder is known still from the middle of the 11th century from the Chinese treatise of Wu-jing Zongyao ('The most important of bases of military science'), where the production of incendiary and explosive shells of was described [Scholar, 1980, pp. 159–203]. The Mongols, familiar with achievements of Chinese military science, actively used such powder shells for the seizure of enemy fortresses. The breakthrough was made to the invention of fire proper guns, evidently in the Mediterranean, where the vacuum tubes which used powder charges were being first used for the throwing of arrows and small cannon-balls in the end of the 13th century. And since the 1330s the modified guns

began to throw fairly large cannon balls and around ten-twenty years later widely circulated in Europe. Such a military and technical novelty got to the territory of the Jochid Ulus most probably from the Middle East.

Already in the 1370s the light cannons appeared among the armaments of the Tatars and were used during defence of cities. A Russian chronicle used a vivid description of use of fire artillery when it reported that when in the winter of 1377 on the order of the Moscow Grand Duke the Nizhny Novgorod troops made a raid on the Bulgars, the besieged ones had met them by a cannon: '... they bombed our regiment with a cloud of cores' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 401]. This was actually the first time the Russian troops used a firearm. But already in 1382, during the defence of Moscow against Tokhtamysh's troops, the citizens opened a fire at them from light cannons—tufengs (tufenks): 'the artillerymen started firing...' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 26]. Thus, there is no doubt that the Tatars got acquainted with firearms at almost the same time when it widely circulated across the Old World.

The term that the Russians used for this type of early guns—'tufeng'—is a distorted borrowing from the Turkic 'tüfenk'—that is, a 'small canon.' This term and a number of findings from the territory of the Jochid Ulus give a clue of the design of early guns. They had a wide but short channel of the barrel and a noticeably narrower and longer loading chamber. As a rule, the caliber of such guns was light, and the weight of light tufengs was up to 12 kg. Such guns fired with stones and since the middle of the 15th century with cast bronze and cast iron cannon-balls. Based on findings, such barrels were widely known in the 14th century from Yuan China to Western Europe. According to Russian chronicles, tufengs were usually used during defence and siege of fortresses. Light tufengs could also be used even in field conditions because their light weight allowed transporting them on a usual carriage, as demonstrated by the circumstances of the



Hand-held gun—tufeng.
Central Rus'.
Late 14th–mid 15th centuries
(according
to A. Kirpichnikov)

Vorskla River battle in 1399, when the army of Vitovt employed light cannons against Tatar regiments of Edigu. However, we have no evidence that the Tatars also used guns in field battles.

The design of such guns gradually began to change. In the early 15th century their barrel became elongated, and the charge chamber was reduced. Such bombard guns had already become a frightful weapon, especially during the siege and defence of fortresses. Throwing out huge stone cannon-balls (one bombard weighed 5.5 tons, and its ball weighed 120 kg), these guns broke down stone walls and damaged the attacking party. In this period the variety of fire guns from heavy mortars, kurtodas, and serpentes firing with heavy cannon-balls (weighing 20 kg and more) to manual bombards—arquebuses, hand-cannons, and ruchnitsas shooting with lead balloons—noticeably increased. The design of cannons changed as well. Instead of bombards made from strips of wrought iron, cast iron guns appeared. This immediately increased the reliability and fire-power of guns, turning them into a more frightful weapon. In general, the golden age of fire artillery fell on the 15th century.

The development of fire artillery announced the sunset of the era of *throwing artillery*. Meanwhile, back at the beginning—middle of the 13th century, various types of throwing guns went through a period of prosperity. Catapults and arcballistas played an important role in the achievements of Mongol khans in their military campaigns. Eastern, Russian, and Western European sources constantly point at the guns that smashed city walls, gates and threw fire shells at the city. For example: 'The

Tatars started besieging the town and storming the fortress' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 369], or 'they started throwing balls which four men could not lift' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 7, p. 144], 'Batu brought his armies to the Polish gate, and they started a battle, and they were fighting the clock round' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 785]. But already later in the late 13th century the Tatars did not employ military machines frequently. Evidently it was explained by the fact that these troops were not so numerous and did not have a possibility to make long regular preparation of an assault, thus they opted for quick violent advances instead of long preparations.

At the same time, in a number of cases later the Tatars also used different types of pre-

fire artillery during the defence of their cities. The most expressive example of it is the siege of Bolgar by Moscow troops in 1377, when automatic guns fired at advancing citizens [Priselkov, 1950, p. 401]. Since this message also deals with the use of tufangs, one can assume that in the second half of the 14th century new artilleries did not displace the old one but coexisted with it. The throwing machines like arcballists were complementing fire guns because their productivity was considered different.

In other words, fire artillery was of great success in this period: it was often applied with missile instruments. All these military and technical novelties were mainly used for defending fortified towns—that is, fortresses of the Bulgar Ulus.

§ 4. Military Art

Iskander Izmaylov

Conducting a war. Strategy. Each army striving to achieve success has two equally important tasks: how to overcome the space and the time. The space is the territory through which you march to a target, conquer and capture it, ensuring supply of your troops so that the opponent would not be able to use these factors. Time is an initiative, speed, and onslaught that create shortage of time for the opponent, not allowing him to adequately react to the threat. The strategy in this sense is the art of mastering the space and time, the sudden onset of an offensive, the rapid march, the creation of a primacy at a certain point, which will not allow the opponent to gather strength for counter-attack. The military leaders of the Jochid Ulus often demonstrated understanding of these strategy basics. However, this understanding did not always spawn the ability to find suitable solutions for it.

The information passed on by Russian chronicles, Arabic and Persian historical-geographical works, and the records of Western European travellers is the primary sources for characterisation of the military strategy and operatively-tactical mastery of the Tatars

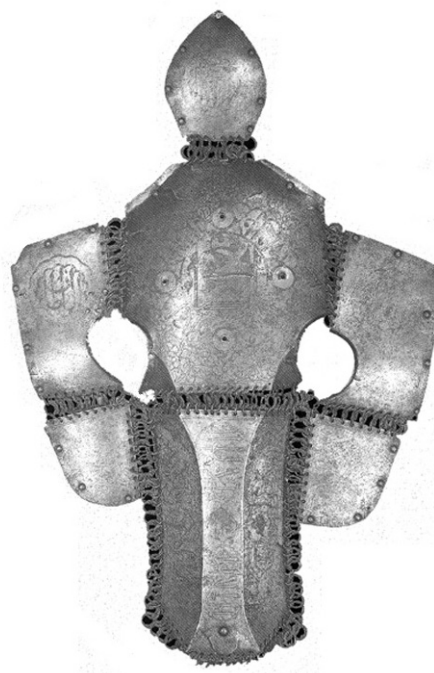
of the Jochid Ulus. They all cover this topic fairly incompletely and often even in a biased manner. However, during their complex analysis it is possible to identify some elements of the strategy and operational tactics, which the military leaders of the Jochid Ulus employed on the battlefield.

Unlike the European tacticians, who experienced fear of decisive clashes during field battles and had a 'siege reflex' (striving to build upon strengthened points and hide in them in case of a threat) [Kontamin, 2001, p. 235], the Tatars very resolutely overcome considerable spaces, diverting not only from their border lands but also supply bases. At the same time, as already in the end of the 13th century the khans of the Jochid Ulus did not set a task to conquer new territories; important strategic objectives were replaced by limited successes and the strategy of the 'minor advantage,' which were expressed in a robbery and collection of tribute for a certain territory, and frequently they were used instead of it.

A study of the wars and military campaigns of the the Golden Horde's rulers leads to the conclusion that the strategy and the tactics of

combat operations in different theatres of warfare varied. On the western front the Jochid Ulus did not cease the military and diplomatic pressure on the countries of South-Eastern and Central Europe, even after the completion of the monumental campaign against Poland, Czechia, Hungary, and Dalmatia. Already in 1243 the troop of the Horde people marched on the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia. Powerful pressure from the Horde people forced Prince Daniel, the irreconcilable enemy of Mongols who had warred with them earlier at the battle on the Kalka River (1223), to come to Khan Batu and submit to him as a subject. His submission, however, was not full, was most probably formal and soon, having formed an anti-horde alliance with the brother of Alexander Nevsky, Andrey, he began to oppose the establishment of the khan's power in Southern Rus'. It was only after a defeat of Prince Andrey ('Nevryuy army' of 1252, Russian chronicles) by Nevryuy, the military leader of Batu Khan, that he finally decided to take over South-Western Rus' for himself, starting with the Galicia principality. The campaigns of Kurmyshi Ulusbek (Khurumshi, Kuremsa of Russian chronicles) and Boroldai Bagatur in the 1250s involved devastating attacks on the Galicia Rus', Poland, and Lithuania. A 1259 campaign was particularly ruinous. Boroldai's armies fought through to Poland, demolishing on the way the fortifications of the southern Russian cities, belonging to their ally Daniel of Galicia, and laid waste to everything in their path. They conquered and burned Sandomierz [Schaveleva, 1978, pp. 307–314; Yegorov, 1985, pp. 188–190]. After these wars the western Horde border became stable. It included the Carpathians as well—a traditional and natural border of East European nomadic tribes.

The new military campaigns undertaken by the owner of the western ulus (the Prut-Dnieper interfluvium) Nogai (1275, 1277, 1280, 1286, 1287) did not aim at conquering new lands. Moreover, some of them were held in alliance with Prince of Galicia Leo on his request (campaigns of 1275, 1277, 1280). They rather aimed at the establishment of a vassal dependence of the Balkan States and Poland to impose tribute and war indemnity on them as



Steel chanfron.
Mamluk Egypt. 15th century

well as to secure borders of the empire against assaults, which were becoming stronger [Yegorov, 1985, pp. 190–192].

The campaigns of Nogai Ulusbek in Byzantium are notable. They were caused the khans' desire to defeat the ally of the Hulaguids, with whom the cruel confrontation in Transcaucasia started, as well as to provide the possibility of unimpeded passage over the Dardanelles for trade ships and embassies of horde [Lebedev, 1944, pp. 92–94]. The Khan of Burke's campaign, with an army of 20 thousand, ended with a siege of Constantinople. Bulgaria was destroyed and included in the Horde's sphere of influence (1269). For a little while the loyalty of Byzantium was assured. However, as early as 1270 there was the new Mengu-Timur Khan. When the policy of Byzantium displeased him, he moved in troops from his ulusbek again. Under the walls of Constantinople the Emperor greeted Nogai with docility and royal honour, even agreeing to a payment of tribute and neutrality in a war of the Jochids against the Ilkhans of Iran that had broken out. After this policy of violent military and political activity by the Jochid Ulus there was a period of calm in the west. It was only interrupt-

ed occasionally by local military enterprises (1337), when it was necessary to reinforce the khan's power, in the time of the Öz Beg Khan (1312–1342).

Ciscaucasia and Azerbaijan were the other regions where the Jochid Ulus particularly engaged in conquest. In Ciscaucasia skirmishes with warlike and freedom-loving highlanders almost never ceased. The mountain valleys and the biggest cities in this region had been seized by the beginning of the 14th century. For example, Dedyakov, the Alans' (Yases') biggest city, was stormed and destroyed with the active participation of vassal Russian princes' armed forces. Thus the border in the south became stable in the Caucasian Mountain Range.

Transcaucasia was the district that experienced the most violent conflict, where the Golden Horde strove to occupy the strategically important towns of Nakhichevan, Maragha, and Tabriz—centres of the silk road trade and a bridgehead for the conquest of the entire Middle East. The wars that had broken out there since 1262 continued, with varying degrees of success, until the 1490s. However no side in the conflict managed to drive their opponents away from Azerbaijan and defeat them. Actually it was a drawn out, sluggish war which both parties needed to maintain their military power. It was an important aspect of international politics: Mamluk of Egypt, who made the Jochid Ulus a strategic ally along with the Seljuq Turks of Asia Minor; and the significant adversary of Ilkhans of Iran, the Crusader kingdoms, and Byzantium.

The bloody wars of 1260s, when the army of Berke Khan defeated the regiments of Hulagu Khan (1263 and 1265), and the armies of Nogai were beaten near Shamakhi (1267) by Hulaguids, who in turn suffered a defeat by the Mamluks of Beibars in time of Ain Jalut (Palestine) (1269), were followed by a time of unarmed opposition and diplomatic intrigues. The trend of infrequent conflict was sharpened by successful campaigns of Mengü-Timur (1290) and Öz Beg Khan (1318/19) and by failures (1325 and 1335). One could say that the ideas about the violence of this struggle have a more perfect written origin,

through which the real fury of the sides and their desire to conquer a neighbour's lands are passed on. It is related to the active exchange of embassies by the participants of this widespread conflict and thus the preservation of a fairly detailed description of all the fluctuations of wars and diplomatic negotiations in these sources. In this sense the most known connections between the Volga and the Nile are the diplomatic contacts between the Golden Horde and Egypt.

The strategy of direct assault and the fleeting wars naturally resulted from the nature of the military organisation of the Jochid Ulus, where the militias of Tatar clans formed the main military force. A significant part of an army's number, in some campaigns against the Hulaguids, the sultans of Middle Asia, and Timur, they could reach two hundred and fifty thousand and required massive financial expenditure for their maintenance. Therefore, the khans could not fight a long war, unless it was accompanied by a seizure and plundering of an opponent's territory. As a rule, the success of a campaign was achieved by identifying a strategic point and surrounding it. When the main forces were preparing for an assault, the rest of the troops plundered the neighbourhood and thereby suppressed the resistance in the nearest cities. A seizure or the surrender of this strategic centre marked as a rule achievement of political ends because the opponents preferred to make peace without going on with the war.

In a whole range of cases (it is especially typical for the wars of the Jochid Ulus with the Hulaguids and Timur) the result of a war was decided only in a battle or several decisive battles. This is explained by the fact that there were not enough resources to gather an army equal in size to an opponent's defeated army, without leaving a country exposed to total destruction, as it was during Toktamysh's war with Timur in 1395–1397. The Golden Horde's domination of Northern Eurasia was such that for two hundred years it did not fight a defensive war. It was only in the period of mutinies, in the second half of the 14th century that cities of the Bulgar Ulus began to be attacked by Russian armies, which caused

them to begin to work out the tactics to defend their borders.

The choice of one or another strategy and an operation's plan were based, of course, on an assessment of an opponent's forces, the nature of his influences and own powers, and possible benefits. Obviously, detailed data about an opponent could not be got without a well resourced military intelligence and a developed spy network. The comparable system of collecting information and spies' data was traditional for states of the Chinggisids. Close international and intra-horde trade ties revealed ample opportunities for it. At the same time there was also a very active counterintelligence agency. For example, large military operations, such as attacks on the Toktamysh (1382) and Edigu (1408), were unexpected by Moscow's princes. Apparently, diplomatic agents were very active, influencing activity in Byzantium, the Seljuk sultanates of Asia Minor, and Egypt, as well as in other neighbouring countries in Europe and Middle Asia.

The tactics of a field battle. It is considered that the medieval battle was a disorderly struggle or an unsophisticated battle. Probably it sometimes happened like that. However, in the overwhelming majority of cases the style of pitched battle and the tactics employed by the Tatars were very diverse, as the sources show, and underwent a significant evolution. In general, one can say the medieval battle was a clash of the organised masses of cavalry fulfilling their tactical combat tasks.

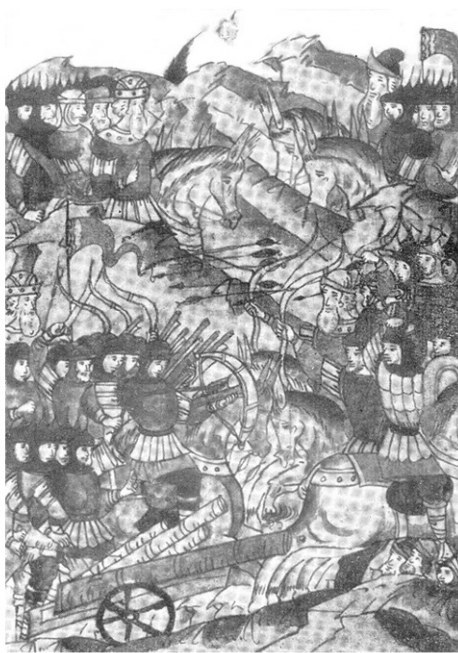
The make up of regiments was different at real battles, of course, and depended on particular circumstances. In the 13–14th centuries a large Tatar army's formation on the battlefield (*yasal*) was most probably a system of slave corps organised in five (or even seven) components. There were the advanced (*vertoul*) corps, two wing (*baraunkar and dzhaunkar*), the centre, and the reserve. Sometimes there were the advance guard (*sentry*), flank (*kanbul*) outposts, and even the rearguard (*surgavyl*). All *kuly* consisted of smaller units (*koshuns* (*kushuns*)). By the analogy with organisational structure of medieval European armies one can assume that there were units within these *kushuns*, which had a degree of tactical free-



Mongol and Tatar flags. Medieval miniatures (according to M. Gorelik)

dom. There were smaller tactical units of tactic known as spears. At least the Persian sources constantly mention these units, in descriptions of military clashes with an army from Toktamysh.

Such a formation required different concentrations of combat lines of the armies, which in the crush of battle usually became compact masses. It is understandable that it was rather difficult to manage such a battle. For purposes of more effective command and control over the actions of the various units, command flags along with flags of the slaves, *kushuns*, and spears were used as guides. Across the raised flags they ran a troop count; based on the location of a flag of the supreme commander-in-chief they estimated the centre of combat. Trumpets and drums (*nakars*) as well as the commander's whistles were also used. A Tatar army on the battlefield before an attack was described by Marco Polo: 'The Tatars' custom is: when they are assembled and ready to fight, the *nakar* of the chief will not yet sound, they do not begin swearing, but



Battle on the Vorskla River. 1399.
Illuminated chronicle. Late 16th century

they constantly play the instruments and they sing...' '...When they wait for a battle, unless the nakar sounds, they sing and play on the two-strings instruments; they sing, play, and they have fun lying in wait for a fight. And they were... And they wait by the custom of a nakar's blows and a battle; and it is simply amazing how well they sang and played' to [Book of Marco Polo, 1990, pp. 92, 212].

It is quite evident that numerous ranked units could work on a battlefield, carrying out their combat tasks. Based on data of Persian sources (Shami, Yazdi), one can assume that they ensured that the centre held fast, which guaranteed the security of the whole formation. Most probably it was the centre that was being productively strengthened by Caucasian trenches and supports [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 168]. Most often it was the advanced and flank kuly that went into a battle and fought tactical manoeuvres. In that regard it is unsurprising that it was the flanks of armies of Toktamysch and Timur which at the battle near the Kondurcha River (1391) as well as at the battle on the Terek (1395) played the most important role in the battle. Particularly vivid-

ly such an operational scheme of a battle was shown in the battle on the Terek, where for the first two days the wings and kanbul of Toktamysch's troops fought with a degree of success against the flanks of Timur's troops and even nearly captured an opponent's camp. However, on the third day they were beaten, which destined a common defeat of Tatar troops (see a review of events of these battles: [Mirgaleyev, 2003]). Perhaps the battle on the Vorskla (1399), where Vitovt's troops were bogged down in a battle against the centre of Edigu's troops and were squeezed from flanks and beaten [Izmaylov, 1994], was an example of the brilliant use of such tactics. It appears this is not a chance but a deliberate operational battle plan, when a strong centre absorbs the main forces of an opponent and supplies the wings with reserves. The wings and their combat kanbuls troop were manoeuvrable operational-tactical units that worked on their own flanks and had to break an opponent's flanks, aiming to separate him from his rear. Such tactics could only be planned and realised if the battle order of troops was sufficiently divided, and the operational units could work deciding their combat tasks independently.

The actual battle of that time seems to follow the pattern of introducing the kushuns of the light and heavy cavalry into battle in order to break the opponent's front line. First, the vanguard of mounted bowmen entered the battle. Galloping past the opponent's stationary line, they showered them with arrows continuously. Missiles played a leading role in this battle; these missiles were made stronger by new types of arrowheads and more effective types of bows to increase the fire power and thus the effectiveness of lightly-armed horsemen. Marco Polo gave a vivid description of this stage of the battle, recounting the battle between Berke and Hulagu: 'A short time later the nakar sounded from two sides; and, as soon as they heard it struck, immediately each side rushed at the other; they grabbed their bows and fired arrows, launching them at the enemy. Arrows were flying from both sides, and after a short time the air was so filled with them so that you couldn't see the sky. One could see many men fall to the ground, and also many

horses; and you must believe that it couldn't be otherwise, so many arrows were launched at once. They did not cease to launch arrows as long as there were arrows in their quivers, and all the earth was covered with the dead and dying. And when they had expended all their arrows, they reached for their swords and clubs...' [Kniga Marko Polo, 1990, p. 212].

The essence of similar tactics of mounted bowmen is explained by another author, S. Herberstein (the first half of the 16th century), who was familiar with the tactics of the Tatars from the stories of his Russian informants: 'They enter into a contest with the enemy with the greatest boldness from a distance; they do not, however, continue this mode of warfare long, but pretending flight, take an opportunity while their enemies are pursuing them to discharge their arrows backwards, and then, when the ranks of the enemy are broken, turn their horses suddenly round and attack them' [Herberstein, 1988, p. 168].

The author goes on to clarify this tactical technique, which was probably, to some degree, typical of all ancient and medieval nomad armies (for further details see: [Gorelik, 1990, pp. 155–160]): 'When a battle is to be fought upon their native plains, and they have the enemy within arrows' flight, they do not enter into the engagement in regular battle-array, but draw out their forces into a winding circle, so as to afford themselves a freer and more certain opportunity of discharging their weapons at the enemy. They observe a wonderful degree of order, both in advancing and retreating; for performing which manoeuvres they have leaders, who are very skilful in these matters; but if these should happen to fall under the enemy's weapons, or through fear should make an error in generalship, the confusion of the entire army becomes so great that they cannot again be restored to order, nor be prevailed upon to turn their shafts against the enemy. This kind of contest, they themselves, from the resemblance, call a dance'. The German edition describes how the Tatars '...begin a 'dance,' as the Muscovites call it; the commander or captain approaches the enemy army with his detachment and, after shooting arrows, rides away; another detachment



Battle. Miniature from the book
'History of Abulkhair Khan' by Masud Kuhistani.
Transoxania. Mid-16th century

follows the first, and thus one detachment follows the other, until the first returns after the last. If they successfully arrange matters thus, the advantage is on their side, but if the commanders riding ahead of the detachments are killed or lose courage, they rapidly fall into disarray' [Herberstein, 1988, page 168]. This 'ring dance' was a uniquely efficient arrangement which allowed for continuous mass shooting to be kept up from as close and advantageous a position as possible—into the flank, forward or, especially, backward. It was for exactly this kind of shooting that the Tatars used special arrows with huge tips ('srezni'), as Marco Polo testifies: 'It is their practice that each warrior in the battle should have 60 arrows, 30 small ones for shooting, and 30 large ones with broad iron tips; these they throw at close range—at faces and hands, they cut bowstrings with them and use them to inflict a lot of harm' [Kniga Marko Polo, 1990, p. 193]. The version of the story preserved by Ramusio describes how 'the Tatars, when fighting an enemy, never dismount; everyone gallops around in a circle and shoots' [ibid, p. 256]. During the first phase of the battle the opponent would suffer enormous losses, losing warriors in the front lines, and especially horses. This was accomplished not through horizontal fire from afar, but through aimed

fire, after coming up within shooting distance. Another objective of this arrow shooting was to throw the opponent's ranks into disarray, cause disruption, and spread panic in order to prepare for the second phase of the attack. This began when fully-armed warriors entered the battle after the bowmen, often with armoured lancers in the centre. According to Marco Polo's clichéd narrative about the battles, when the bowmen had shot all their arrows, they attacked the opponent—'after all their arrows had been shot, they reached for their swords and clubs and fight fiercely,' 'all the arrows had been used, they put their bows away in their cases and grabbed their swords and clubs,' '... when they had expended all their arrows and killed many men and their horses, they reached for their swords and clubs...' [Marco Polo, 1955, pp. 193–194, 216–217, etc.]. But the battle itself consisted of several acts and various manoeuvres, attacks, and false retreats. The description of a similar battle by German historian A. Kranz at the end of the 15th century is worthy of notice. Describing the battle tactics of the Russians, Kranz wrote that they usually fought standing in position, and 'advancing in long files, they throw spears and strike with swords or sabres and then quickly retreat' (quoted from: [Kirpichnikov, 1976, p. 14]). It is clear that the Russian warriors borrowed these battle tactics, as well as the main types of armaments, from the Tatars.

Marco Polo gives the following description: 'In battles with their enemies, they gain the advantage in this way: they are not ashamed to run from the enemy; they run away, turn around, and shoot. They have taught their horses like dogs to turn about in all directions. When they are being chased, they fight on the run well and with force, as surely as if they were standing face to face with the enemy; they run and turn back, shoot accurately, and strike down the enemy's horses and men. And the enemy believes they are frustrated and defeated, while he himself has lost, because his horses have been shot down and his men severely beaten. The Tatars, as soon as they see that they have struck down the enemy's horses and a great many men, turn back and fight well

and bravely, routing and defeating the enemy' [Kniga Marko Polo, 1990, page 82]. At the same time, the Koshuns, having shot their arrows, most likely retreated to replenish their quivers. And their place was taken by fresh units, who continued to storm the opponent's positions, alternating between arrow-shooting and attacks by armoured cavalry, attempting to wedge themselves into his formations and disrupt the battle array.

Thus, we can establish that the field battle of the medieval Tatars involved two main phases: battle at a remote distance using bows and arrows and close combat with pole-arms and bladed weapons. It may be assumed with certainty that the second phase of the field battle involved a charge by lancers, armed horsemen of the first one or two ranks. They attacked the opponent by closing in *en masse*, with their spears in a horizontal position and at a gallop, to gather force for the strike. After the first skirmish, the battle broke up into separate fights which were distinguished by their brevity, violence, and a rapid change in the combat environment. The increased intensity of the battle was, to a large extent, due to the flexibility of the combat formations and the divisibility of the subdivisions of the troops, which allowed more and more new troops to be brought into the battle. Various hand-to-hand combat weapons were used in this decisive phase of the battle. At the same time, the Tatars carried out not only frontal attacks, but also flank attacks and envelopment manoeuvres, according to various sources. All these elements of the battle are confirmed not only in written sources, but also in pictorial sources, which complement this information wonderfully.

If the opponent could not endure the successive blows delivered by the mounted lancers and ran away, light cavalry pursued them, capturing the weak and plundering. Sometimes this went on for several dozen kilometers. For example, the Tatars pursuing the escaping Lithuanian-Russian troops after the battle on the Vorskla River in 1399 approached Kiev itself and demanded ransom from it. Most likely the pursuers were fresh reserve troops. They executed an operational and tactical manoeuvre

vre in order not to allow the retreating enemies to come together and suddenly counterattack the Tatar troops, exhausted by the battle.

It is difficult to calculate the combat losses which could have been caused by external and internal wars. They were definitely different depending on battle conditions. For example, it is undoubted that, despite the defeat in the battle on the Kondurcha, Tokhtamysh managed to preserve not just the main forces of his army, but even reinforced it with reserves from Bulgar, Ukek, and Mokhsa. This may be seen from the fact that no great ulusbek or clan chief died, apparently having retreated with their *koshuns*. But Tokhtamysh's losses in the battle on the Terek, which was larger and bloodier, turned out to be catastrophic. No ulusbek who fought in this battle survived, with only rare exceptions. Indeed, total losses in the wars seem to have reached 20%–50% of participants, and most of the warriors died fleeing from the battlefield. It seems that the battles of the Jochid Ulus using mass cavalry led to mortality significantly greater than human losses in Western European battles.

The warriors of the Jochid Ulus did not know courtesy or the manifestation of knight-hood. The opponent was as a rule destroyed completely, if he did not go to the side of the victor in time. Being sold into slavery was the greatest mercy the vanquished could expect. Arab sources repeatedly describe how, after Nogai's victory over Tokhta and after his defeat, the slave markets of Crimea filled with captives. In this sense the Tatars showed no mercy to enemies, nor asked for it themselves. One of the bloodiest stages in the military history of the Jochid Ulus was the wars in Rus'. But it must be noted that Russian princes and citizens repeatedly provoked such wars by massacring the khan's ambassadors.

It is interesting that religious motives were absent in the rhetoric of the rulers of the Jochid Ulus for a long time, though Egyptian chroniclers tried to represent such motives as the impetus for the wars between the Jochids and the Hulaguids. But the curses of Berke Khan ('May Allah bring shame upon this Hulagu, killing Mongols with Mongol swords. If

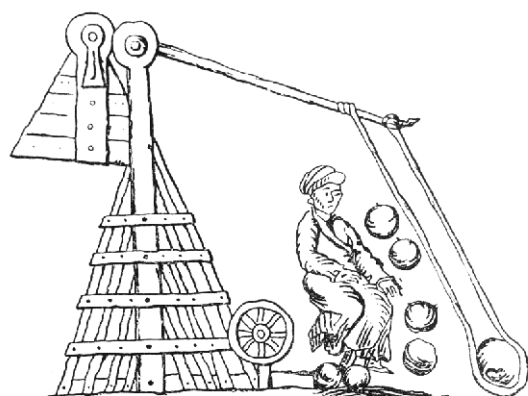


Siege of a Russian city. Miniature.
Illuminated chronicle. Late 16th century.

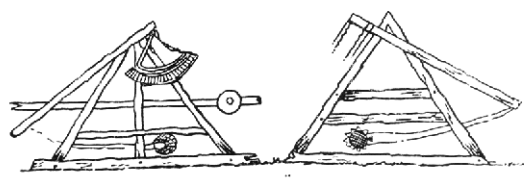
we acted together, we would conquer all the Earth' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 75]) eloquently testify to the extent to which religion incited these wars.

However, in the 15th century the religious component of political and military doctrines started gradually increasing, and it became especially significant in the ensuing centuries.

Siege and defence. Sieges and the capture of cities were one of the most important aims of any war in the Middle Ages. Cities and fortresses were an axis in the strategic coordinates of any war, uniting military space and time. The capture of cities offered benefits in terms of the occupation of territory and conveyed a time advantage, while a long and fruitless siege deprived one of the same advantages. For example, the quick capture of Moscow (1382) by Tokhtamysh led to the stabilisation of the situation in the Jochid Ulus and subordination of Rus'. At the same time, the long siege of Moscow by Edigu (1408), which ended in his retreat, caused increased tension, contributing to the collapse of the country. In that regard the siege and defence of fortresses



صورة
ربرجار بالمجنش مأخوذة من جامع التاريخ لرشد الدين



صورة
مجنش لرى التردور والغازير بمجلة المراتات والاراق

Manjanik, a type of a trebuchet. Miniature. Iran.
Early 14th century

are highly important elements in the country's entire military culture.

The seizure of huge territories and the delivery of defeats to numerous states would have been impossible if the Mongol troops had not commanded advanced tactics for the assault of fortresses using technical innovations such as stone-throwers (something like *trebuchets* or *catapults*), powder and incendiary shells, various battering rams, and systems of protective fascines. But by the end of the 13th century the troops of the Jochid Ulus were using these tactics of massive assault more and more rarely. Apparently the reason for this metamorphosis is the geopolitical stabilisation of the borders of the empire and the belief that since they possessed a numerous and strong army, the khans of the Jochid Ulus did not have to concern themselves with the perfection of siege and defensive tactics.

Another reason was psychological. In the history of the Jochid Ulus, the capture of enemy cities was often carried out not through direct assault, but by threatening to make one. The glory of the Tatars as warriors who almost

always conquered besieged cities convinced those besieged of the vainness of resistance and caused them to abandon themselves to the conqueror's mercy. For example, during the siege of Moscow in 1382, on the third day of the unsuccessful siege the ambassadors of Tokhtamysh and two sons of Dmitry of Suzdal came up to the city walls and announced: 'The tsar wishes to take pity on you, his people, as you are not guilty, nor are you deserving of death. He has come to do battle not with you, but with your grand prince. You, however, deserve his mercy. He requires nothing more from you but that you come out to meet him with honour and tribute, along with your prince. He only wants to see all of your city and enter into it and stay there, and bestows upon you his peace and love. Open your gate to him' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 25, p. 208]. Then princes Vasily and Semyon started asking the citizens to comply with their request. The citizens started arguing, as many of them did not want to resist the khan. So the city opened the gate. In some cases cities did indeed save themselves from ruin and plunder, but often the surrender led only to robbery, albeit on a limited scale. But sometimes a city was plundered anyway, as happened in 1382 to Moscow when the citizens opened the gate and went out headed by prince Ostey, archimandrites, and other high-ranking people of the city. They were killed mercilessly, and the city was absolutely ruined and burnt to ashes.

Sometimes the same effect was achieved with the help of a blockade, leading to a shortage of provisions and water or to a plague. But the attempt to operate in this fashion in the case of Moscow in 1408 did not lead to success. The city was fortified well, and without artillery Edigu was unable to organise an assault. As a result of a mon-long blockade he had to retreat. This case shows the most difficult feature of such tactics. The strategy of a war for obtaining 'quick benefits' required that one act quickly. The khans of the Jochid Ulus could not mount a siege for months and years, as in Western Europe. Their success had to be quick, despite losses.

In this case the army had to start a direct assault. As the besiegers usually were more

numerous, they could try to overcome the city's fortifications without paying much attention to human losses. In addition, there were special technical means of blockading cities to neutralise the firepower of the besieged, and siege engines were used. The description of the siege and assault of Sandomierz in 1259 in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* [Galicko-Voly'nskaya letopis', 2005, pp. 138–139] is a wonderful illustration of the successful application of these tactics. The troops

headed by Burunday, a veteran of the conquest of the West, approached Sandomir in November. The city was immediately surrounded by a bulwark and stockade to cover the besiegers: 'they walled in their city.' After that battle machines were built very quickly, because apparently the Tatars had only the main parts with them, 'and they built catapults, and fired continuously day and night.' At the same time, the Tatar archers attacked the city walls to prevent the citizens from shooting at them: 'and the arrows prevented one from coming out from behind the fortress wall.' The intense fire lasted four days and ended in success—all the barriers were knocked down from the wall, and the defenders, left with no protection, were swept from the walls. At the same time, the attackers filled ditches with brushwood. After that the Tatars 'started leaning ladders against the city walls and climbed into the city that way'. The walls fell down, the gate was opened, and the Tatar-Russian troops broke into the city. As a result, the city was seized, plundered, and burnt down. It was essentially an assault carried out according to all the canons of military art, just as the Mongols carried out assaults on cities during their conquests.

But from the time of the assault of 1259, the siege technique and tactics of the Tatars started to decline. While new, improved defensive tools were being developed in neighbouring states, such as stone walls, firearm



Ceramic incendiary shells. Ukek

artillery, and fortifications in front of walls, the Tatars were using the traditional tactics of sudden raids and captures. These were based on the tactics of the sudden raid and seizure of a city, as it happened in the case of the seizure of Vladimir in 1410 by Tatar-Russian troops. If the sudden raid was not successful, other tactics were used. The Tatars fired intensively at walls, trying to knock down defenders in order to climb the walls without hindrance and open the town gate. This tactic is described in Russian chronicle accounts of the seizure of Moscow in 1382: 'The Tatars came up to the town, and the citizens started shooting arrows at them; the Tatars fired even more arrows at the city, as numerous as rain, so one could not even see. And many of those standing on the city walls fell wounded by arrows, for the Tatar arrows overcame more than those of the city' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 25, p. 208].

But starting in the mid-14th century these tactics were becoming less and less successful. The army of the Jochid Ulus did make some achievements in the seizure of cities, for example, the seizure of Tabriz in 1357 or Moscow in 1382, as well as a whole series of other Russian towns. But they were carried out by means of fast raids or intense shooting at town walls followed by the seizure of the gate. When towns had their gates closed and they had a sufficient garrison and the necessary

food, in most cases sieges and assaults failed. This is clear evidence of the degradation of the Jochid Ulus's siege tactics in the 14th century.

As in the Jochid Ulus a significant defence system in frontier uluses did not even exist, the khans did not care much about defence. At the same time, the defence of towns was organised rather well in regions with traditions of constructing fortifications. There is no doubt that in these cases, in addition to walls, ditches, and barriers, special battle machines protected towns. These included stone launchers (*trebuchets*), small and middle-sized pull action catapults (*arrada*), and crossbows (*tircharkh*). For example, a similar arsenal existed in the Khwarezm border fortress Kyat, which fended off the attack of Aksak Timur in 1372 [Materialy' po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii, 1939, p. 515]. These military machines, by increasing the field of fire from the city walls, did not allow attackers to bring their siege engines up to the city walls, fill in ditches, and start an assault. In the latter half of the 14th century, the use of new military equipment, firearm artillery, was recorded for the first time. The garrison, while firing at the assailants, often also organised raids to hamper coordinated enemy action and prevent them from organising a blockade of the city. An example of these tactics is recorded in the Russian chronicles for 1377, when the troops of Moscow Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich went on a campaign to attack Bulgar. They approached the walls of the city on 16 March and began to plunder the environs; in response: 'The pagan Besermyans came out of the city opposite them, took up battle positions and began to shoot, while others fired thunder from the city, scaring our men, and others fired crossbows, and yet others rode out on camels, seizing our horses' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 401]. Thus did the besieged try to disrupt the plan for encompassing the city.

The besieged hoped that their selfless defence would force the opponent to retreat, or they would be able to gain time so that a reserve army could join them, or a shortage of food would demoralise the enemy. As a last resort they were ready to accept political conditions of peace, for example, to acknowledge

the jurisdiction of a new power, but they tried their best not to open the gate to the enemy.

Military actions aimed at fortified cities and fortresses often turned into full-fledged military campaigns. One example is the five campaigns of Aksak Timur against Khwarezm. These ended with the seizure and devastation of Urgench in 1388, when its ruler al-Sufi fled, leaving it defenseless. But it also happened where there were serious fortifications, exhausting the enemy through constant sieges and battles. As far as areas without fortifications are concerned, for example, the Lower Volga Region, the defence of towns was left in the hands of the citizens themselves. It was not organised properly and was destined to fail; this led to a military disaster in 1395, when Aksak-Timur went along the Volga as far as Ukek without hindrance.

In other words, the siege and defence tactics of the Jochid Ulus essentially never became central to their military art, and it deteriorated some time after the conquest, having ceased to be a state programme. The tactics of defence were preserved and developed only in some regions which constantly experienced military pressure from their neighbours, Khwarezm and Bulgar.

* * *

The armament and military science of the Jochid Ulus traveled a significant path of development. The initial stage of its formation was related to the grandiose and aggressive campaigns of Chinggis Khan and his offspring. In the period before the late 13th century, the armament and tactics of the Jochid Empire's military forces were similar to the equipment and ways of waging war in other states of the Chinggisids. But the differences, which were mainly determined by the rapid social development of the Jochid Ulus, gradually began to increase. This eventually led to the differentiation of troops by their armaments and the method of their use. At one end of the spectrum were the noble warriors and their servants—armoured cavalry armed with lances, sabres, and maces, and at the other end were mounted archers, who usually only had bows and arrows, along with universal types

of weapons such as axes, spears, and knives. These changes had become particularly noticeable by the early 15th century, when the structure of military organisation and battle tactics themselves changed. Almost the entire period of the history of the Jochid Ulus was marked by degradation in the art of city sieges. While in the latter half of the 13th century the Tatars often besieged cities in Poland and Rus' and took them by storm, in the early 15th century only blockading was used. This was to a great extent connected with the underestimation of fire artillery, which was mainly used in the Jochid Ulus to defend the towns of the Bulgar Ulus. Troop formation on the battlefield consisted of several tactical units or corps (*kuls*), including a whole range of smaller divisions (*koshuns*). As a result, the

battle itself consisted of the constant introduction of all these units into the battle. Traditionally the field battle tactics of the Tatars made wide use of manoeuvres, ambushes, false retreats, and sudden attacks which were supported by intensive cavalry strikes in open battle. For a long time this brought success to Tatar military leaders during battles with enemies, securing the dominance of the Jochid Ulus in northern Eurasia. However, a certain conservatism and underestimation of innovations in military science led to heavy defeats in wars against Poland, Lithuania, and Rus', as well as the mounted legions of Aksak-Timur. At the same time, one cannot help noting the vast and decisive influence of the armament and military science of the Jochid Ulus during the post-Horde era.

CHAPTER 7

Domestic Policy of the Jochid Ulus

§ 1. Central power and Russian principalities

Charles Halperin

Interaction between the Golden Horde and the Russian principalities and city-states was intensive and vast. It affected all spheres of life in Rus', especially the economic, political, social, and cultural spheres. This interaction took place in two stages: 1) directly, during the existence of the Golden Horde from the 13th through the 15th centuries, and 2) indirectly, after the decline of the Golden Horde, through successor states of the Horde, from the 16th through the 18th centuries.

A profound indicator of the extent to which the reaction of Rus' to Tatar rule influenced the study of the Horde is the well-known fact that the name given to this Jochid state—the 'Golden Horde'—is not of Tatar origin, and that it first appeared long after the collapse of the Horde, not earlier than in the 1560s in the Russian literary monument on the conquest of Kazan, the 'Kazan History.' [Halperin, 1986, pp. 162–165]. Likewise, the term usually used in Russian historiography for the Horde's rule—the 'Tatar yoke'—is also an anachronism that emerged in the latter half of the 17th century, most likely on the territory of Ukraine, which was then subordinate to the Muscovite state [Halperin, 1984b].

The predominance of Russian terms in the historiography of the Jochid Ulus is a result of the significant role of Russian sources in its study. The history of the Horde cannot be written without Russian sources, despite their bias, mistakes, and omissions [Halperin, 2006]. Unfortunately, Russian scholarship dealing with the Horde and especially Tatar influence on Rus' has often been characterised by neglect or distortion of the history of the former [Halperin, 1982c; 2000a; 2004]. The views of the Eurasian school, whose historical department was

headed by G. Vernadsky, were an exception to this generalisation; these views were characterised by excessive abstract constructions [Halperin, 1982; 1985a].

There is no doubt that Rus' was conquered by the Mongols in 1237–1240, despite hypotheses to the contrary. The arguments in favour of an alliance between Rus' and the Mongols are refuted by abundant evidence of Tatar government in Rus', which would be inexplicable if an alliance had existed [Halperin, 1998a, p. 109, n. 59].

Russian sources were always fairly ambiguous concerning the recognition of the Tatar conquest in their theoretical framework, preferring to see Russian-Tatar relations as a continuing series of armed clashes [Halperin, 1982b; 1984; 1985, pp. 61–74; 1986; 1998a]. For this reason the victory of Muscovite Grand Prince Dmitry Donskoy over Emir Mamai in 1380 at the Battle of Kulikovo was not clearly framed in the literary record of the Kulikovo cycle as the 'liberation' of Rus' from the 'Tatar yoke' [Halperin, 1976; 1984b; 1986, pp. 94–136]. Even the Battle of Kulikovo could not destroy the myth of Mongol invincibility [Halperin, 1998, pp. 325–335]. Even the great stand on the Ugra River was not presented as the main turning point of Russian-Tatar relations until the third quarter of the following century, but only ambiguously as a 'liberation' [Halperin, 1986, pp. 149–166].

The place of Rus' in the administrative structure of the Golden Horde remains unclear [Halperin, 1998a, pp. 111–112]; the descriptions of Rus' as an *ulus* of the khan or the Russian princes as his *ulusniks* served certain interests and may not have reflected the actual tradition of the Jochid Ulus [Halperin, 1982d].

Instead of a clear concept of Tatar domination, the Russian sources give the one-sided impression that Russian-Tatar relations consisted only of hostile armed clashes. Unfortunately, this distortion often remains in modern historiography.

At first, the conquest and subsequent rule of the Horde had a very destructive influence on the Russian principalities and city-states. The seizure of Russian cities and later the necessity of paying tribute and taxes to support the Tatar rulers and their suite and bodyguards in Rus', traveling to the Horde and giving presents to the khans of the Golden Horde—all of this imposed steep costs on the economy of Rus' which turned out to be so large that a whole century was needed in order to recover from them. The construction of stone churches in Rus' ceased for a century; some artistic crafts, such as nielloed enamel, completely disappeared; and the city of Ryazan was forced to relocate to another place because of too frequent raids. But the economy of Rus' revived, to a great extent due to Tatar patronage of international trade. The khans issued an edict according to which Baltic merchants were allowed to enter Novgorod without paying customs duties. Trade on the Volga, which intersected with the Silk Road, took special advantage of the Pax Mongolica, which in the 13th century extended from China to Iran. The Russian cities on the Volga obtained great benefit from this trade; Nizhny Novgorod flourished as a result of it. Certainly, the ongoing Tatar invasions had a negative influence on the economic development of Rus'. But however difficult these duties were for Rus', apparently they constituted only a minor source of income for the Jochid Ulus, whose main income came from the Silk Road [Halperin, 1985, pp. 75–86].

Rus' was on the outskirts of the Golden Horde, whose main city centres were situated in other places—in Bolgar, Crimea, the Sarais, and Khwarezm. It was spending much greater resources trying rather to seize the rich pastures of Azerbaijan from the Ilkhans than maintaining political control over the Russian forest area. Therefore, Rus' was peripheral to the economic and strategic interests of the Horde, despite the efforts of Russian written sources

to assert the opposite opinion of Russian-Tatar relations.

Politically, the Horde left the infrastructure of princely power in Rus' untouched, but it demanded that all the princes visit the great khan in Karakorum personally in the beginning, and then the khan of the Golden Horde in the nomadic horde or in Sarai, depending on where he was. Although the Tatars respected the lawfulness of the Rurikid dynasty and never assigned non-Rurikids to the princely thrones, the final choice of the Grand Prince of all Russia rested on the khans, which gave them an opportunity for political manipulation and encouraged Russian princes to manoeuvre among factions of the Horde and forces trying to obtain political support. However, the Russian princes hardly needed the Horde's guidance to know how to act as political figures using tricks or ruses [Ibid., pp. 44–60]. It is not surprising that Rus' needed information, and it acquired extensive knowledge about the domestic and foreign policy of the Horde, its geography, and its dynastic and administrative organisation [Halperin, 1982a].

The khans of the Jochid Ulus did not set up garrisons in Russian cities, nor did it occupy the Russian forest area; they ruled from the steppe through a multitude of administrative officials whose functions are sometimes not entirely clear [Halperin, 1985, pp. 33–43]. The presence of the Horde in the politics of Rus' was very noticeable. The execution of such canonised princes as Mikhail of Chernigov and Mikhail of Tver, the invasion of Tatar forces into the forest area, part of the internecine feuds within the principality, and the imposition of taxes and compulsory military service, as in Tver in 1327, demonstrate this fact. Even campaigns of the Horde to defend Rus' from Hungary, Lithuania, or Poland were often very expensive for Rus', through whose territory the Tatar cavalry passed on its way to the border, although Russian princes could obtain some profit from the spoils taken. As the Horde left no internal documentation or even chronicles [Halperin, 2000], it is not clear whether the Horde controlled the competition between Moscow and Tver in the 14th century in order to weaken the opposition of Rus' towards the



V. Smirnov. Prince Mikhail of Chernigov. 1883.
Tretyakov gallery

government of the Horde, or merely minimised the threat to the khan's government in reaction to internal political events in Rus'. Moscow did not owe its greatness to the Golden Horde, but at first it successfully used its ties with the Horde, and then obtained the approval of the people for opposition to its rule.

In the period of the Golden Horde there is no evidence of significant borrowing of the Horde's political and administrative structures by Rus'. For example, the Russian *Boyar Duma* was not an imitation of the Horde's *divan*, which consisted of four *ulusbeks*. The local and the city Russian governors (*namestniks* and *volost* leaders) did not copy the division of responsibility between military and civil functions from the Horde, partly because there was no such division in the Horde [Halperin, 2000].

In the social aspect, Rus' had much opportunity to get acquainted with the people of the Horde, their customs and life, often unintentionally or under pressure, when princes, craftsmen, slaves, and clerics visited the Horde. Apparently, there were few Tatar rulers in Rus'. Although in the 13th and the early 14th centuries interethnic marriages between Russian princes and Ching-

gisid princesses took place on occasion, for example, in the cases of Prince Gleb Vasilkovich of Rostov, Fyodor Chorni of Smolensk and Yaroslavl, or Yury Danilovich of Moscow, and some Tatars assimilated into Rus' and adopted a new religion, most likely these cases were rare. Some recorded cases could have been invented, for example, the conversion of Tsarevitch Peter in the 14th century. Although the author of his biography was well-informed about saints of Chinggisid blood, it may be that the story is fictitious [Halperin, 1975]. The Tatar founders of Russian clans of boyars such as the Godunovs and the Glinskys, who entered Russian service in the same period, are also probably legendary. Certainly, the Russian princes and aristocrats in the 13–14th centuries shared the affection of the Tatar elite for hunting and crude chivalry, as is shown by actions attributed to Batu towards the Russian epic hero Yevpati during the siege of Ryazan in 1237 and the description of the fleeing, defeated Tatars in the epic poem 'Zadonschina' about the battle of Kulikovo. The Horde's patronage of the Russian Orthodox Church undoubtedly made its contribution to the economic basis of the expansion of the church and especially monasticism in the 14th century. Tatar rule did not lead to moral degradation among the Russian people—at least none more significant than what occurred under the Rurikid dynasty [Halperin, 1985, pp. 104–119].

In the cultural aspect, mutual influence was limited by religious factors, especially after Islam became the official religion of the Horde during the rule of Öz Beg-khan in the early 14th century [Ibid., pp. 120–125]. The diverse and sophisticated high Islamic culture of the Jochid Ulus, science, Islamic theology, and law did not have any meaning or use in Rus', which ignored these aspects of the life of the Horde in their sources. However, the Russian Orthodox Church did borrow the Horde's artistic style, using precious metals, especially gold, for the decoration of the handwritten Gospel, icon frames, and church vestments and implements. However, Rus' had to gain an understanding of the cultural horizons of the Horde when carrying out orders to participate in military campaigns against the ilkhans in the Caucasus or sending troops to Yuan China. But

this was most likely passive observation of the parades of papal legates, Genoese and Venetian trade ambassadors, messengers of the Egyptian Mamluks and the Ilkhans of Iran, Central Asian merchants, and ulamas of the Horde.

Since the beginning of their expansion in Western Eurasia, the Mongols had been much more worried about the Kypchaks, a group of related, and thus dangerous, nomadic herdsman, than about Rus'. The Kypchak Turks formed the demographic basis of the Jochid Ulus and became a source of fierce opposition between the Ilkhans and the Egyptian Mamluks. They were also sent to China as part of 'ethnic' military units. The Turkisation of the Mongols is evidence of how much greater the influence of the Kypchaks was in the Golden Horde than in Rus' [Halperin, 1983a; 1985, pp. 21–32; 2000b].

The structure of Russian-Tatar interaction, but not its intensity or significance, changed after the collapse of the Golden Horde in the middle of the 15th century into a nomadic and still dangerous core, the Great Horde; the peripheral Kazan, Astrakhan, and Crimean khanates; the Kasimov khanate, which was a vassal of the Moscow state; and the nomadic Nogai Tatars. There was constant war, but the Russians achieved the so-called liberation from the Great Horde in 1480 only after they had concluded an alliance with Crimea. Crimea later started claiming the right of the only heir of the Golden Horde and continued to demand tribute and organise raids on the Russian State. However, trade also expanded in some respects; the Russian noble cavalry of the 16th century could not have existed without a great number of imported Nogai horses.

Only after the collapse of the Golden Horde, starting in the late 15th century, was there evidence of large-scale borrowing of institutions of the Horde, especially political institutions, by the Russians. The Russian State copied the Tatar organisation of a field army consisting of five divisions (the large regiment, the right and the left hand, the advance regiment, and the guard regiment), as well as Tatar armament, horse trappings, and possibly even Tatar tactics of conducting combat operations. The Russian mail service called 'yam' was borrowed from the Tatar model. Certainly, in relations with Eastern

states, the Russians imitated the Horde in diplomatic ceremonies and rituals. Taxation and coinage also owed much to Tatar influence—the Russians inherited from the Horde the terms for customs taxes (*tamga*), coinage (*denga*), and the treasury (*kaznachei*). It is difficult to define the scale of such institutional borrowing, because sometimes only the etymology of terms testifies to the Tatar source of Russian bureaucratic practice [Halperin, 1985, pp. 87–103].

However, even if Rus' learned respect for the Mongol 'Golden Clan' of the descendants of Chinggis Khan, and even if it continued demonstrating at least social respect for it for a long time, it did not acquire any notion of 'statehood' from the Horde, and the tsar of Moscow and all Rus', starting with Ivan IV, was not a Tatar khan. The ritual of the coronation of Ivan IV and the ceremonial of the court were Byzantine in origin. Despite mercenary Nogai flattery, Ivan IV traced back his origin from the mythical Ryurik to the equally mythical Prus, the brother of Augustus Caesar. The Russians allowed the Nogais to address Ivan IV as the 'white khan', but did not use this title themselves [Halperin, 2003]. After the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan, Ivan IV declared that he had become the successor of their khans, but not that of the khans of the Golden Horde [Halperin, 2003]. The Russian State did not try to gather the Golden Horde, which would have required not only the invasion of Crimea, but also of Khwarezm and part of territories of the Balkans. The idea that Rus' was trying to revitalise the Mongol empire itself by relocating from the west to the east is nothing more than a Eurasian fallacy. The state of Muscovy was the main active and aggressive force in the steppe regions which once made up the Jochid Ulus, but that was never its original distinguishing feature.

After the founding of Kasimov, more and more Tatars moved to the Russian State. Tatars, at least, on behalf of the government, 'ruled' appanages inhabited by Orthodox Russians, although it is hard to determine whether the Tatar *tsars* and *tsareviches* were directly connected with their Russian-speaking Christian 'subjects' [Halperin, 1985, pp. 109–110].

Many Tatar aristocrats converted to the new faith, married women of the other faith, and

assimilated into the Russian aristocracy, but it is not clear how much their Tatar origin made a contribution to their subsequent identity or actions. But in the 16th century Tatar captives and immigrants could have been quite common in many parts of the Russian State, so ethno-social contacts continued to develop. Still, even baptised Tatar landowners remained socially detached within the borders of the Russian State as new converts, to say nothing of those who had preserved their own religion. Therefore, it was not the case that multi-ethnicity always contributed to cosmopolitanism. The significance of Tatar contingents and Tatar commanders in the Russian armies which invaded Livonia and Lithuania was exaggerated by the enemies of the Russians to make them look 'Asian' and 'Barbarian,' but their presence was evidence of the significant sociopolitical position of the Tatars in the Russian State.

With the development of a strong Russian anti-Islamic and anti-Tatar ideology in the mid-16th century, any potential for the cultural influence of the Tatars on the Russians became even weaker. With typical inconsistency, the Russian Orthodox Church simultaneously preached against unbelievers and requested financial and judicial immunities through *yarliqs* from the rulers of the Golden Horde to obviate attempts of the Muscovite rulers to take even greater government control over church lands and people. Assertions that the famous Cathedral of Vasily the Blessed owes its unique architecture to Eastern influence remain attractive but unproven. Knowledge of the Turkic bureaucratic language of the Horde on the part of Russian scribes (*dyaks*) was purely functional [*ibid.*, p. 92]. Only after the decline of the Golden Horde did Russian

authors manage to acquire a more indifferent attitude towards the history of the Horde, freely distributing fantasies about the defeat and death of a conqueror which had previously terrorised them [Halperin, 1983], although the elite's official respect for the Chinggisids was not affected by this literary freedom. Beginning from the time after the unrest (the Troubles or Time of Troubles) at the turn of the 17th century, the Russian State was turning more and more from the South and East to the West and North.

Of course, the Tatars were not responsible for the history of Rus' becoming more violent. The level of violence in medieval Rus' and Russia of the early New Era was never higher than anywhere else; it was typical for the respective periods in both Europe and Asia. Blaming the Tatars for an alleged 'downfall of morals' in Rus' smacks strongly of those racial, ethnic, and cultural prejudices which relegated 'Asiatics' to a lower level of civilisation. This is a subjective prejudice, not objective history [Halperin, 2005].

The complex and contradictory relations between the Golden Horde and Russian principalities cannot be completely understood, but must not be ignored. 240 years of interaction, from 1240 to 1480, are sufficient in themselves to affect the history of Rus', even leaving aside the post-Horde period, which must also be taken into consideration. All attempts to reduce this history to a simple formula of negative or positive influence are simplistic and false. More extensive research is necessary for the further analysis of this central characteristic peculiarity of the medieval history of Rus' and the history of Russia at the beginning of the New Era.

§ 2. Crimea in the system of the administrative organisation of the Golden Horde

Mark Kramarovsky

Questions about the structure of the ulus system of the Jochids and the history of statehood formation have been arousing interest for several decades. The division of the Jochid Ulus into two sections, the left and right wings,

can be traced back throughout the history of the Golden Horde.

The Crimea was a part of the right wing of the Golden Horde. The new city of Solkhat/Krym became its 'capital' [Kramarovsky, 1989,

pp. 141–157; 1997, pp. 101–106]. The name 'Solkhat' had fallen out of use by the end of the 14th century and was replaced by the name 'Krym'; after 1475 the name of the former capital was applied to the entire peninsula and its population: '*qırım halkı, qırım tatarları*' [Bartold, 1965, III, pp. 467–468]. It is significant that al-Qalqashandi, reflecting information from the latter half of the 14th century, divided the peninsula into the three districts, or '*tumens*' [Grigoriev, Frolova, 2002, pp. 286–287]. Only two purely Crimean districts were marked on the peninsula: Krym, situated in the southeast in the steppe part of the peninsula, and the 'country of the As' (Crimean Alanian) in the southwestern, mountainous part of the peninsula. The population of the city of Kerch and the adjoining steppes with the short ridges of the Parpach range, the main feature of the landscape of the Kerch peninsula, is assigned to the Azov tumen [Ibid., pp. 270, 287–288]. There is no doubt that the administrative division of the Golden Horde's Crimea, which was mostly stipulated by the ethnocultural peculiarities of the territories, reflected the traditional but changing gravitation of different political centers beyond it. Chersonesus, or Sary-Kerman, is mentioned by al-Qalqashandi as a provincial town which is 'smaller than Akcha-Kerman (*Akkerman, Moncastro* in Italian sources)' [Ibid., pp. 270–271, 289].

With the exception of the period of the Crimean khanate, Tavrida never constituted a united state institution in ancient times or in the Middle Ages. This stimulated various alliance vectors in the development of separate territories, as well as the uniqueness of their civilisation. The geopolitical position of the peninsula at the interface of the Great steppe, the Mediterranean Region and the Balkans was reflected in this historical phenomenon.

Several stages stand out in the Mongolian colonisation of Taurica, or Crimea. It began beyond the borders of the peninsula with the displacement of the Kipchaks of Kotyan from Dasht-i Kypchak, part of whom went to Hungary in autumn 1239, and continued with the pursuit of the Polovtsian Hordes, which retreated to Taurica in the year 635/1237–38 under pressure from military units led by three

Chinggisids—Shiban, Buchek, and Buri. The military operation itself, about which we know almost nothing, was only one incident in the grandiose seven-year European campaign of 1236–1242, as a result of which all the Great Steppe from the Irtysh to the Danube came under the power of the dynasty of the Jochids.

Taurica was already known to the Mongols after Subedei and Jebe's military expedition of May 1223. Three princes of royal blood undoubtedly headed the corps of ten thousand men each, but, as one can imagine, seniority belonged to Shiban. The horrors of the famine of 1236–1237 in East Crimea, caused by overpopulation due to the Kypchaks who had fled there for safety, had not been forgotten even one and a half decades later. William of Rubruck noted them in 1253 [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 90]. In Taurica the activity of the Polovtsians, which did not exclude the presence of their Pecheneg predecessors, became noticeable starting in the last decade of the 11th century. In the period of Kypchak domination before the 1220s, its chief city, according to the report of Ibn al-Athir, was Sugdeya, that is, Sudak. According to archaeological evidence, in that period a Pecheneg-Polovtsian burial rite [Ajabin, 1991, pp. 3–4; 2003, p. 81] formed in the peninsula. Analysis of the burial rite of a late-nomadic necropolis at Yevpatoriya from the late 13–14th centuries showed that the Kypchaks continued to live in traditional pasturing places, and with the advent of the Mongols were getting accustomed to life under new conditions [Anokhin, 1991, pp. 6–8]. Judging from late eastern sources, in the 1260s Crimea belonged to Uran-Timur, the son of Tuqa(i)-Timur [Abul-Ghazi, 1906; Smirnov, 1887, pp. 47–48]. It is probably during his reign (around 1267) that the Genoese settlement of Kaffa appeared, which took the shape of a city in the 1270–80s, when the Genoese community headed by a consul received the status of a colony. Special privileges were granted to the Genoese for trade in Kaffa by Mengu-Timur (1267–1282), serving as a basis of Latin-Turkic interaction. There is good reason to think that the preferences granted by the Horde to the Republic of St. George were part of a sensible and broad trade policy on the part of Sarai.

The events of 1264 in Central Asia forced the khan of the Golden Horde to make two very important decisions: the Golden Horde seceded from the Mongol Empire and became involved in a long confrontation with Hulaguid Iran. The new political situation in Asia and the Middle East led the Golden Horde to enter into an alliance with Mamluk Egypt, which played a leading part in the preservation of the Abbasid Caliphate. From this perspective, it is during the reign of Berke that the external ties of the Golden Horde with the Islamic Levant acquired a bipolar character. Trade relations were also gradually being forged. Mediterranean and Black Sea trade depended on the ports of Crimea. Solkhat was the agent of the khanate's policy toward the Levant. In early spring of 1263 the embassy of Cairo to Berke Khan arrived in Crimea. In the port area of Sudak, they were greeted by the governor or Solkhat, Tayuk (Tabuk), who had post horses (*yulak*) at his disposal. Al-Mufaddal's compilation [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, pp. 176, 192] attests to the fact that Sudak was administratively subordinate to Solkhat. Apparently, the governor of Solkhat and the chief of the district were one and the same person. At the same time, a day's journey northward from Solkhat into the steppes, the embassy reached the nomadic camp of the temnik Tukbuga, possibly the Emir of the Crimean tumen. Considering the nomenclature of officials in the yarliq of Mengü-Timur of 1270, one may presume that what we have before us are the primary figures in the region at that time, who could be called ulus princes. Among the addressees of the yarliq, such individuals belong to the second group of officials [Grigoriev, 1990, pp. 76–77].

Thus, the **first stage** of Jochid domination of Taurica (1240–1260s) was completed by structuring the land into the military, administrative and economic system of the Jochids. Crimea gradually transformed from an appendage of Dasht-i Kypchak into one of the notable centres of political and economic influence in an increasingly powerful centralised state. There exists an opinion that at this stage of the colonisation of the peninsula, only the steppes of South-East Crimea belonged to the

Jochids, while the mountainous area retained a certain independence, paying tribute to the Horde [Myts, 1991, p. 72]. This is based on the report of William of Rubruck that in the last ten days of May 1253 its city chiefs (*capitanos*), which had set out in the winter with gifts to Batu-Khan, had yet to return [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 89]. Does this signify the establishment of special tribute relations, implying that the port city enjoyed a certain independence? Indeed, we know nothing about its leaders nor the targeted purpose of the collection. One can only assume this refers to the *tamga*, customs fees from merchant operations in the form of a percentage of profits. For a seaside centre, the mention of this type of tax does not seem unusual, but it could also have been intended for the great khan. The system for the collection of taxes and conscripts itself was still in the process of being established at this time. In the context of our assumptions, it is worth taking note of al-Qalqashandi's report about Ukek in the Volga Region being 'assigned' to Crimea [Grigoriev, Frolova, 2002, pp. 269, 286]. But from al-Muffadal's report we learn that by the end of the 13th century revenues from Sudak, which included trade duties, were already being divided between 'four Tatar kings' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 195]. Apparently, one among them, along with Mengü-Timur, was Nogai, the legitimate ruler of the right wing of the Golden Horde. In this sense the claims of the temnik and de facto co-ruler (on the 'empire' of Nogai see: [Vernadsky, 1997, pp. 181–195, Myskov, 2003, pp. 112–139]) of at least three Golden Horde khans, from Tuda-Mengü to Tokhta, to a part of Sugdeya's income, as al-Muffadal reported, do not seem to be excessive. The major political actions of Nogai, who minted coins in his own name in Crimea with the legend 'The Just Khan Nukhai' (undated, but the tentative years of issue are 697 AH (1297/98) or 698 AH (1298/99), see: [Severov, 2002, pp. 76–79]), were aimed at turning the right wing of the Golden Horde into an independent state with its centre in Sakja/Isaccea. In such a scenario, Crimea was assigned the role of an eastern province oriented toward Nogai's capital on the Danube [Sbornik materialov, otnosyash-

hixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, pp. 117, 161]. It is worth noting the similarity of the outline of the state tamga on the Hermitage GE coin No. 1308 (in combination with the solar symbol) and the Jochid tamga accompanied by the moon symbol on heraldic plates from Genoese Kaffa, which M. Balard dates to the 1270s [Balard, 1978, I, p. 118]. In the period from the last third of the 13th century and up to 1308, Kaffa tried to defend itself against the hordes with a moat and embankment with a wooden palisade. On the eve of Nogai's death, his grandson was collecting taxes, probably not only in Solkhat, for which he was killed [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 158]. The death of Ak-taja (according to other information, Karaja) was an indicator of the struggle of the ruling elites for the increasing income from the Levant trade. According to the information of Ibn Khaldun, Karaja was sent to Crimea to seize profits [ibid., p. 382]. Most likely, Karaja expressed claims to the collection of an aggregate tax [Grigoriev, 1990, pp. 78–79], which has already been earmarked for Sarai. We view the series of harsh repressions in 1297–1298 in Crimea in the same light, although the motive of Nogai's personal revenge for the death of his grandson, in addition to a lack of trust in his emirs, is obvious. It may be that in Crimea the same alliances were at work as in the lower reaches of the Don in the autumn 1297 in the first open collision with Tokhta. Not only the market towns of the southeast suffered, such as Solkhat, Sudak, and Kaffa, but Mountain Crimea up to Kherson suffered as well. After this campaign, life died down in Töpe Kermen, Eski Kermen, Süyren, İsar Kaya, and ancient fortresses and urban settlements [Jakobson, 1959, pp. 232–233; Myts, 1991, p. 73]. At this time, apparently, Sudak and Aluston lost their defensive walls. It would be incorrect to view Nogai's pillage of Kyrk-Yer (among another towns of Crimea) as an indirect expression of a certain 'Alanian' independence from the Golden Horde that extended to the end of the era of Öz Beg-khan [Herzen, Mogarichev, 1993, p. 56]. The question of Jochid sovereignization of territorial formations in Taurica was settled under Batu-Khan, as has already been

noted. Even the possible local minting of scyphate copper coins with the names of the despots Manuel and Andronikos, issued around the 1240–60s [Korshenko, 1998, pp. 48–49], is not too weighty an argument in favour of the independence of Mangup-Theodoro, since the Golden Horde's coin minting was only just starting. At the same time, the level of vassalage of local formations within the peninsula was determined by the real state of affairs in Sarai itself. And so the Nogai pillage of Crimea is a result of the struggle of competing elites for control over a part of revenues from individual provinces in a period of factual diarchy. Nogai's death in battle near Kukanlyk (699 AH, 1299/1300) put an end to this.

The **second stage** of the development of the Crimean ulus (mid-1260s–late 1290s) turned out to be poor in symbolic events. However, a few may be pointed out. First of all, in the story of the first Egyptian diplomatic mission to Berke Khan (1263), Solkhat-Krym is described as a settlement (*karya*) where the khan's governor, the Kypchak Tayuk (Tabuk), lived. In the historical chronicle of the Seljuks of Rum, the placename 'Solkhat' has five written forms, one of which is identical that on coins: Solkhat. Puls with the placename 'Solkhat' and the name of Tokhta were coined in situ and were first found during excavations of an archaeological expedition from the Hermitage Museum [Kramarovskiy, 1991, p. 66]. A mint had been operating since 665 AH (1266/67) in the village where the ambassadors were staying, and dirhams of the common Jochid standard were being coined. The Sultan of Konya, Izz al-Din Kaikawus II, was delivered by temnik Nogay to Crimea with his family and suite under Berke. According to the chronicles of Ibn Bibi, the captive of Michael VIII Palaeologos received 'Solkhad and Sutak' as *ikta* (sustenance) [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1941, p. 26]. Most likely these events took place in 1265. The fief belonged to Izz al-Din for almost fifteen years, and for a short time after his death in exile in 678/1279–80 it passed to his son Giyath al-Din Masud. Along with the Sultan of Konya, part of the population, believed by P. Wittek to be Gagauzian Turks [Wittek, 1952, pp. 639–668],

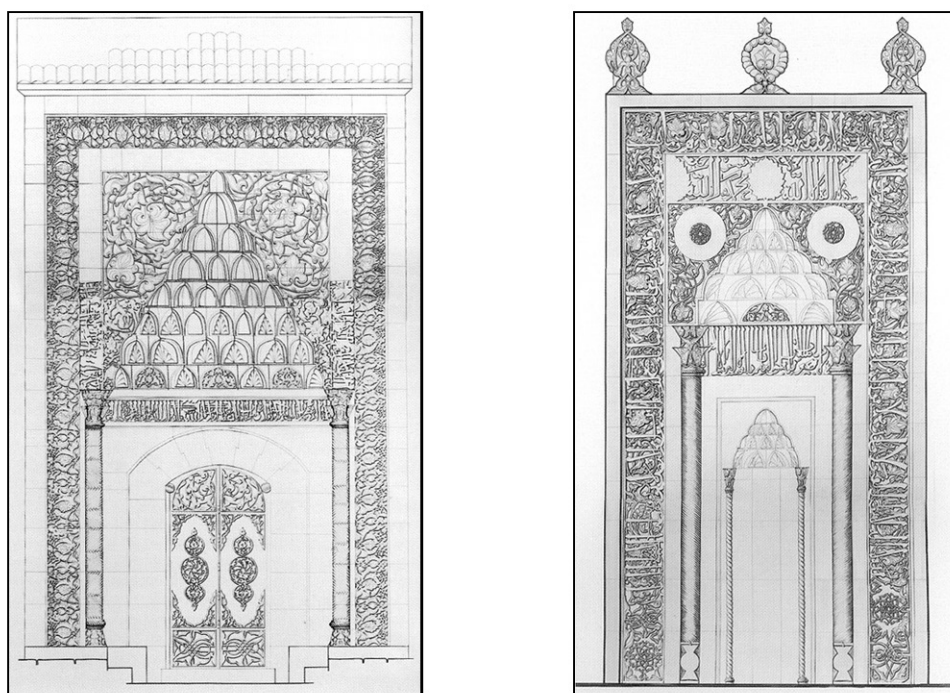
came from Dobruja to the valleys of Eastern Crimea. However, long before him this theory was expressed by F. Brun and supported by V. Smirnov, who considered the Turkic horde of Sarah Saltyk to be nomadic in its way of life and Islamised by confession [Smirnov, 1887, pp. 16–17]. The main achievement, however, was the establishment of an Islamic community (with a district mosque starting in 1263) in the regional centre. This is not a random event for the time of a Muslim khan's reign. The Islamic community made it possible to ensure that multiconfessional Solkhat could fulfill a very important task—the establishment of ambassadorial ties with Mamluk Egypt. Beginning with the time of Berke's reign, the exchange of embassies and diplomatic messages with Egypt became the norm [Spuler, 1965, pp. 346–361].

Solkhat-Krym became the primary point of 'diplomatic transit'. Ultimately, the governors of Jochid Crimea received the right to correspond independently with the Mamluks [Zakirov, 1966, p. 123]. A special form of business letter was established for Solkhat in Cairo [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 413]. Twenty-five years after the embassy of 1287, Sultan Qalawun al-Alfi sent two thousand dinars to Solkhat for the construction of a Friday mosque and a stone-cutter to decorate the portal with an inscription with his name [Polyak, 1964, Note 100]. In the late 1290s control over the Crimean ulus passed to Tokhta. The final act of achieving a new unity of power with regard to Crimea was Tokhta's punitive action against Kaffa became. Details about it can be found in Arabic sources [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, pp. 120, 162].

The reign of Öz Beg (1312–1342) and his successors, his sons Tini Beg (1342) and Jani Beg (1342–1357), make up the **third stage** of the development of Crimea under the Horde, characterised by its prosperity.

In this period the Jochid administration of Solkhat was headed by Tyulek-Timur (1300–1341), who was not the most vivid representative of the Islamic 'party of power,' but he was a relative of Öz Beg. Tyulek-Timur was a comrade of Nogai who joined Tokhta in 1300. A year after the Muslim khan was confirmed

at Sarai, a mosque with the name of Öz Beg was erected in Solkhat [Kramarovsky, 1990, pp. 124–127]. In the years of Tyulek-Timur's administration, the armies of Solkhat ravaged Christian Sugdeya three times: in 1322, 1327, and 1328. The devastation of Roman-Catholic parishes in 1322 caused the pope to address Öz Beg, asking him to restore neglected churches. In 1334 Ibn Battuta found in Sugdeya only a few families of Greek craftsmen. However, based on finding the remains of a copper workshop in the craftsmens' quarter in the same layer as coins of the khans Tokhta and Öz Beg [Dzhanov, 2001, pp. 151–152], the life of the quarter continued even in the early 14th century. The strict administration of Tyulek-Timur, combined with the encouragement of Islamic charity by his wife, Injibek-khatun, who funded the construction of a magnificent madrasah in the mid-1330s in Solkhat, gives us reason to consider the first half of the 14th century to be one of the peaks in the development of a Golden Horde city in Crimea. It is significant that it is during this period that Solkhat-Krym grew from a settlement into a city, as noted by Ibn Battuta, who visited it in 1334 [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 280]. The ascension of Öz Beg to the throne laid the foundation for the development of Islamic institutions in both the Volga capital Sarai and in Crimea. Islamic clergy (headed by *sayyids*, descendants of the Prophet) received a number of privileges, including plots of land and waqfs ([DeWeese, 1994, pp. 90–142]; for a review of DeWeese's work, see: [Arslanova, 2001]). It became a sign of good manners to emphasise the authorities' favour towards *qadis* and *fuqihs* (lawyers) [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 291]; in addition to these, there were also Turkic sheikhs, or *yarguches*, who heard court cases on the basis of Yasa. Sufi sheikhs occupied a noticeable place in urban life. It is no accident that Crimean sheikhs and Sufis received the right to additional privileges in the form of free services and products in accordance with Mengli-Giray's *yarliq* of 1453. Tyulek-Timur could rely on the support of the *qadiyat*. Eight *yarguches*, headed by an *amir yargu* appointed by the khan, heard civil cases in the local court



Portal (on the left) and mihrab (on the right) of Öz Beg's mosque. Reconstruction

[Gryekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, pp. 135–137]. But the importance of the sharia court was great as well. That is why the interaction between civil authorities and Islamic theologians was accorded such great significance. For example, in Solkhat, emir Tyulek-Timur shared judicial authority not only with Hanafi Shams ad-Din as-Saili, the chief qadi of the city, but also with the Shafi'i qadi Khyzr. At the same time, Shafi'i imam Abu Bakr occupied the theological pulpit in the cathedral mosque of Solkhat [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 281] The potential of the Islamic community of Solkhat turned out to be so high that in 1382–1385 one more Friday mosque measuring more than 250 sq. m was built [Kramarovsky, 1989, p. 149]. The erection of a mosque in the ancient settlement of Chufut-Kale in 1346 [Akchokrakly, 1928, pp. 172–178] eloquently testifies to the successful Islamisation of mountain Crimea.

One of characteristics of the development of Islamic Solkhat is that it owes its achievements to the era of Öz Beg-khan. It was confirmed in an unusual way by the structure of a treasury of coins consisting of 608 dirhams, discovered

during the excavation of a madrassa in Solkhat in 1983 [Kramarovsky, 1984, Severova, 1990; 2000, p. 77]. The treasury contained coins dated from 710 to 778 AH of ten khans, beginning with Tokhta and ending with Muhammad-Bulak, made at six mints: Sarai, Sarai al-Jadid, Krym al-Makhrusa, Gulistan, Orda, and Majar al-Jadid. 63.8% of them (388 coins) were minted in the period of Öz Beg's reign. But the most remarkable thing is that there are counterstamps on 265 of the coins of Öz Beg dated 720 AH, produced in the mint in Krym al-Mahrusa, which enabled their circulation throughout the 14th century and in the first quarter of the 15th century. This means that the mint in Crimea did not issue silver coins between 720 and 782 AH. During these decades in Solkhat they were replaced with old issues with counterstamps in the form of the word 'khan' or a trident-shaped tamga with a top shaped like a bird's head, or in the form of a Genoese portal.

Thanks to the report of Ibn Batutta, we know that the cities of Krym and Azak were connected by a well-established road with 18 way stations. The ritual of hospitality demonstrated by the ruler of Azak, Muhammad al-Khwarezmi,

to the ruler of the Crimea is evidence of the seniority of Tyulek-Timur [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 285], whose area of responsibility also included part of the Azov Sea Region. The travelling suite of the Crimean governor, which sheds some light on the structure of the regional Islamic elite, consisted of 8 people. Besides his brother and two sons, it included *imam* Sa'ad ad-Din, *preacher* Abu Bakr, *qadi* Shams ad-Din, *lawyer* Sharaf ad-Din, and *muarrif* Ala ad-Din [Ibid., p. 282]. The Islamic entourage of the emir of Azak was represented only by *qadis* and *talibs*, who were joined by Quran readers, or *mukri*, after the official dinner.

For Crimea, the period of Jani Beg's reign began with a conflict with Genoese Kaffa (1344). The reasons are the same—the struggle for the aggregate tax. This conflict was a link in the systemic approach of the central administration to the trading posts of the Latins on territories of the Jochid Ulus. This can be observed by considering the example of neighbouring Azak. In 1343 Jani Beg renewed his father's *yarliq* allowing the activity of the Venetians of Tana (on the condition that they pay a 3% trade tax to the khan's treasury). In 1343 Jani Beg drove all the Latin merchants out of Azak; four years later the Venetians were allowed to return to their quarter. The 1348–1349 pandemic and the war between the Venetians and the Genoese for the Black Sea Region in 1350–1355 caused a break in relations with the Latins. But the Milan peace (of 1355) led to the opposing parties give up sailing to Tana for three years. The imbalance of forces caused by the Milan agreement led to the reinforcement of the positions of Genoese Kaffa. In autumn 1355 the doge of Venice sent the embassy of Andrea Venerio to the Horde, asking to rent a bay in the Crimea to construct the port of Provato. Jani Beg immediately gave the Venetians a *yarliq* allowing them to establish a new Venetian trading post. By the end of 1355, the name of the *darugachi* of Solkhat tumen, Zain ad-Din Ramazan, had appeared in connection with the port of Provato, established as a Venetian consular centre (its Turkic name was *Yangishakhr*, 'New City') [Grigoriev and Grigoriev, 1997, pp. 149–154]. According to the data of

written sources, the trading post in Yangishakhr ceased to exist in about 1380 [Grigoriev, 1994, pp. 28–36]. It seems that Ramazan headed the Crimean ulus from 1349 to 1357, when he was replaced by Tyulek-Timur's son Kutlug-Timur after the confirmation of Berdi Beg (1357–1359). The name Kutlug-Timur was mentioned in the form of Cotolemur among the names of eight known Horde begs petitioning Jani Beg in 1342 for the Venetian merchants of Tana [Grigoriev and Grigoriev, 2002, pp. 68, 71]. Later the name of this ulusbek is found in some other documents: an order from Berdi Beg of 1358 and a notice from Kutlug-Timur himself addressed to the Venetian ambassadors the Khan, Giovanni Quirini and Francesco Bona, dating to the same year as the Jani Beg order [Ibid., pp. 158–191, 192–195, 209]. In 1358 Kutlug-Timur confirmed the rights of the Venetians to Provato bay (they had obtained the authorisation in 1356), and he provided the Venetians with access to Soldaia and Kaliyera (Kalitra) harbour. One can assume that the contacts of the Crimean governor with the Venetians were preserved in his personal treasury in the form of two dress belt sets made of gold and silver [Kramarovsky, 2001, pp. 144–145]. The period of Kutlug-Timur's rule in Crimea continued until the seizure of Sarai by Kildibek (1361/1362), because a *paiza* with his name was found in the above-mentioned treasury [Münküev, 1977, pp. 186–215]. Apparently, under him the Venetians were allowed to trade in Soldaia (1358) where they previously had not been admitted. Summing up our observations related to the third stage in the development of Crimea under the Golden Horde, one specific feature must be noted. In this period the khan's governors possessed broad powers concerning some areas of regional and international policy. The extension of regional authorities as a phenomenon evolves from the practice of the Volga capitals. One can agree with M. Safargaliev, who noted the amplification of the influence of local elites on decision-making in the headquarters of Öz Beg [Safargaliev, 1996, p. 367]. In Crimea the governors solved problems of war and peace themselves on the territory under their authority. For example, in regional wars with Sudak, they carried on cor-

respondence with Venetian legates, albeit with the khan's permission, but they influenced decisions about Provato; ultimately, they carried on independent correspondence with Cairo. No doubt the segmentation of authorities in the Crimean ulus, which was vividly reflected in the structure of military powers of the Horde fighting against Vytautas on the Blue Waters in 1362–1363, is a result of the end of the era of Jani Beg and Berdi Beg, when a new political institution, the principality of Theodoro, was being established in Crimea. The military campaign carried out by the three Crimean emirs, those of Solkhat, Kyrk-Yer, and Mangup [Myts, 2001, pp. 245–256], is rather evidence of their overestimating themselves than that of an offensive inter-regional policy (compare: [Herzen, Mogarichev, 1993, p. 56]). However, it is difficult to understand the logic of interpreting the Battle of Blue Waters as an event marking the liberation of the territory of Ukraine from dependency on the Horde [Ivakin, 2002, p. 108], because it only concerns Podolia, which as a result came under the control of Lithuanian Grand Prince Olgerd (1341–1377). Meanwhile, the protection of the Horde's interests in the Podolsk lands by Crimea only meant that the taxes from this district were going through the administration of the right wing of of the Jochids. Princes Hajji Bey and Dmitry were the emirs of Kyrk-Yer and Mangup, and experienced Kutlug-Buga was the ruler of Solkhat and the Crimean tumen. It may be that the campaign emir of Solkhat and Kutlug-Buga, who took up the position of Crimean governor in 1381, are the same person. In 1387 Kutlug-Buga, 'dominus Solcatensis', concluded a treaty with Kaffa on 12 August, where the government of Tokhtamysh (1380–1398) confirmed the terms of the agreement of 1382 [Basso, 1991, pp. 25–26].

One of the darkest stages in the history of Golden Horde Crimea is the **fourth stage** from the murder of Berdi Beg to the accession of Tokhtamysh (between 1359 and 1380). The central character of these two decades is ulug karachibek Mamai, Berdi Beg's son-in-law and one of his chief emirs [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 389]. It is customary to think

that the center of Mamai's ulus was the Kuchugur Ancient Town identified by V. Egorov as Shehr al-Jadid [Egorov, 1985, p. 85], which is 30 km to the south of Zaporozhye. Probably under him in the early 1360s the inhabitants of Mangup, sensitive to events in the Horde, started to work actively toward the reconstruction of Theodoro [Malitsky, 1933, p. 10; Herzen, 2001, pp. 170, 271]. The beginning of a protracted crisis in the Horde affected Crimea at once: in 1365 the Genoese seized Soldaia and 18 villages of the south coast [Vasilyev, 1936, pp. 177–182]; probably at this time the Venetian harbours Provato and Kaliyera became dependent on Kaffa. In essence, in the mid-1360s the Horde itself shifted to a defensive position in its relations with the Genoese. By the 1370s fortresses were being actively constructed in Soldaia, and one of the earliest construction plates dates to 1371 [Skrzinska, 1928, p. 107]. The internal crisis in the Horde proved to be so great that even the population of the 'capital', Solkhat, frightened by Mamai's coming, started building a defensive belt in the form of an outer moat and walls, according to an Armenian record from 1363 [Kramarovskiy, 1989, p. 144]. Judging by correspondence with the chancellery of the Egyptian sultan, Mamai had only firmly established himself in the Crimea by 773 AH (1371). According to G. Fedorov-Davydov, Crimea under Mamai was a 'possession of the *suyurgal* type' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 136]. In October 1374, Mamai was solemnly received by the consul of Kaffa, and several months later the Genoese presented Mamai's ambassador with rich clothing [Balard, 1978, II, p. 457]. In 1375 Mamai restored Jochid control over 18 villages of Gothia [Ibid., p. 161]. The consolidation of the forces of the right wing by the beginning of 1377, the subordination of the North Caucasus in 1379, and the establishment of power in Hajji Tarkhan brought new allies into the camp of Mamai. The analysis of archaeological materials allows us to note the involvement of the Slavic-Turkic settlements of Dnieper Zaporozhye, where Genoese trading posts Tavan and Belozerka were created, in the sphere of economic interest of the Crimea [Ilyinsky, 1991, p. 27]. One tendency in the

life of Crimea under Mamai is the reinforcement of interaction with old rivals, including the Italians.

In the period from 1374 to 1381, the relations of Solkhat and Kaffa were fairly neutral. The consul of Kaffa attended to ruler of Solkhat, Aga-Muhammad, sending him gifts and letters through his officials. Close ties between Solkhat and Kaffa are confirmed by the presence of the vicar of Kaffa at a dinner with the son of the Solkhat darugha [Balard, 1978, II, p. 460], who would be captured by Timur after being wounded in the campaign of 1391 [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1941, pp. 115, 165]. The defeat dealt to the troops of the right wing of the Golden Horde by Dmitry Ivanovich of Moscow brought Mamai to friendly Kaffa very soon. Here in one of the markets he was killed between March and November 1381 [Balard, 1978, II, p. 458]. It is easy to guess that the anti-Mamai campaign was coming from Solkhat. Two groups of horde 'negotiators' headed by Cherkes Beg, who supported Mamai (in the end of 1380), and Ilyas, the son of Kutlug-Buga (1381), representing the interests of Tokhtamysh, opposed the inhabitants of Kaffa at 'Three Wells'. The terms of the treaty were not quite clear, but the removal of Mamai was doubtless one of its provisions. Kaffa gained control over Soldaia, 18 villages of the southern coast of Crimea (Gothia), and a new partnership with the Horde in exchange. Tokhtamysh appointed a new tax collector in Kaffa 'according to the old custom' and an official to administer the Kaffa Tatars. It is quite possible that Mamai's body was given to the community of adjacent Solkhat for burial. The fear of Tokhtamysh made the citizens, among whom were former adherents of the almighty beklaribek, to bury their patron according to the Islamic ritual outside the city, in the necropolis at the Genoese gate [Kramarovskiy, 1996, pp. 38–41]. Based on Tokhtamysh's yarliq of 1381, some territories in the Northern Azov Region [Grigoriev, 1981, pp. 126–136] were still subordinate to the Crimean tumen.

It is noteworthy that the mint of the Crimea was almost completely inactive throughout the fourth stage. I presume that this can be explained by the status of Solkhat-Krym as

a personal patrimony of Mamai. It is hard to imagine that beklaribek Mamai and his supposed father Kutlug-Buga, the former beklaribek in Jani Beg's government, were allowed to come to Solkhat-Krym as darughas. Moreover, Mamai and Kutlug-Buga were oriented towards different political forces. It is no accident that Tokhtamysh advanced the career of Kutlug-Buga in the Crimea after the death of Mamai until 1387.

The town did not obtain a single public building under Mamai, while its function as a trade intermediary in international trade remained constant, despite some turbulence. There is one more weighty reason for the deterioration of social life in these times of troubles; the struggle for political power weakened the state's financial system. That was especially noticeable after Tokhtamysh had occupied Sarai and Azak, the traditional centres of coin emissions. The population of the Black Sea Region did not have enough money, especially after the fateful day of 9 September 1380. During the last months of Mamai's life, the khan's administration tried to compensate for the shortage of coins by introducing golden *dangs*—'dangai aure' [Ponomarev, 2002, p. 116]. These coins, weighing more than 10 g, have not yet been discovered by archaeologists, but they are reflected in the documents of the Massaria Caffae [Ibid., Fig. 2. note 84].

The fifth stage is defined by the period from the reign of Tokhtamysh to that of Timur-Kutlug (from 1380 to 1400). Tokhtamysh entered the historiography of the Golden Horde as a unifier khan who restored the unity of the Jochid Ulus. Meanwhile, the state of Crimean under the Golden Horde depended more and more not only on the powers in Sarai, but on the relations of Solkhat with the territorial institutions of the peninsula, including Genoese Kaffa and Theodoro-Mangup. Under Tokhtamysh the inhabitants of Theodoro did not question the suzerainty of the Horde, judging by a building stone inscribed with name of the khan found in Mangup [Malitsky, 1933, pp. 5–8; Herzen, 2001, p. 261]. In 1381, the Venetians, who had been deprived of the opportunity to sail to Tana for two years according to the Turin treaty, again asserted their interests in Solkhat



Coins of Shadi Beg (806–807 AH). Kaffa

and Provato [Karpov, 1990, p. 72]. While in Solkhat attention was focused on the struggle between the faction of Tokhtamysh, which was gaining ground, and Mamai's weakening faction, the Genoese, concerned about the possibility of the Venetians becoming stronger in the Crimea, doubled the garrison of Soldaia, from 42 people in 1376 to 80 in 1381. In 1382 the garrison of Soldaia was reduced to 12 people (after the signing of the Peace of Turin), but in 1386 it had already increased again to 60 people [Balard, 1978, I, p. 461]. Ilyas, the son of Kutlug-Buga, who came to power in Solkhat in 1381/1382, failed to stop the crisis in relations between Solkhat and Kaffa, and 3 years later the opposing parties started an open confrontation. Kaffa was without a doubt better prepared for the war. Immediately after repairing fortification structures in the citadel (1381–1382), the consuls Jacopo Spinola (1383), Pietro Cazan (1384), and Benedetto Grimaldi (1385) started fundamental work on the construction of an outer defence area of the city [Ibid., p. 207]. Suffice it to say that by 1389 the fortified line of Kaffa's stone walls (which were up to 10 m high), including 8 towers, had reached a length of 5.2 km. The war of 1385–1387 [Basso, 1991, pp. 25–26] ended with the defeat of Solkhat, and on 15 May 1387 the Genoese celebrated its victory by giving out wine in the suburbs of Kaffa. On 12 August Ilyas signed a peace agreement with the Genoese confirming the terms of the agreement of 1382. The agreement was accompanied by a commitment to coin only full-valued dirhams. The Genoese reinforced their control over this area of the East Crimean coast with the construction of municipal castle near the village of Otuzy using funds from Kaffa's communal budget

[Bocharov, 2001, p. 90]. Tokhtamysh's failures in Transoxania and Khwarezm in 1388–1389 led to schism in the camp of the khan of the Golden Horde. In the autumn of the same year, Bek-Bulat, exiled from Sarai, fled to Crimea, where Tokhtamysh continued to pursue him. Ibn Khaldun also gave a report of the siege of Crimea, during which oglan Bulat was killed [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 393]. The victory of Tokhtamysh brought Emir Kutlug-Buga to Crimea as a governor. It is quite likely that under him one, of the most monumental mosques of the city, known as Baybars mosque, appeared in Solkhat (on the date of the erection of the mosque, see: [Kramarovsky, 1991, pp. 69–70, drawing - p. 128, Fig. 2]). We learn the name of the new governor from Tokhtamysh's yarliq of 10 September 1392 given to one of the Crimean aristocrats, Beg-Hajji, who was declared a 'free Tarkhan' [Samoylovich, 1927, pp. 141–142]. The wars against Timur in 1395–1396 brought Tokhtamysh and the Golden Horde in general to the brink of disaster. Coins minted in Crimea in 796 AH (1393/94) bore a legend saying 'The just sultan Tash-Timur-khan'. Timur's puppet Kuyurchak-oglan, Urus-khan's son, was ruling in Sarai at this time. Apparently, Tash-Timur's reign lasted until Timur's troops came to the Crimea immediately after a victory at the Terek in 1395: Ibn Duqmaq speaks of an 18-day siege of Kaffa by the troops of Timur [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 330], and Sharaf al-Din speaks of the burning of Azov [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1941, p. 180]. It is very likely the second son of Kutlug-Buga, Sinan (Dominus Sinan, Filius Chutlubei), was the governor of Solkhat in the

period of the shocks caused by Timur [Malinovsky, 1844, p. 512]. Almost all the information of Arab sources on Timur's devastation of Crimea comes from the reports of the Egyptian ambassador to Tokhtamysh, Emir Tulu-men Alishah, who was supposed to arrange the matter of a military alliance against Timur, which never came to fruition. Ibn al-Furat briefly stated, after reporting the news about Timur's campaign in the Crimea, that in 1396 Tokhtamysh's troops besieged Genoese Kaffa again [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 364]. This new attempt of Tokhtamysh to defend his right to the Crimean ulus allows us to single out one more stage, the **sixth** and last phase in the evolution of Crimea under the Golden Horde. In essence, at this time an independent horde was being formed on the peninsula which objectively played the role of a trigger and set up the separation of the Crimean ulus as an independent khanate under Hajji-Giray (1443). In fighting for Crimea, Tokhtamysh relied on the local nobility, like in 1392, particularly on Shirin bek Ruktemir-bey [Lashkov, 1895, p. 124]. His son-in-law Edigü and Temür Qutlugh were opponents of Tokhtamysh from the end of 1396 to the beginning of 1397. The struggle for the Crimea was started by Edigü with the siege of Kaffa in 799 AH (1396/97), as always happened during a transition in power [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 531]. In the spring of 1397, Temür Qutlugh, the first khan of Edigü's pleiad, got the chance to guarantee Crimean Tatars his own preferences. In the yarliq of 27 April 1397, the new ruler satisfied the request for the tarkhanship of Mehmet, the son of Hajji-Bairam, along with his underage sons [Radloff, 1889, pp. 21, 31]. This refers to a family dynasty granted 'true tarkhanship' until 1397 in the days of the 'previous, deceased Sain-khan' (on the title 'Sain-khan' see: [Boyle, 2002, pp. 28–32]). The 1397 yarliq gives an idea not only of the property structure of the local landowning elite, not only the list of 'legal' taxes and the practice of 'extraordinary' duties, but also of the nomenclature of military, civil, and judicial bureaucrats, from the highest-ranking ones to market supervisors. The

indication of a traditionally large number of tarkhans in the 'Crimea and Kyrk-Yer region' is evidence that the privileges of *tarkhanship*, like the institution itself, mainly applied to the elite of the indigenous tumens, not to all the tax-paying population of Crimea.

Temür Qutlugh died shortly after the defeat of Vytautas on the Vorskla in 1399, and Edigü established the 'dummy' Shadi Beg Khan on the throne (1401–1407). Apparently, Edigü's power in Crimea was not absolute until after Tokhtamysh's death. Clavijo, without indicating dates, says that Tokhtamysh's son, operating from Kaffa, openly opposed his rule [Clavijo, 1990, p. 144]. Solkhat-Krym, which suffered damage during the campaign of Timur, failed to emerge from stagnation (according to Johannes de Galonifontibus, most of the town still was in ruins in the early 15th century) [Galonifontibus, 1980, p. 14]. From time representatives of either Tokhtamysh's son Jalal ad-Din (in 1410) or of Timur appeared; the latter was Temür Qutlugh's son and Edigü's son-in-law, who conquered Tana and forced Jalal ad-Din to flee to Vytautas (in 1411). In 1417 one of Tokhtamysh's sons, Jabbar Birdi, supported by Vytautas, fled to Crimea [Safargaliev, 1996, p. 444]. Chasing him, Edigü plundered Tana and soon was in the Crimea besieging Kaffa. A condition of the prolonged siege was the removal of Jabbar-Birdi from Crimea; the latter left for Lithuania.

After Edigü's death, the fate of Crimea ended up in the hands of Grand Prince Vytautas of Lithuania (1392–1430). With his approval and according to the agreed-upon position of the Shirin and Baryn clans, in late 1421 Ulugh Muhammed became the new khan of the Crimea; the latter subsequently became the founder of the first dynasty of the khans of Kazan [Khudyakov, 1996, p. 543; Khamidulin, 2002, pp. 127–131]; for an analysis of the geneology of Ulugh Muhammed see: [Iskhakov, 2002, pp. 63–74]). In the month of Dhu'l-Qa'dah (28 October–26 November) news of this event reached the court of Shahrukh, the ruler of the state of the Timurids [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1941, p. 196]. The following year (825 AH), ambassadors from Ulugh Muhammed

came to Shahrukh with gifts and were well received in Herat. When fighting for the throne against Khudaidat and Barak, Ulugh Muhammad relied on the support of Vytautas. After a short break he returned to the Crimea in 1425, and in 1426–1427 he subordinated Astrakhan and Bulgar, where he had coins minted in his name [Markov, 1896, p. 503]. In summer 1426 Crimea fell out from under the influence of Ulugh Muhammed for a while, and Devlet-Birdi established his base there.

In 1427 three khans were fighting for power in the Jochid Ulus: Ulugh Muhammad occupied the lands of Sarai, Crimea was occupied by Devlet-Birdi, and the eastern part bordering with lands of the Timurids was occupied by Barak [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 534]. By the spring of the next year Devlet-Birdi was dead. Al-Ayni reports that Ulugh Muhammad restored his control over the Crimea [Ibid.]. After Vytautas, Ulugh Muhammad's long-time patron, died in October 1430, his chances to consolidate his positions in Crimea diminished. The unstable situation was aggravated by a poorly thought out military campaign in Lithuania in 1431 and a break with the influential Shirin clan. As a result, in 1433 power in the Crimea was seized by Sayyid-Ahmad (1433–1435). Ulugh Muhammad had to leave Dasht-i Kypchak as well, where he yielded power to Kichi-Muhammad. According to al-Ayni, Kichi-Muhammad possessed not only Dasht, but also the Crimea starting in 874 AH (1443/44). Hacı Giray became Kichi-Muhammad's main opponent in the Crimea (around 1428–1456); he appeared on the political stage of Crimea during the period of Ulugh Muhammad's ascent. V. Bartold noted the contradictory character of information about the activity of 'Hacı Giray ibn Giyath al-Din ibn Tash Timur, the tsarevich from the Golden Horde' [Bartold, 1963–1977, V, p. 522]. M. Safargaliev convincingly illustrated the connection between Crimean affairs and the internecine feud of the Lithuanian princes Švitrigaila, supported by Ulugh Muhammad, and Sigismund, who patronized Hacı Giray [Safargaliev, 1996, pp. 491–492]. In Crimea itself he was supported by aristocratic clans which had been trying for a long time to

establish the independence of the peninsula for fear of losing their own privileges. But while in 1434 the activity of the influential Kungrat clan (in the first half of the 14th century they controlled the Kypchaks and Mangyts [Bregel, 1982, pp. 357–398]) was enough to overcome the separatist sentiments of the Shirin, Baryn, Argyn, and Kypchak clans, within a few decades this advantage disappeared... along with the Golden Horde itself. In Crimea the Shirins and Baryns were considered elders [Syroec-hkovskiy, 1940, p. 29; Manz, 1987, p. 286]. Since the time of Tokhtamysh these influential clans were noted in other regions of the Golden Horde. The identity of clan structures lies in the story of the *els* of Tokhtamysh, which is based on the data of the 'Chinggis-Name' by Ötemish Hajji (16th century) [Yudin, 1992, p. 115].

To define the political segmentation of Crimea under the Golden Horde more accurately on the eve of the disappearance of Ulugh ulus as a united state, we will examine the actions of Hacı Giray in the position of governor of Solkhat, representing the interests of the khan of the entire Horde, Ulugh Muhammad. In 1433 Hacı Giray was an ally of Prince Alexey of Mangup in opposition to the Kaffa commune. In that year the Greek community of Cembalo fortress, which was under the Gothic Captaincy, revolted, doubtlessly with Alexey's assent, and drove the Latins away [Vasilyev, 1936, pp. 203–208]. But the plans of the prince of Theodoro, who strove to gain access to sea, were doomed. In June the Kaffa commune called for a squadron from Pera headed by Bartolomeo di Levanto against the rebelling fortress. As the inhabitants of Theodoro managed to hold Cembalo, in March 1431 another squadron of 20 vessels headed by Admiral Carlo Lomellino was sent there from Genoa to regain Cembalo. In the beginning of July the rebellion was put down. The letter of the admiral from Kaffa to Genoa contains the following list of victories: Cembalo, Calamita, Brosoni and all Gothia (tota Gotia) [Agosto, 1977, pp. 514–515]. The inhabitants of Kaffa supposed that the citizens of Theodoro should be followed by Alexey's ally—Hacı Giray. The battle took place on 22 June near the village of Karagoz. The expeditionary detachment of Lo-

mellino numbering 10,000 infantrymen with a train of 700 wagons was attacked on the march by the cavalry of Hacı Giray and defeated; Lomellino was also killed ([*ibid.*, pp. 511–517]); Gatari's documents provide a different number of combatants [Colley, 1913, pp. 110–120]. According to the peace treaty of 13 July, the Genoese were obliged to remove their ships from the harbour, disarm two rowing galleys and one more ship, and pay Solkhat 100,000 aspers for 25 captive Latins [*Ibid.*, pp. 119–120]. In essence this is the last Horde victory in the Crimea. In the course of the 1434 campaign, the main political forces on the peninsula were clearly defined. The Tatars, the Theodorites, and Genoese Gothia headed by Kaffa were among them. None of them was a political monolith and each searched for support beyond the borders of not only the Crimea, but also of the Golden Horde. In autumn the victor of the battle of Karagoz had to leave the peninsula and seek refuge in Lithuania at the court of Sigismund. Crimea found itself temporarily in the hands of Sayyid-Ahmad, who relied on the support of the head of the Kungrat clan, Haidar-Murza ([Smirnov, 1887, p. 215]; the toponym Kungrat can be seen in Crimean judicial books of the 16th century, see [Inalzhik, 1996, pp. 319, 322]).

For our topic, it is important to emphasise that Sayyid-Ahmad and Hacı Giray were Crimean separatists who had no claim on participation in 'greater' Horde politics. The struggle of Ulugh Muhammad against Kichi-Muhammad finally ended in the separation of the Kazan khanate (in 1438 or 1445), where the power of the dynasty of Ulugh Muhammad was established, from the Golden Horde. Kichi-Muhammad remained in power in Dasht-i Kypchak. A Cairo chronicler, who was still well informed of Crimean affairs, reports that in 874 AH (1443–44) '...Muhammad-khan was the sovereign of the Crimea and Dasht' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1884, p. 534]. It follows from the analysis of the report of Munajim-basha (17th century) of the building of Bakhchisaray by Ulugh Muhammad that the khan lived among the Shirins in Solkhat before he moved his residence to the new capital [Safargaliev, 1996,

p. 506]. The narrowness of social support of the new khan, who attracted such foreigners as the Mansur princes to Crimea, undoubtedly at the expense of the local Tatar elite, did not enable Ulugh Muhammad to consolidate his position on the peninsula. Having taken the Crimean throne from the hands of Grand Prince Kasimir of Lithuania in Vilno, Hacı Giray returned to rule in Perekop. Judging by the fact that in 1443 Hacı Giray was minting coins in Kyrk-Yer bearing the title 'Supreme sultan' [Markov, 1896, p. 583], the initiative to change power originated from the influential clan of the Yashlav (Sulesh) begs, probably taking into account the consolidated opinion of the Shirins, Baryns, and Argyns. Thus a new stage called the period of the Crimean Khanate started in Crimea.

Our analysis of the place of the Crimean ulus in the administrative-territorial system and partly in the political history of the right wing of the Golden Horde showed that one of the main functions of the central local authority was in creating a new area of Turkic-Latin-Byzantine contact controlled by Solkhat-Krym with two basic vectors of associations. The first one, mainly political, was aimed at Cairo. The second one, that of a trade intermediary, met the needs of Levantine and Latin trade [Fedorov-Davydov, 2001; Heller, 2002, pp. 113–120] up to the territories of Central Asia and China. The Latin possession Gazzaria, with its administrative centre in Genoese Kaffa, became its agent in the Mediterranean direction. This significant trade was secured with bars of silver of a two-hundred-gram standard, stores of which have also been found in the Crimea [Kramarovsky, 1980, pp. 68–71; 2001, pp. 86–88; Myts, Adaksina, 1999, pp. 159–169; Ponomarev 2002, pp. 102–116; Yemanov, 2003, pp. 129–130]. The formation of large savings led to the appearance of golden dinars from Northern India in treasuries of the Crimean nobility [Kramarovsky, 1983, p. 12; 1989, p. 153; 2001, p. 115, catalogue, No. 612–621]. In this sense the Crimean nobility acted in the same way as the elites of the Volga Region and the North Caucasus [Fedorov-Davydov, 1978, pp. 253–254; Rtveladze, 1972, pp. 69–71; Volkov, 2001, pp. 109–113]. The traces of Lat-

in and Byzantine trade in cities of the Crimea (Solkhat, Soldaia, Kherson) and the Azov Sea Region (Azak-Tana) can be seen in discoveries of gold Venetian ducats, silver dinars and quartari of Genoa, and gold and silver Byzantine coins [Kramarovsky, 1989, pp. 152–153; Frondzhulo, 1974, p. 147; Fomichev, 2001, pp. 40–41; 2003, pp. 93–94; Slepova, 2001, pp. 112–114].

Until the middle of the 15th century, despite the defeat in the war of 1385–1386, real power in the Crimea belonged to Solkhat. At the same time, Solkhat-Krym relied more on the power of money than on military power, as the mint of Krym had a monopoly on the regional issue of national denominations. In the latter half of the 13th century, the emissions of the Krym mint met the trade needs of the entire North-West Black Sea area (up to the mouth of the Danube). The monetary circulation of Azak-Tana depended on Solkhat-Krym until the first quarter of the 14th century. Therefore, based on the dynamics of growth of mints in the region, one can distinguish three stages in the life of the western contact area. In the first, from the 1260s to the early 14th century, the emission of coinage took place in Solkhat-Krym. In the second, from the first quarter of the 14th century to the early 1450s, coins were being produced in Krym and Azak (on Azak coinage see: [Fomichev, 1981]). The third was from the middle of the 1420s to the collapse of Kaffa in 1475. In this period the Latin possessions of the

Northern Black Sea Region gradually came out from under the monetary control of the Golden Horde khans and started minting their own coins. The mint of Genoese Kaffa was founded not earlier than 1453, in the period when Genoese Gazzaria was again subordinated to the Bank of St. George, although starting in the 1420s a two-language denomination with the tamga of the Golden Horde had become widespread here. The coin findings of recent years revealed a group of non-dated silver dirhams coined on behalf of khan Devlet-Birdi after 825 AH by the Kafa al-Jadid mint. Apparently, initially the dies for the new mint were cut by the masters of Solkhat-Krym. One might suppose that in Kaffa Devlet-Birdi was supported by the community of the northern suburb of the city known as Shor Bazar [Kniga Puteshestviy, 1999, p. 94]. Apparently, the first Genoese-Tatar coins with the name of Bek Sufi were also made here several years earlier. Most likely Cairo's trading post was located on the territory of this suburb as well. Starting in 1433 coins with the tamga of the Girays were being made in Kaffa, but in 1453 the image of St. George replaced the Genoese portal. This only confirms the fact that even under Edigu the Crimea was only nominally an integral part of the Golden Horde. The interference of Vytautas in the affairs of the right wing of the Jochids created the objective conditions for the transformation of the Crimean ulus into an independent political institution.

§ 3. The Bulgar Ulus: Bulgar and other emirates

Iskander Izmaylov

The formation and flourishing of the Bulgar Ulus from the late 13th to the mid-14th centuries. The Bulgar emirate showed the longest and fiercest resistance to Batu-khan's troops. But in the end the Bulgars were defeated, and all their major towns and fortresses were seized or surrendered. The territory of the former Volga Bulgaria became an integral part of the possessions of Batu-khan and was completely integrated into the Jochid Ulus.

Giovanni da Pian del Carpine named Bulgaria among the countries conquered by the Mongols in his report, but he did not specify the degree of its dependence [Puteshestviya, 1957, pp. 57, 72]. William of Rubruck also mentioned Great Bulgaria in enumerating countries subordinate to the Mongols, and then he listed it among the lands subordinate to Batu's son Sartaq [Ibid., pp. 111, 117–119, 123, etc.]. Oriental sources testify to the same. For example, the Persian historian Juzjani, who was a con-

temporary of these events, wrote in his story 'Tabaqat-i Nasiri' (1259) that 'all the lands of Turkestan (beginning with Khwarezm), and the Bulgars, Burtases, and Saqaliba up to the boundaries of Rum' fell under the power of Batu [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy, 1941, p. 15]. This information becomes traditional in later sources. For example, the 'History of Wassaf' (early 14th century) says that Jochi came into the possession of 'lands from the edge of Kayalyk and Khwarezm and the limits of Saqsin and Bulgar to the edges of Derbent of Baku' [Ibid., p. 80].

While the fact of the subordination of the lands of the former Bulgaria is beyond doubt, the character of the hierarchy of local authorities and the role of the Bulgarian tradition of statehood in this process is still under discussion. There are several points of view on this problem. Some historians believe that the territory of former Bulgarian emirate was integrated into the Mongol Empire while having a certain autonomy, like that of ancient Russian princedoms [Smirnov, 1963, p. 67; Gimadi, 1948, p. 197; Fakhruddinov, 1984, pp. 111–112; Khalikov, 1994, pp. 51–57; Mukhametshin, 1994, p. 101; Khamidullin, 2002, p. 97]. Others claim that these lands were turned into 'an integral part of the Golden Horde without any hints of autonomy' [Egorov, 1985, p. 44]. This problem is hard to solve because of the insufficient resource base and the conceptual blurriness of many historical realities.

When reconstructing the political and administrative situation in conquered Bulgaria, historians usually turn to the 'Life of Fyodor Yaroslavsky.' One of its variants, which is part of the Great Menaion Reader, says: 'Russian princes and Bulgars started going to the Horde to their superior tsar to ask the tsar to enthrone them' [Great Menaion Reader, 1869, columns 1263–1265]. It seems that this fragment of the extensive biography of the prince of Yaroslavl and Smolensk, an active participant of military and political events in Rus' and the North Caucasus in 1276–1299, grants us the opportunity not only to correlate the practice of princes receiving investiture to reign from the khan's hands, but also to reconstruct the political and administrative system of power in Bulgaria

after its conquest, which in this case seems to be separate principalities possessing a certain autonomy or vassalage within the Jochid Ulus. Russian and Soviet historians held this point of view until the 1950s [Shpilevsky, 1877, p. 162; Gimadi, 1948, p. 197; Smirnov, 1951, p. 54]. But this position was questioned by M. Safargaliev, who believed that 'a careful examination of the text of the 'Life' does not give us an affirmative answer to the question of the possibility of a vassal Bulgar principality on the Kama... Apparently, the 'Life' is referring to the Danube Bulgars' [Safargaliev, 1951, p. 78; 1960, p. 38]. This question was reexamined by G. Fedorov-Davydov, who believed that this fragment referred precisely to Volga Bulgaria, which consisted of principalities which were vassals of the khans of the Jochid Ulus [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 27, Note 3]. The authority of his research was so high that almost all historians and archaeologists used this fragment to characterise Bulgaria of the latter half of the 13th century (for example, see: [Fakhruddinov, 1984, pp. 103–105; Khalikov, 1994, pp. 54–56; Alishev, 1995, p. 188; Khamidullin, 2002, pp. 98–99]).

However, the problem is not which 'Bulgarians' this fragment refers to, because in the context it clearly refers to the Volga Bulgars. Rather, the problem is whether we can consider this story from the Menaion, as well as the text of the Life from the Book of Degrees, a historical source on the history of the latter half of the 13th century [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 21, pp. 307–314; Kloss, 2001, pp. 311–319]. The analysis of the history of the text of this Life conducted by B. Kloss shows there are no reasonable grounds for that. His main conclusion: 'an examination of manuscript repositories showed that there were no biographical texts dedicated to Fyodor Yaroslavsky until 1463' [Kloss, 2001, p. 252]. At the same time, the earliest versions of the Life (a brief one was created in 1467, and an extensive one in the 1470s) contain no details about the stormy life of this prince or about Bulgaria (see: [Ibid., pp. 252–274]). Even the next, fairly lengthy version of the Life, edited by Andrey Yuryev and composed between 1470–1492 (the oldest copy dates from 1515), also contains virtual-

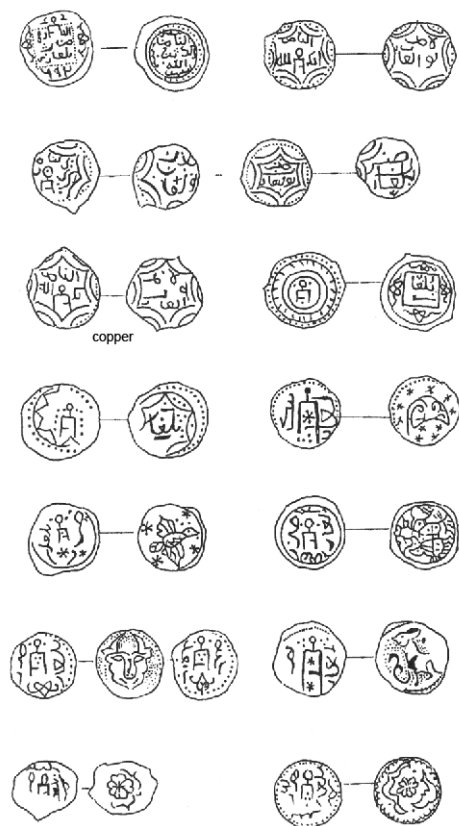
ly no historical realities, except for an indication that Satan, having entered into the eastern tsar Batu, sent him against the Russian lands 'for our sins' (see: [Ibid., pp. 275–284]). The next stage of the development of the text was Anthony's version, apparently composed in 1505–1520s, an abbreviated form of which was included in the Great Menaion for September [Ibid., pp. 289–306, Great Menaion Reader, 1869, columns 1255–1261]. But no 'Bulgar realities' were found in this text either. Indications of Bulgarian princes who supposedly went together with the Russians to receive yarliqs and the theme of Prince Fedor Rostislavovich's participation in a campaign against Bulgaria on the orders of Mengu-Timur appeared, as well as the unique news about this prince's marriage to the khan's daughter, who adopted Orthodoxy, and their later receipt of 36 cities, including Chernigov, Bulgar, Kuman, Korsun, Tura, Kazan, Aresk, Gormir, Balamaty, etc., as a dowry. All this news can be read only in the text of the Life written for the Great Menaion Reader, composed by Metropolitan Macarius in connection with the canonisation council of 1547. If one keeps in mind the historical background of this council and the ideological preparation for the conquest of Kazan which was expressed in the editing of the chronicle collection (the Nikon Chronicle) in order to present proofs of the 'age-old rights' of Russian princes to the lands of the Kazan Khanate, the reason for mentioning the Bulgars and the dowry in the form of Bulgarian cities (Bulgar, Kazan, Arsk, Tura, etc.) in this version of the Life is clear. It is quite evident that it is not a rendering of annalistic or even oral tradition, but just one more politically relevant imperial proclamation composed by Macarius to justify the legitimacy of the conquest of the Kazan Khanate. Furthermore, in the version of the Book of Degrees created around 1563, the Bulgars themselves disappeared, and only the Bulgarian cities given as a wedding gift of the khan to Prince Fyodor Yaroslavsky remain [Kloss, 2001, pp. 310–319; Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 21, pp. 307–314]. The phrase about participation of the prince of Yaroslavl in the campaign against Bulgaria as a part of Mengu-Timur's troops disappeared in this ver-



Dirhams. Silver. Bulgar. 13th century.
NM RT (according to A. Singatullina)

sion as well. Thus, the argument about which Bulgars went to receive yarliqs is completely irrelevant. This mention is not part of a narration about real events, but rather a piece of ideological rhetoric from the mid-16th century reflecting only the notions of church and state historiography about the past. In essence it is an extrapolation of the current and future policy of the 'Chosen Rada' of young tsar Ivan IV onto the past, and does not contain any historical realities at all relating to the 13th century, except for vague memories of the 'conquest of Batu.' On this basis, the campaign of Khan Mengu-Timur against Bulgaria decidedly cannot be considered a historical fact either.

Authentic sources provide very poor and incomplete information about the historical processes which occurred in the latter half of the 13th century in the Middle Volga Region. But there are grounds to believe that the Volga Region was not just the centre of the empire of the Jochids, but the demesne holding of the



Dirhams. Silver. Bulgar.
The 13th century. NM RT
(according to A. Singatullina)

khans. And by all appearances Bulgar became a seasonal capital of Batu-khan. For example, the Polo brothers, who were in the Jochid Ulus in 1250, said that they had 'come to Berke-khan, who ruled the Tatars and lived in Bulgar and Sarai' [Kniga Marko Polo, 1990, p. 39]. According to their data, there was a road leading from the Crimean port Soldaia (Solkhat) in the Black Sea Region, through Bulgar, and down the Volga to Sarai via Ukek [Ibid.]. William of Rubruck testifies to this as well; heading to the court of the great khan, he crossed the Volga not far from Ukek, where in August 1253 he saw Batu's headquarters. At the same time, he mentioned that the court of Batu-khan made seasonal movements from the south to the north: from January to August the khan himself and all the rest headed to cold countries, and in August they started to return. Thus, in the summer Batu and his headquarters were to be found in Bulgaria [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 118].

The absence of any kind of autonomy and the full subordination of Bulgaria to Batu-khan, and not the great khan, is confirmed by the absence in our sources of any mention of Bulgars at the court of the great khan, while Russians, Armenians, Ases, and others were mentioned in passing. That leads us to believe that the lands of Bulgaria were only subordinate to the Jochids and became a part of their personal ulus. Clearly, a whole range of circumstances contributed to this state of affairs. First, long and persistent resistance against the Mongolian conquest made this land potentially disloyal to the power of the khan and required regular demonstration of the might of the new power. It is possible that the ruling dynasty and aristocracy to a great extent were simply annihilated during the uncompromising struggle against the conquerors. Second, as the lands of the former Bulgar emirate were virtually the most economically developed region of the empire, Batu did not want to share his income with the other Chinggisids. Third, traditional ties between Bulgaria and the Lower Volga Region and convenient water routes along the Volga made the Middle Volga Region an organic part and the backbone of the new Jochid empire.

As to the name of this country, it should be mentioned that by historical tradition, set down in the written literature, it was all called 'Bulgaria'—'the land of the Bulgars' of the Russian chronicles. But it does not follow from this that it preserved any traditions of pre-Mongol statehood. Obviously, it would be more accurate to call Volga Bulgaria as a part of the Golden Horde the 'Bulgar Ulus', as this term definitely more accurately reflects the administrative Turkic-Mongolian system in the Middle Volga Region in the 13th and 14th centuries. One must probably also understand the use of this term in eastern literature even later, up to the end of the 16th century, as a reflection of this tradition. In the late sources of the 14–16th centuries this administrative unit was also called a *vilayet* (possession). In particular, the term 'Bulgarian vilayet' with respect to the khanate of Kazan of the 16th century is mentioned in the composition 'Zafar Name-i vilaiyati Kazan' by S. Hajjitarhani (1550), which contains the expressions 'Kazan, which is the capital of the

Bulgarian vilayet,' and 'ruler of the Bulgarian region' [Hajjiitarkhani, 1997, pp. 77, 81]. But this term can be hardly considered a 'parallel name of the khanate of Kazan' [Iskhakov, 2004, pp. 9–10]. First, here we are dealing with an ancient literary tradition, a canon of sorts. Second, the very concept of a 'vilayet'/'possession' is not noted in the Tatar tradition and is of Seljuk origin (since the poem itself was written for Suleyman Kanuni and obviously was copied in Turkey, such terms could appear in it). And third, in the diplomatic correspondence from the Kazan khans to Muscovy and the Rzeczpospolita, the self-designation 'Kingdom of Kazan'—that is, the khanate of Kazan, since it was ruled by khans—was recorded, albeit in translation. As for the 'Bulgar' terminology, one more obvious source is Kazan's historical tradition itself, which aimed to 'root' its power in the region [Izmaylov, 2006, pp. 99–128]. Therefore, the possession which emerged on the basis of the land of the former Bulgar emirate can be conditionally called the 'Bulgar Ulus' from the name of the chief town of this possession, Bulgar.

The minting of the Chinggisids' first coins in Eastern Europe in Bulgar also confirms this fact. At that time it was the first and only minting centre of the Jochid Ulus. The mint of Bulgar was unmatched in all the Volga Region in the amount of coins produced, surpassing even Sarai, the capital of the state [Mukhamadiyev, 1983, p. 43; Singatullina, 2003, p. 16]. This was determined by the fact that the Middle Volga Region had a dense, settled urban population, retail trade and currency were developed, and there was a need for monetary equivalents there [Mukhamadiyev, 1983, p. 43].

A specific feature of Jochid coining in Bulgar was the absence of dates and the names of Jochid khans. In their place were the names and dynastic signs of the khans Möngke and Arig-Buga, as well as coins produced with the name of the Caliph of Bagdad an-Nasir (1180–1225), who by that time was deceased. Copper coins of an-Nasir were also being recoined using new dies with the name and tamga of Möngke Khan [Singatullina, 2003, p. 16].

For a long while the existence of a considerable quantity of coins coined in the name of the

deceased Baghdad caliph an-Nasir was seen by some historians as a sign of a certain independence of the Bulgar Ulus or even 'disloyalty' to the Jochids. As the analysis of the Kazan numismatist A. Singatullina showed, this opinion is not confirmed by facts. First, for a long while the Bulgar mint was practically unique, serving the entire territory of the country, and was not an independent territorial or political unit. Second, these coins were minted on the instruction of the khans of the Jochid Ulus; therefore, this coinage was in keeping with their policy and did not reflect any regional interests. Third, the weight norms, the traditions of coinage, the range of weight norms, and other features of Bulgar coinage conformed not to their special rules, but to the tradition of the whole of the empire. All this leads us to presume that the Bulgar coins of the second half of the 13th century do not provide grounds to consider them symbols of some autonomous possession, despite the differences from those coined in Sarai. The differences as a whole did not go beyond the peculiarities of different mints and their die-making traditions [Ibid., pp. 16–40].

There is a conventional view in Soviet and Russian historiography that Bulgar archaeological culture did not go through any significant changes in the period of the Golden Horde, which was alleged to be evidence of full continuity of the population. It seems to us that in general that is true, but if we look at details, it will emerge that there were rather significant changes in the culture of the Middle Volga Region in the latter half of the 13th century.

Let us note only the most important differences. The structure of settlements went through serious changes. Old Bilyar declined, and Golden Horde Bilyar was erected at its outskirts; Valynskoye, Bogdashkinsk, Yulovskoye, and a whole range of other settlements ceased to exist. Judging by coins from the 13th to the first half of the 14th centuries, Bulgar (Bolgar al-Makhrusah, Bulgar al-Jadid) and Bilyar, as well as Mukhsa in the Mokhsa River Region, were the main urban centres of the Bulgar Ulus [Mukhamadiyev, 1983, pp. 11–19]. Bulgar, Suvar, and Bilyar were mentioned in epitaphs of the 13–14th centuries in takhalluses (pseudonyms) as a place of

birth or perhaps a historical region. Apparently mentioning Suvar and Bilyar was a tribute to a declining tradition, as they stopped being mentioned after the middle of the 14th century. There were many reasons for that, but the main ones are the decline of their political and economical influence, as well as the suppression of Bulgar historical tradition.

Other new centres were towns which had not previously been significant centres (Kazan, Yelabuga, Kashan, Djuketau, etc.); only Bulgar can be considered an exception to the rule in some sense. These new centres appeared as focuses of political power and tax collection, as well as of trade and various handicrafts (for example, Russkourmat, Bolshenyrsin, Bolshe-atryassk, Imenyev, Laishev, and other ancient settlements). As a rule, a concentration of Islamic cemeteries with headstones was found near them.

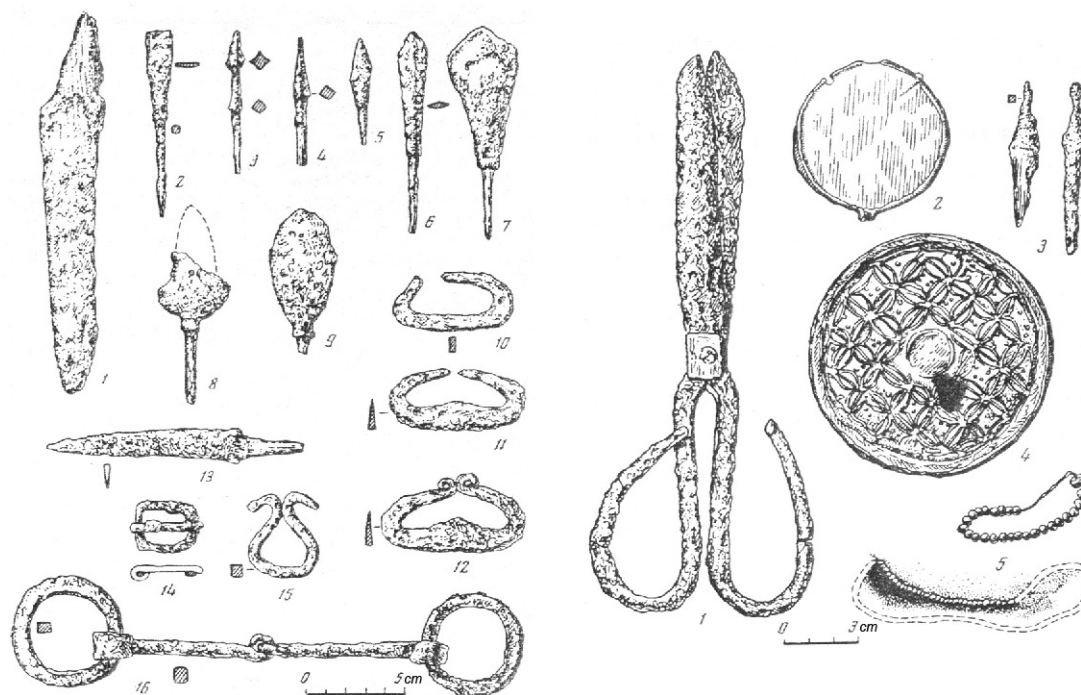
The size of the population and topography of villages abruptly changed (the population was reduced to one half to one third of the previous size). Such changes were usually considered to be the catastrophic consequences of the Mongol conquest. Currently, Russian archaeologists believe that the conquest itself was only a general background for significant cultural transformations in Eastern Europe in the 13th century [Makarov, 2003, pp. 5–11]. A decrease in the population in many long-settled areas took place in Volga Bulgaria as well as in Rus', and ancient settlements themselves had fewer buildings. The development of watersheds and outflow of population to new lands such as the Cis-Kama and Cis-Volga Regions, Iks-Belsk Interfluve, and the Moksha River basin occurred [Fakhrutdinov, 1975, pp. 50–78; Belorybkin, 2003, pp. 37–42]. Most likely this is connected with changes in the structure of power and a certain agricultural crisis in old farming areas in the 13th century. Only resettlement and internal colonisation contributed to relief from this crisis.

In any case, the similarity of the Bulgar and Golden Horde archaeological cultures is beyond question; changes are also significant. Although almost all household tools and objects were preserved, a significant impoverishment of the types and nomenclature of

items had occurred by the middle of the 14th century. The example of ceramics is extremely illustrative in this connection. In the 13th century it essentially continued its previous traditions, but differences in the shapes of the dishes, the technology of pottery ornamentation, and even stamping marks became increasingly noticeable. Kashin ceramics, which replaced plainer glazed dishes, represents the most striking contrast. But differences in the assortment, forms, and style of decoration of costumes were especially great. This primarily relates to the socially prestigious details of the costume which were subject to empire-wide fashions: decorations, belt sets, etc., which were under the greatest influence of changing ethnosocial fashion.

The population of the Middle Volga Region remained Islamic, but their burial ceremony went through a transformation in the context of Islamic ritual. In the period of the Jochid Ulus, deviations from the tradition of the universal ritual, which was identical for urban and rural settlements, started to show. Brick mausoleums and headstones with epitaphic inscriptions appeared, arm and body position of the deceased became more varied, personal belongings were included in burials from time to time, etc.

Taken together, this is evidence of serious changes in the funeral ritual and, more broadly, in Muslim jurisprudence and, accordingly, the madhab itself. One can assume in the territory of Bulgaria, where previously a quite rigid, state-regulated and unified Muslim law had been in effect, a regionalisation of sharia occurred, and a variant of madhab more friendly to local customs was approved. In this regard one may note the choice of khans Batu and Berke of Caliph an-Nasir (1180–1225) as a secular patron. However one might interpret this choice—as a certain opposition toward the great khan, or an attack directed against Nestorian Hulaguids—one cannot but note that Caliph an-Nasir died not only before the conquest of Bulgaria by Mongols, but also before their campaign in the West. If Batu were looking to select a patron in order to humiliate Hulagu, it would have been more logical to name Caliph Musta'sim (1242–1258) as patron. It is evident the choice of an-Nasir was dictated rather by



Finds from male (left) and female (right) burial sites.
Balymer burial sites, 13th century (according to E. Khalikova)

internal goals. Perhaps this was because an-Nasir was known for his practice of lawmaking and jurisprudence. His magnum opus was the famous *manshur* (manifesto) of 1207, whose aim was to combine various religious, sectarian, moral, ethical, and social elements into a single whole, uniting society within the limits of the Caliphate. At the same time, he contributed to the development of moderate Sufism and Aliism, trying to create a single religious and political brotherhood like a military religious order—a *futuwwa*—in the framework of all Islamic lands which recognised the Caliphs' authority. He then addressed all the rulers of Islam to seek support for his initiatives, which he received from a number of Seljuk emirs and sultans (see more detailed: [Mikhaylova, 1990, pp. 84–89]). With respect to the Jochid Ulus, his program could be refracted into the strengthening of Sufi *tariqas*, expansion of the rights of sheikhs to establish some *sharia* norms within their communities, support of moderate ethical doctrines, and an end to religious intolerance. We can assume, then, that the minting of coins in the Jochid Ulus in the name of an-Nasir is a

peculiar (though simply the only one that has come down to us) act of public accession to the *manshur* of an-Nasir and its principles in internal policy.

One can judge about changes in the Islamic commune of the Bulgar Ulus by such indirect facts as the as texts on epitaphic monuments. They not only mention a significant group of clerics (sheikhs, imams, hajjis), but also single out a rather large group of clerics who were migrants from Transcaucasia and Middle Asia, judging by their *takhalluses*, for example, Sadr ad-Din Shirvani, Hasan Samarkandi, Muhammad al-Jendi, Mubarek-shah Kurastani, Muhammad-sheikh al-Kardari, Rsa ash-Shamakhi, Ismahil ash-Shamakhi, Jafar-aga al-Afrikenji, et al. [Mukhametshin, Khakimzyanov, 1987, p. 119]. It is interesting that part of them came from the regions of the Jochid Ulus, Khwarezm, and the eastern Aral Region, while others came from the Seljuk regions of Transcaucasia. By all appearance, Islam was spreading to the territory of the Jochid Ulus from these regions, along with new schools of theology, legal traditions, and spiritual practices. In particular,



Gravestone with epitaph. Kazan. Late 13th century

the emergence of sufism, Sufi tariqas, and Islamic mysticism was a new phenomenon. It is significant that the Middle Volga Region was also involved in the process of reforming sharia practice.

All this is evidence of the fact that, despite its continuity, the population of the Middle Volga Region went through significant chronological, phase, and ethnosocial changes. First of all this concerns the disappearance of the former Bulgar nobility, at least from the cultural and social point of view. Apparently, it was annihilated to a great extent. Some of them managed to survive and even interact with the new rulers. However, they did not represent a united social corporation, but rather separate families involved in the structure of imperial power. The complete absence of continuity in the assortment, makeup and appearance of socially prestigious items of the pre-Mongol and Golden Horde periods is vivid evidence of this state of

affairs. The Bulgars' peculiar Turkic-Muslim culture was replaced by the luxuriant imperial culture with its Central Asian sources.

The appearance in the Bulgar Ulus of a new ethnosocial elite—the Tatar clan aristocracy with its military troops composed partly of nomads with their families—was another new phenomenon. Numerous findings of items from the early Golden Horde sphere at monuments of the 13–14th centuries in the Middle Volga Region (see [Treasures of the Golden Horde, 2000; Golden Horde, 2005; Valeyev, Rudenko, 2005; Rudenko, 2006]), as well as the materials of the Balymer burial site, can serve as archaeological evidence of a new ethnocultural situation. This monument was discovered and examined in 1961 by Y. Khalikova [Khalikova, 1965, pp. 114–116]. The burial ground consisted of 21 barrows, 4 of which were examined. Three barrows contained one burial site each, and one contained two. Traces of fires (burnt soil and coals) are found under the barrow embankments, and horses' skulls were found in three barrows. They all were buried in shallow rectangular pits (40–80 cm from day level) with small recesses on one or two long sides. In one case the remains of the wooden ceiling can be seen. The buried were lying with their heads to the north with a slight deviation to the east. A layer of coals (filler or the remains of rotted wooden constructions) is found at the bottom of the pits. Men's and women's (two) burials were distinguished by items buried with them: women's were accompanied by metal mirrors, iron awls, hinged scissors, and beaded jewelry, and men's by knives, arrowheads, fire steels, ringed bits, belt buckles, etc., [Ibid., Fig. 41, 42].

Similar burial rituals are known to have been practiced in the steppe part of the Jochid Ulus since the middle of the 13th century, though they were not very widespread. Kurgan burials with a northern orientation, according to the archaeological data, constitute a small (up to 6%) group of the burials, which are put into a mass of other types of rites with a mainly latitudinal orientation [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966, pp. 120, 127, 159, Tab. 17; Garustovich et al., 1998, pp. 261–264]. These burials can be dated with the help of the discovery of a bronze

mirror with an ornament in form of a grid from four-petal rosettes, which are encountered in the Far East and Aral Sea Region, where they date to the 12th–13th centuries, and in isolated examples from barrows of the Golden Horde period [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966, pp. 84, 116; Polyakova, 1996, pp. 228, 237, Fig. 71, 8; Rudenko, 2004, p. 121]. This allows this finding to be dated fairly clearly to the latter half of the 13th century. The rest of the burial equipment, including arrowheads, a ringed bit, and other items, does not contradict this dating. The sources of this population group can be quite clearly linked to the district of Altai-Sayan and the Baikal Lake Region, where ground and kurgan burial places are also found with a northern orientation [Mogilnikov, 1981, p. 194; Tishkin, Gorbunov, 2005, pp. 146–147; Dluzhnevskaya, Savinov, 2007, pp. 162–167]. One may presume that the Balymer burial sites were left by the nomadic population from tumens which were gathered in the ulus given to Jochi in 1208. Based on peculiarities of the rite, this military contingent had come relatively recently to the Middle Volga Region in Batu-khan's army and had preserved their burial customs. The dating of the Balymer burial sites to the first stage of formation of Jochid authority in the Middle Volga Region is also confirmed by comparison. Burials with a northern orientation, which obviously date to a later time, the late 13–early 14th centuries, are found in the Dnieper River Region, but they are all burials in the ground there, and the rite has a mixed character, combining various elements, including Central Asian [Yelnikov, 2004, pp. 86–110].

The population group which left the Balymer burial sites was clearly a military contingent which ensured the stability of the new power in the lands of former Bulgaria. The khan himself had supreme power here, and ulusbeks and darughas exercised his power while he was away. They performed major administrative and financial functions, supervising the collection of taxes and levies, the fulfillment of various duties, and the loyalty of local population. At the same time, it is obvious that the territory of Bulgaria was divided between Tatar clans and was not a united independent possession.

While in the 1240–1260s the system of power on the territory of the former Bulgaria was defined by direct subordination to the khan, the fourth quarter of the 13th century witnessed important changes. They seem to have been caused by the weakening of central power in the period of internecine feuds between the khans and karachibek Nogai. It is during this period in the Middle Volga Region that the power system which would play a decisive role in the military and administrative government of the Middle Volga Region began to crystalise.

The social structure of population of Volga Bulgaria has been fairly thoroughly examined thanks to headstone epitaphs [Yusupov, 1960; Khakimzyanov, 1978; 1987; Mukhametshin, Khakimzyanov, 1987; Mukhametshin, 1994] and represents a complicated class hierarchical structure. Here one can identify rulers such as *sultans*, *emirs*, and *beks*. One can also see terms denoting the wives and daughters of these aristocrats: *khatun*, *bika*, *bi*. A unique and apparently traditional Bulgar term is *elchi*, mistress or madam. One more term which is supposed to denote a noble lady or a man is the traditional term *khum*, which is believed to have been used to denote the descendants of servants and slaves [Khakimzyanov, 1978, pp. 93–94; Mukhametshin, 1994, p. 105]. The semantics and etymology of this term are not quite clear, but there are no reasons to consider all of them the descendants of slaves (as some historians have already noted, see Mukhametshin, 1994, p. 105).

The military service class is represented by the term '*yor*' (*churi*), which most likely denoted professional warriors [Khakimzyanov, 1978, pp. 80–82]. It is significant that their genealogy partly dates to the pre-Mongol period. The presence of officialdom can be proved by the term '*tamgachi*,' that is a tax collector [Yusupov, 1960, Table 12; Khakimzyanov, 1987, pp. 96–97; Mukhametshin, 1994, p. 105]. Most likely other noble people were called *aga*, *hoja* [Ibid., p. 103]. There is also a term for guild affiliation—*altunchi*, that is, a jeweller, and *temirchi*, a smith [Ibid., p. 105].

The clergy is represented by several terms. The most significant, apparently, was *great sheikh*, as well as simply *sheikh* and *imam*

[Ibid., pp. 104–105]. The term '*hajji*' was also fairly widespread in epitaphic monuments; this is a traditional prefix for the names of Muslims who have performed the hajj to Mecca. A whole range of other titles—shakh, malik, inal, as well as bek and emir (mir)—were clearly a part of compound names of aristocrats.

The titles of *sultan* and *emir* are of special interest for understanding the ethnosocial structure of the society. Both are found fairly rarely. The term 'sultan' is encountered twice on a monument from Bolgar and Kazan (the end of the 13th century?). In the latter case it forms a rather complex hierarchy: 'This sepulchre of the great sultan, most noble aide of the sultans, honoured emir...victorious...honoured and great ones, a banner... to the victorious one, of two honours, the pride of the clan and the faith, the shade of Lord Khasanbek, the son of mir-Mahmoud' [Mukhametshin, Khakimzyanov, 1987, p. 98; Mukhametshin, 1994, p. 100]. But one needs to consider that G. Yusupov read this inscription somewhat differently, considering the term 'sultan' not a special title but the ruler's designation: the grave of the 'great and noble ruler, the assistant of rulers, honoured emir...' [Shpilevsky, 1877, pp. 475–477; Yusupov, 1960, Table 2]. It will apparently be difficult to resolve this question without new materials. But if these epitaphs really are using the title 'sultan' with respect to Khasanbek ibn Mir-Mahmud, this is the most important evidence of an influx of Tatar aristocracy to the Bulgar Ulus, because in the Jochid Ulus the term 'sultan' was applied solely to representatives of the line of Chinggis Khan. There simply could be no local rulers with such a glorious title.

The title 'emir' was more widespread and was applied to representatives of the aristocracy. For example, an epitaph from Bulgar contains sophisticated titles: 'this is the tomb of the great emir, the sublime, exalted, most honourable, noble, glorious, high-minded, illuminator of scientists, support of the weak Ahmed Hajji, son of Mumik, son of Mir-Husein Nazar al-Bulgari' [Mukhametshin, Khakimzyanov, 1987, p. 94; Mukhametshin, 1994, p. 100]. Other emirs had much more modest epitaphs. For example, an inscription from

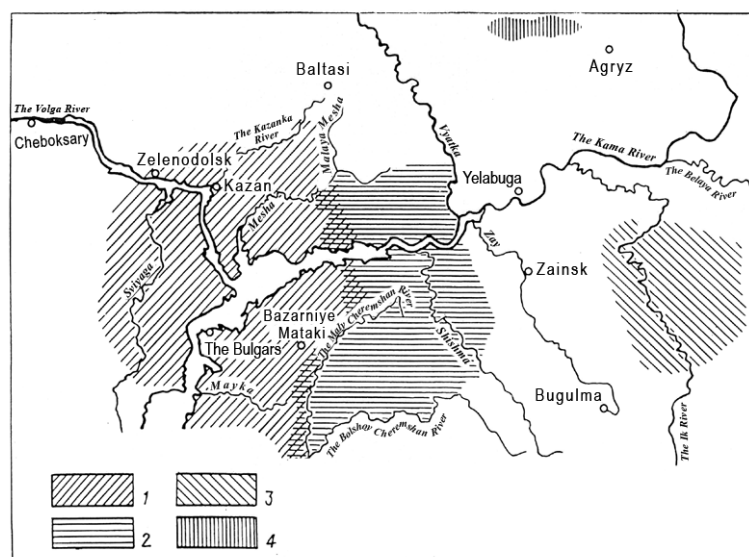
Bulgar (1323) says: 'The tomb of emir...Bulyartay, son of Byulemshak-bek' [Berezin, 1852, p. 109; Yusupov, 1960, p. 56; Khakimzyanov, 1987, pp. 100–101]. It would probably be reasonable in this light to distinguish emirs as representatives of the nobility from governing emirs who administered towns and suburbs.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to say anything about their origin, whether they were representatives of the old Bulgar nobility or those of Tatar clans. Even the takhalluses 'al-Bulgari' and 'as-Suvari' do not clarify the situation, because they indicated not ethnic affiliation, but place of birth and residence. At the same time, it should be noted that the descendants of migrants from Middle Asia and the Caucasus were recorded in epitaphs from the Middle Volga Region [Mukhametshin, 1994, p. 103]. As a matter of fact, to some extent anthropological data can be evidence of the migrant nature of the higher ranks of aristocracy from Bulgar, because a series of skulls from burials of the central cemetery of Bulgar are similar to those from lower Volga towns of the Golden Horde [Yablonsky, 1987a, pp. 124–142].

In other words, the presence of different strata of aristocracy was recorded in the lands of former Bulgaria in the late 13–early 14th centuries. There were Chinggisids (sultans) and a hierarchically organised service class headed by emirs and beks, as well as officials (tamgachis), military nobility (yuri), and untitled nobility. At the same time, there are no grounds to consider anyone among these emirs to be a ruler of Bulgaria who restored the unity of the country and was a vassal of the khans of the Jochid Ulus [Mukhametshin, 1994, p. 101]. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that the higher ranks of the aristocracy originated in the southern steppe regions.

The whole range of indirect but rather illustrative facts show that Bulgar Ulus was not an autonomy but a part of administrative system of the Jochid Ulus. Trying to accommodate this evidence with the hypothesis about autonomy, G. Fedorov-Davydov supposed that the sovereignty of Bulgar princes was eliminated in the first half of the 14th century, when the khan's power was reinforced under khan Öz Beg, so the power of the khan in Bulgaria

Regional versions
of the Golden Horde epitaph
records of the 13–14th centuries
(by D. Mukhametshin).
1—Bulgar, 2—Kermen-Juketau,
3—Eastern, 4—Northern



became powerful and direct [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 27]. However, the general dynamics of regional development from the late 13–first half of the 14th centuries was completely different.

Having recovered from defeat, the population of the Middle Volga Region began to increase production of products of land cultivation and home industry, and under the conditions of the flowering of trade cities began to become wealthier. The revival of industry and city life led to a strengthening of power and influence of ulusbeks who administered the Bulgar Ulus. Objective reality was contributing to the expansion of independence and inculcation of the Tatar aristocracy into a local urban environment, to a certain mutual infiltration of local and alien aristocracy, and to a levelling of their political ends and expectations. Mutual penetration was coming through marriages even by means of other forms of establishment of kinship that allowed local nobility to be infiltrated into Tatar clans as well as the creation of a syncretic and cohesive stratum of local nobility. One must also consider the territory of the former Bulgaria which apparently was not a single political organism before a certain time. Most probably from the end of the 13–beginning of the 14th centuries it was a conglomerate of the possessions, which were hierarchically co-subordinated to certain regional centres. One can assume in this military-administrative system that the Tatar military-service estate, syncretic by origin and organised by clan sign, played a dominant role. At the same time, in the cities, among the administrative classes,

craftsmen's workshops, and in part the clergy, greater weight was put upon representatives of the local Muslim population. This was fixed in Russian chronicles under the term 'Besermyans'—that is, Muslims, obviously a loan translation given by its ethno-confessional self-identification.

All these factors do not allow us to agree with the hypothesis that the Tatars emerged in the Middle Volga Region in the 1360s and formed the so-called 'Tatar land,' the size of which was unclear as well as its administrative status [Rudenko, 2002, p. 154]. The problem is not about the fact that the Middle Volga Region was a part of 'the Tatar land' named after the dominating ethnic class like Kievan Rus', which was called 'Russian land' because it belonged to the dynasty of the 'Rus.' Rather it is about the lack of proof that there were any other Bulgar princedoms or possessions in the Middle Volga Region. Available sources did not register any Bulgars in the Volga-Ural Region, while a whole range of evidence shows that the term 'Tatar' meant the highest ranks of society [Izmaylov, 1993, pp. 17–32; Iskhakov, 1995, pp. 95–107; Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2007, pp. 169–200]. Consequently, the Tatars, being a service class of the Jochid Ulus and corporation of feudal lords, owned all the territory of this state since the period of conquest, so it was called 'the land of the Tatars,' which was registered in authentic sources.

At the same time, there is no data about any single governor or even a nominally principal emir and a sense of political separatism related to the central khanate's power. Some historians discern this aspiration by judging the interpretations of some historical facts about the allegedly international contacts of the Bulgarian governor.

For the first time, it was written by the historian Amin al-Kholi. Referring to the testimony al-Maqrizi, he wrote that in 731 AH (1330/31), during the reign of Sultan an-Nasir, the Bulgar tsar, eager to obtain favours from him, sent ambassadors with a letter to Egypt. He asked the sultan to send him a sword and a banner, which would help him in defeating the enemies. In reply the sultan sent the tsar two swords, an emblem, and fast horses [al-Kholi, 1962, pp. 21, 38, Note 46]. Meanwhile, although the historian emphasised that the story was about the governor of the Danubian Bulgars, he concluded that the medieval author was mistaken, and 'they were probably Volga Bulgars and not Danubian Bulgars. To be precise the Volga Bulgars obeyed the lord of Sari and were Muslims' [Ibid., p. 38, Note 46]. This opinion was supported by S. Alishev, who described in detail why they were Volga Bulgars. His main idea was that 'it did not matter if the embassy of the Bulgar Khan was sent by the permission of the powerful Öz Beg-Khan or in circumvention of the Golden Horde. In any case, it signified autonomy and a possibility to perform independent political actions by the Bulgarian kingdom' [Alishev, 1995, p. 189]. Al-Qalqashandi also related the story about the arrival of the embassy from the country of the Bulgars and Serbs [Grigoryev, Frolova, 2002, p. 289]. At the same time, the author mixes up the location of two Bulgar states, and following his source, al-Masudi unites the facts about the Danubian and Volga Bulgars and tried to reconcile conflicting accounts. Thus, knowing that the Danubian Bulgars were Christians, they appealed to the Egyptian sultan. He writes the story that at ancient times it was a country of Islam.

However, it was not the medieval authors who were mistaken but modern historians. First, the message of al-Maqrizi does not

claim that the Danubian Bulgars were Muslims, and accepting a banner as a gift does not mean adopting Islam. Second, the references of the message: the titulary ('tsar') and some terms (the names of the governors 'Istefan'—Stephan, 'Iskander'—Alexander). Third, it was not the only contact but a real system of political contacts between the Mamluk Egypt and the Bulgar State, which was written about in the Arab sources (see details: [Polyak, 1964, pp. 47–48]). All this proves that the diplomatic contacts of the Bulgars with Egypt as well as their diplomatic autonomy are a result of misunderstanding. By the way, V. Tiesenhausen, who brilliantly knew the Arab sources, while making his collection of sources, tried to resolve this issue and excluded this message as irrelevant to the history of the Jochid Ulus (see: [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 441]). Diplomatic autonomy at the time of the Jochid Ulus was possessed not by the regions but by the sovereigns. Those were khans and karachibeks, who were state officials, and some very powerful ulusbeks from the Jochids, for example, Nogai. The Bulgar Ulus, linked to the Lower Volga Region with numerous clan, political, trading, and economic relations, could not and did not have that autonomy—it was simply one of the regions under the khanate's domain.

By the middle of the 14th century, in accordance with the data available to us, Bulgaria not only kept its significance as one of the most important regions in the Jochid Ulus but also strengthened it. In the Arab sources the Bulgar area is mentioned among the main territories of the khanate. For example, by al-Qalqashandi, it was one of the ten regions in the Jochid Ulus [Grigoryev, Frolova, 2002, pp. 288–290]. This was prompted by a gradual growth in agriculture, a development of handicrafts, and an expansion of trading. By some Arab authors, profit from the Bulgar trade could reach 200%–300% [Fedorov-Davydov, 1998, pp. 53–54]. Consequently, among other indicators, cities were developing, their territory was expanding, new districts of merchants and craftsmen were set up. An example of the growth of urban welfare and of the strengthening of urban political influence was the rebuilding of the Jami

Mosque in Bulgar, which was decorated with peculiar 'bastions' in the corners. At the same time, by a similar project, probably the mosque in Yelabuga was being built. Evidently, there was an intensive construction of official buildings in other cities.

The most important centres of the Bulgar Ulus by the middle of the 14th century were the cities of Bulgar and Djuketau. This was not a coincidence as Bulgar probably controlled the Volga trading, and Djuketau, the Kama trading route. By the Russian chronicles, they were the main cities of some property of the emirates, which were called 'principalities' in the Russian sources. Unfortunately, it is impossible to say anything accurate about their military and administrative structure or about their territory. However, indirect data is at hand. Studying the inscriptions of the epitaphs in the Middle Volga Region, D. Mukhametshin [1989, pp. 32–37; 2004] found out the regularities in the styles of ornamentation, graphics, formulas of using the Quranic sentences, and the language of these monuments in different regions and outlined their areas. He singled out two areas: 1) the Bulgar one, including the Western Zavolzhye, the Cis-Volga Region and Cis-Kama Region in the basin of the Kazanka, Myosha, and Oshta Rivers; and 2) the Kermen Djuketau one, including the Trans-Kama region, the basin of the Cheremshan River, and the Cis-Kama Region in the basin of the Vyatka River. Taking into account that the stone-written epitaphs were placed over the tombs of the aristocracy, it should be admitted that these workshops were in tight interaction with the upper classes and jointly developed their canons and fashion to decorate gravestones. In other words, the separation of the courts of the regional governors could not but lead to the development of some fashion and traditions, which were rather unique in decorating tombs. If it is true, the configuration of the administrative division of the Bulgar Ulus reminds us of the traditional Turkic-Mongol division into two wings, which, in their turn, are divided into small areas. Unfortunately, it is impossible to trace the formation of this system since the middle of the 13th century, but there are grounds to believe that it was deeply traditional at least in the first half

of the 14th century. These estates were hardly inheritable principalities, like Russian ones, as there is no data about local dynasties or that they were obtained by investitures from Golden Horde khans. On the contrary, the interference of the khans and their absolute governing the Bulgar territories, directly or through their sultans, underline that there was no local dynasty here, and the authority structure copied exclusively the Golden Horde rules. In this case, the system itself, the military and administrative system, and the ethnosocial structure of the Bulgar Ulus was the Tatar-Golden Horde one but not the local Bulgar one.

It is interesting that two other areas of the tombs around the archaeological site Gurya-Kala and the concourse of the Iks-Belsk Interfluve [Mukhametshin, 1989, pp. 36–37; 2004, pp. 14–15] also can be compared with some estates. In the basin of the Cheptsa River there was a certain fixed estate called 'Chulyman/Juliman' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 378], which was located in the later known Tatar Karin principality, and around the Ik and the Belaya Rivers, with its centre in the modern settlement of Chishma, where there could have been a historic land, called 'Bashgyrd/Bashgird' [Ibid.], included later in the Kazan Khanate.

The Bulgar Ulus during the period of the 'Great Troubles.' In the late 1430s the Jochid Ulus went through some serious crisis, which damaged a stable development of this state (see details in Section VI). This crisis was aggravated by a plague pandemic which in 1346 broke out in a lot of districts of this state: '... there was a great plague that people suffered from... in the Horde, and in Ornachi, and in Sarai, and in Bezdezh... the Besermyans, and the Tatars, and the Ormens, and the Obez, and the Zhids (Jews), and the Friez (Italians), and the Circassians living there' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 368; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, p. 95]. By this in 1346 the pandemic only touched the Bulgar Ulus. However, it came back more than once within several decades. In 1364, for example, the plague came from the Lower Volga and killed 100 people per day in the Russian Upper Volga cities [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18,

pp. 102–103]. That is why it can be supposed that the Middle Volga experienced all the fears of the Black Death at their full scale. By Yu. Schamiloglu, precisely this pandemic became the main factor that led to the disappearance of the speakers of the sacred language, which was used for writing most of the epitaphs until the 1370s (see Chapter 1 in Section VI).

The decrease of trading and the decadence of the Great Silk Road also deteriorated the situation in the Bulgar Ulus. The current crisis made in action the social and political mechanisms of destabilisation in the Jochid Empire as the dynastic strife and inter-clan clashes started. The war for power between different groups of the Tatar aristocracy of the White Horde, which involved also the khans of the Blue Horde, was going with ups and down for 20 years. Under these conditions there was not only a separatism in different regions but also violent conflicts between regions and raids of pirates and robbers.

The Bulgar Ulus could not avoid a common destiny. Moreover, owing to its location, it happened to be too close to the epicentre of destructive impulses. The first sign of the future destabilisation was the raid of the Novgorod pirates, 'the ushkuiniks' (from the word 'ushkui,' a longboat for up to 50 people), headed by the Dvina boyar Anfal Nikitin, who 'took... Djuketau and killed a lot of Besermyans, both men and women' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4, p. 289; 15, pp. 69; 27, pp. 242, 326; 30, p. 112]. In reply the governors of Djuketau sent an embassy to Khan Khizr with a request to punish them from the raid. The khan sent to Rus' three ambassadors 'the eldest Ourusm, the second Kaibeg, the third Altynbey, and there were problems to the Russian Princes' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 27, p. 242]. It is interesting that the later Nikon Chronicle mentions that in order to take revenge after the raid of the ushkuiniks 'for plundering, Christians in Bulgar were robbed by Tatars' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 10, p. 232]. This news is not read in authentic chronicles, but it was probably in the Tver Chronicle, where after the phrase 'the pagan Besermyans got into rage,' there was a break in the text [Complete Collec-

tion of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 69]. Forced to meet in Kostroma, the princes regarded the complaint and 'gave out the robbers and let the ambassador go back to Horde' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 377; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 181]. It is not known what culprits of the raid were given out by the princes, but Anfal Nikitin continued pirating on the Kama some time later. It is not impossible that under the conditions of the violent civil strife in Sarai no one paid attention to the Novgorod raiders.

This raid and a doubtful success of attempt to solve a problem of safety in a diplomatic way embodied a beginning of radical changes in a political life of the Bulgar Ulus. Under the conditions when the governors of the Bulgar emirates suddenly faced military threats from their hostile neighbours and were left without a support of the central power, they tried to strengthen their authority and to increase their military power.

It is more complicated to say how this authority was organised. Most probably, the head of the Bulgar emirate was a governor leaning upon the local Tatar aristocracy and executing military and administrative power on this territory. Here it is also necessary to state that for the first half of the 14th century much data is not available, and ethno-political processes can be reconstructed only retrospectively. However, after the 1360s, when the Middle Volga Region by some circumstances was involved into the internal Golden Horde conflicts that included the Russian Princes, this was reflected in a set of Russian chronicles, there was a gradual involvement of the Bulgar emirs into the military and political events of the Jochid Ulus, which made them active participants of the process. Owing to their military and economic potential and their beneficial strategic location, the support of the Bulgar lands for this or that side could influence the balance of power, which made the khans follow the political orientation of the Bulgar governors and often offered them a certain autonomy in exchange for their loyalty.

As the central power was getting weaker, the governors of the Bulgar Ulus were becoming more independent. The logic of the events was pushing them towards autonomy.

The crucial event was the arrival of the Emir Bulat-Timur in Bulgar in 1361, who took Bulgar and all the cities and uluses of the Volga, and all the Volga way' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 101; Priselkov, 1950, p. 378; *ibid.*, 15, p. 70]. At his time, analysing the coins made in 768 AH (1366/67), P. Savelyev read the stamps on them as 'the l(ate) Sultan Janibek Khan, long may (his) r(eign) last, Bulat-Timu(r), Nugan's son.' He also pointed out the coins, made on behalf of Bulat-Timur but already representing the current Khan Aziz Sheikh (1364–1366) [Savelyev, 1858, p. 208 ff.; Markov, 1896, p. 472 ff.]. M. Mukhamadiyev read the name of Bulat-Timur's father on his coins as 'Toklabi'—that is, one of the karachibek Toglubiy (or Tovlubiy in the Russian chronicles) [Mukhamadiyev, 1983, pp. 93–94]. We can agree with M. Safargaliev that coining was an attempt of the Emir Bulat-Timur to prove his power on behalf of the late khan [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 119]. At the same time, it shows that Bulat-Timur was a representative of the elite Tatar aristocracy, perhaps, a son of one of the karachibeks Toglubiy (although possibly Nanguday (Mankytay)), who was assassinated a year before these events [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 137]. It can only be supposed whether Bulat-Timur was sent to Bulgar to help in strengthening the power of the khan in this most important region of the empire, or he by himself, leaning upon his father's clan, obtained power there. All in all, he stabilised the authority in the Bulgar Ulus for almost five years and probably acted for his own interests, although in some periods he was forced to express loyalty to the central khanate.

However, in 1366 Bulat-Timur evidently fell under the displeasure of Khan Aziz-Sheikh. In 1367 he started fighting against the Novgorod princes, though it is unclear whether by order or contrary to the instructions of the khan. The aim of this actions was probably an aspiration to stop the expansion of the influence of the Novgorod princes in the Trans-Oka Region and the Moksha River Region, a traditional area of the Bulgar dominance. By the chronicle, 'the Golden Horde Prince named Boulat-Temir came with the Tatar army and robbed the dis-

trict, up to the Volga, up to Sundoviti, and up to the village of Prince Boris' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, p. 85; 18, p. 106; 4, p. 291]. Perhaps, performing this raid, Bulat-Timur thought that a recent strife between Dimitry and Boris Konstantinovich for power in Nizhny Novgorod would not let them come out together. However, he was mistaken. The brothers went out together and 'by gathering a large army' headed out to meet the Tatars. Bulat-Timur did not fight and went back to the Pyana River. Retreating turned into fleeing, the result of which part of his troops were defeated, and part were drowned in the river [*ibid.*]. The emir himself 'ran from there to the Golden Horde... and was killed there by Tsar Aziz' [*ibid.*]. Some time later Khan Aziz-Sheikh also was killed as a result of internal conflicts.

The weakening of the emir military power in the Bulgar Ulus and the obvious disfavour of the khan immediately made the ushkuiniks (pirates) active. In 1366 the fleet from 150 ushkuis under the command of three Novgorod voivodes came up to Nizhny Novgorod, where they 'killed many Tatars, Besermyans, and Ormens... many people, men and women, and children, and grabbed a great deal of goods, and damaged all their vessels, ships and boats, and shallows, and wherries, and skiffs' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 382; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, p. 81; 4, p. 292]. From there the ushkuiniks 'went from the Kama and came to the Kama and came up to Bulgar, did the same while fighting' [*ibid.*; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 183]. This campaign incited the rage of Grand Muscovite Prince Dmitry Ivanovich, who expressed his dissatisfaction through the ambassador: 'why did they (go) to the Volga and rob a lot of my guests?' They replied that the raid was performed by 'young people without our word'; moreover, they 'did not rob your guests but only beat the Besermyans' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4, p. 294]. Evidently, the discontent of Prince Dmitry was caused not by the fact of the attack on the Muslim merchants but by the possibility of using this raid for a punitive action against Rus'.

In 1369 the Novgorod people tried to perform a new attack on the Bulgar Ulus. Two fleets, one of 10 ushkuis went along the Volga, the other one, along the Kamskoye Ustye. The ushkuiniks joined at the Kama estuary and left for the Bulgars but 'were beaten near Bulgar' [ibid., p. 295]. At least, it proves that the Bulgar authorities could gather the military force and resisted the raid of the Volga pirates.

After the escape and death of Bulat-Timur, the emir of Bulgar was Hasan (Osan, Asan by Russian chronicles). M. Safargaliev paid much attention to this title and those who carried it. He expressed the opinion that 'the Bulgar Prince' Hasan was Khan Hasan, who ruled in Sarai in 1368; he 'ran away to Bulgars a year later and headed the Bulgar Principality in 1369.' M. Safargaliev associated his personality with Sultan Hasan-oglan from Shiban's descendants. As for 'Saltan, Bak's son,' this researcher sees in him 'Tsarevich' (Sultan) Muhammad (Mahmat Soltan/Mahmet Soltan/Maamat Saltan), 'who was declared as the Bulgar Prince' and ruled 'together with Prince Asan' [Safargaliev, 1960, pp. 125–126]. A. Mukhamadiyev considers 'Prince Hasan' to be 'the governor of Bulgar,' forced into subservience to Muhammad-Bulak (Mamat-Soltan) in 1370, enthroned that year as the khan in the Mamai Horde [Mukhamadiyev, 1983, p. 95]. R. Fakhrutdinov also calls Asan 'the ruler of Bulgar' or 'Bulgaria,' supposing that this prince 'ran away from the Horde,' and in 1370 had to share power with 'Sultan, Bak's son' [Fakhrutdinov, 1984, pp. 120–123]. Recently there have been interesting and trustworthy hypotheses about the situation in Bulgar and Kazan, coming out of the fact that 'the Bulgar Prince' Hasan and Sultan Muhammad, most probably also 'Bak's son,' took different positions in the ulus hierarchy and reflected not a certain hypothetic 'co-government' but an ulus structure, when under the Chinggisid sultan there was always a karachibek, head of local Tatar clans [Iskhakov, 2000; 2004a, pp. 123–128]. That is why the attempts to connect Hasan with the Shibanid dynasty seem artificial as Emir Hasan was not and could not be from the Chinggisids, otherwise the sources would not have missed this fact. The same can be said about the attempt to refer to this peri-

od an appearance of some 'Tatars' and mythical 'Tatar land' within the Jochid Ulus in the 'Bulgar' environment and, moreover, to find the proof of this hypothesis in a random set of archaeological monuments of different periods and different types [Rudenko, 2002, pp. 154–160].

All in all, the Bulgar Ulus by 1370 was a military and administrative unit; the territory in its turn was a complex system from the hierarchically co-subordinated feudal estates, which were owned by the representatives of the Tatar clans. It is not excluded that this ulus, in its turn, was divided into wings (or emirates), the centres of which were Bulgar and Djuketau. In the conditions of an general war and riots the Bulgar Ulus was one of the key regions of the empire. Now the success of the candidate for the khan's throne and the duration of his power depended a lot on its loyalty and support. The power strengthening and growth of the political authority of the governors of the Bulgar Ulus urged them to act in the internal affairs of the Horde. And it was precisely this which involved them in the internecine feud of the Horde.

By that time a severe war between Mamai against the khans of the Blue Horde and the aristocracy of Sarai made him recall Bulgar. It looks like the Bulgar Ulus was an important base and an inner resource for the Sarai khans. For this reason Mamai decided to defeat his enemies with a turning movement. In 1370 his ambassador Achi Hoja (Ata Hoja) was sent to Moscow to arrange an attack on the Bulgar Ulus. Perhaps, the embassy included Sultan ibn Baki ('Mamat Saltan, Baki's son'). The Muscovite Prince Dmitry Ivanovich, obliged to Mamai with an yarliq for the grand principality, agreed to fulfill his orders. Evidently, it was dictated not only by gratitude but an aspiration to hit the rival for the power in the Sura-Oka interfluve. That is why the campaign with Achi Khoja included the troops of Dmitry Konstantinovich from Novgorod, headed by his brother Boris and son Vasily 'with a lot of forces' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 389]. However, the Bulgar Emir Hasan did not wait for the beginning of intensive military actions. He 'sent an ambassador with a petition and a lot of gifts. They took the gifts, made Saltan, Baki's son, the Prince,

and turned back to Rus' [Ibid., pp. 389–390; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 185]. Thus, Emir Hasan, managing to keep power, obeyed the Khan of Mamai's Horde and accepted Muhammad-Sultan as a nominal governor.

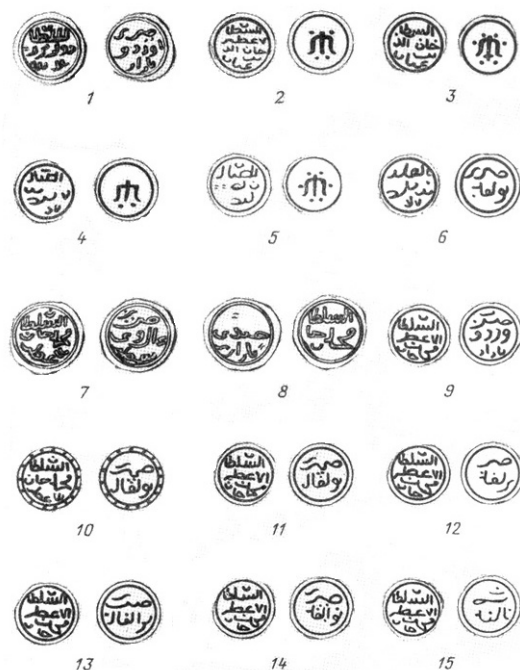
As a result of this campaign, Mamai was a winner, who not only managed to conquer a rich ulus but also defeated the Blue Horde khans by depleting the central power and took Sarai. Although three years later he started losing his positions, Mamai was forced to abandon the capital Sarai and all the Lower Volga Region and got involved in a long-lasting conflict with the Grand Principality of Moscow. With a view to increasing 'the Horde's exit,' the Muscovite Prince Dmitry Ivanovich replied with a denial, Mamai started intrigues as he wanted the Muscovite Prince to be opposed by the other candidates for the grand principality: Mikhail from Tver or Dmitry Konstantinovich from Nizhny Novgorod. As a result, in 1374 the relations between Dmitry Ivanovich and Mamai were broken off, and an open war between them was started (see details: [Gorski, 2000, pp. 83–90]).

The growth of military tension immediately caused the appearance of the ushkuiniks, ready to hit the unprotected peaceful cities and settlements on the banks of the Volga and the Kama. In 1374, by the words of the chronicler, 'going down along the Vyatka, the ushkuiniks, the robbers, on 90 ushkuis, robbed Vyatka and took Bulgar.' Evidently, they conquered the foothill part, the district of the merchants, and the craftsmen, and in order to save it from being robbed and burnt down, the residents paid them a ransom at 300 rubles. Here the ushkuiniks split. One part of '50 ushkuis went along the Volga down to Saray, and 40 ushkuis went up along the Volga, got to Obukhovo, and robbed all the Trans-Sura and Markvash Region' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 396; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, p. 106; 25, p. 189; 30, p. 120].

The most famous and ruinous raid was performed by the ushkuiniks in 1375. The moment was chosen wisely: the main troops of the Nizhny Novgorod, the allies of Dmitry, were engaged in the campaign against Tver, and the Lower Volga Region suffered from the interne-

cine feud, when the fight against Mamai and the local emirs was started by the Blue Horde governor Urus Khan. Having waited for the ally army of the Muscovite Dmitry to go to Tver, the Novgorod people went along the Volga to Kostroma. At that time their detachment consisted of a thousand and a half warriors, headed by the voivodes Prokop and Smolyanin, and their fleet consisted of 70 ushkuis. Having applied a skillful manoeuvre, they defeated a more numerous garrison and conquered the city, systematically robbing it for a week. From there they 'went down along the Volga, robbed Nizhny Novgorod, and captured a lot of people... and burnt the city.' Then, making raids on the river settlements and trading ships, they went to the Kama and then turned to Bulgar, where they 'sold all the Christian prisoners.' Later they moved down the Volga by 'robbing the Christians and killing the Besermyans.' Their bloody way was stooped only at the walls of Hajji Tarkhan, where 'they were defeated by the Hajji Tarkhan Khan named Salchei without mercy, no one was left alive' [Priselkov, 1950, pp. 399–400; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4, pp. 304–305; 15, 1965, pp. 113–114, 435–436; 18, pp. 116–117].

Under the conditions of a rising war with the Mamai Horde, the Grand Prince of Moscow, after defeating Tver, decided to strengthen his power on the Volga. In winter of 1377, by the order of the Muscovite Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich, the Nizhny Novgorod Princes Vasily and Ivan, the sons of Dmitry Konstantinovich and the Muscovite Voivode Dmitry Mikhaylovich Volynsky, made a campaign against Bulgar. They came up to the walls of the city on 16 March and started ruining the premises. 'The pagan Besermyans went out of the city against them, started to fight and shoot, and the others made a noise from the city to frighten our people. They were shooting with crossbows. Some went out on camels and frightened our horses' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 401]. However, this excursion was repelled with the losses for the besieged. As they did not manage to defeat the Muscovite troops, Emir Hasan and Muhammad-Sultan proposed to make peace. The Russian voivodes did not want the siege to last long either as spring



Dirhams. Bulgar al-Jadid

(by A. Mukhamadiyev)

1–3—Shadi Beg, 4–5—Bulat, 6—Chekre,
7–15—Dervish

was setting in, with ice drifting and impassibility. As a result, they made peace with the condition of recognising the suzerainty of the princes from Nizhny Novgorod and Moscow, 'with all their will,' and Bulgar had to accept the prince's daruga and customs official and to pay a huge ransom: 2 thousand to the princes and 3 thousand to the voivodes and the troops [ibid., pp. 401–402; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, pp. 116–117; 18, pp. 117–118; 23, p. 120].

The Bulgar Ulus got under the Muscovite protectorate. It is unclear whether this dependency was long and durable. Most probably, it was quite unstable and did not last long. Hardly had Mamai made the pressure upon Moscow more severe, the Bulgar emir received his absolute power.

It is a mystery which khan was supported by the governors of the Bulgar Ulus. In 1375–1377 the Volga Region came under a complicated and confusing situation. Nizhny Novgorod at that time was ruled by one of the supporters of the Blue Horde Khan Urus. In 1377 one of them, Arabshah, made a rapid raid

on the Trans-Sura Region and robbed it [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicle, 15, 1965, p. 119; 18, p. 119]. The successes of the Blue Horde governors were significant, but there is no information about the subordination of the Bulgar Ulus to their power. A vague mention in one of the late records, full of the legendary motives from the text 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name,' about the fact that the Bulgars belonged to 'the yurt of Urus Khan' [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 130] can hardly be considered trustworthy testimony.

However, the power of the Sarai khans in the Middle Volga Region was unstable. Mamai and his emirs remained more important. Thus, having come out against Arabshah, the army of the Nizhny Novgorod Prince behind the Pyana River was attacked all of a sudden by the troops of Mamai and was totally destroyed. Even Prince Ivan Dmitriyevich died. After it the Tatar detachments very rapidly came up to Nizhny Novgorod, took it 'by attacking out of the blue,' robbed and burnt it. Evidently, on the way back they besieged and burnt down Pereyaslavl-Ryazansky [Priselkov, 1950, p. 403; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4, pp. 307–308; 15, 1965, pp. 118–119; 18, pp. 118–119]. However, the next year Mamai was severely beaten: his army headed by the Emir Begich on 11 August 1378 on the Vozha River was defeated by the troops of Dmitry Ivanovich [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, pp. 134–135; 18, pp. 126–127]. It is interesting that actually at the same time with this battle, on 24 July 1378, 'Tatars out of the blue attacked' Nizhny Novgorod and again ruined and burnt down the city and its premises without even taking a proposed ransom [Priselkov, 1950, p. 415; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, pp. 133–134]. By the grounded opinion of V. Kuchkin, this campaign could hardly be performed by Mamai's army, which was concentrated against the troops headed by the Muscovite Prince Dmitry Ivanovich himself, and that is why the attack was arranged in Bulgar or less probably in Sarai [Kuchkin, 1980, pp. 107–108]. If this presumption is true, it means that the Bulgar Ulus did not simply get autonomy back but started a war against the principalities of

Nizhny Novgorod and Moscow and perhaps coordinated its actions with Mamai.

All in all, the Volga-Kama Region remained being at situation of civil disorder and war, which got complicated with a permanent threat of the raids by the Novgorod ushkuiniks, urging to fight against them even in winter (about the campaign of the Vyatka people against the ushkuiniks, see: [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 129]).

In general, trading and economy were going through difficult times. The facts of the trade were decreasing, and the Balkanisation of life resulted in an increase of cutting and spoiling coins, a rapid uprise of a number of money and and goods treasures [Fedorov-Davydov, 1987, pp. 180–181]. Only the strengthening the power of the khan could stop the advance of the Russian princes and get back stability to the economy and the internal policy in the Middle Volga Region.

The rise of Kazan from the end of the 14–beginning of the 15th centuries. The defeat of Mamai at the battle of Kulikovo (1380) determined his final loss and facilitated the climbing of Khan Tokhtamysh to power. Having strengthened his power, the khan received the recognition of the formal supreme rights for the Russian lands from the Muscovite prince, but he did not acquire absolute obligations to obtain the payments of the debts for the 'Horde tribute' and regular supplies in Sarai. Under these conditions Tokhtamysh began to prepare a huge campaign against Moscow (about the politics of the parties, see: [Gorsky, 2000, pp. 100–107]). His first action in this direction was a demonstrative strengthening of his power in the Bulgar Ulus: 'Tokhtamysh sent people to Bulgar and ordered them to rob the Russian guests, and take their money and goods' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, pp. 131–132; 15, 1965, p. 143]. He himself secretly crossed the Volga and suddenly entered Rus', besieged and took Moscow (see details: [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, pp. 132–133; 15, 1965, pp. 143–146; 3, p. 378]).

Thus, Khan Tokhtamysh finally got back his power over the Bulgar Ulus. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the details of the

internal structure in the Jochid Ulus, but it can be presupposed that inner stabilisation did not happen. However, the increase of the dependency of the ulus from the central power and the involvement of these lands into the politics of the khanate can be noted. Thus, in 1391 Tokhtamysh 'sent his tsarevich named Bektut with the army to Vyatka. He went there and took Vyatka, killed some people and captured others, men and women and children' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, pp. 160–161; 18, p. 141]. Perhaps the campaign became the consequence of the territorial conflicts between the Vyatka people and the Tatars. It also shows that the meaning of the Bulgar Ulus for the khan's power increased. The region had a stable economy, did not become an arena of a severe civil strife, and preserved its military resources. All this raised up its significance for the central power and its influence in the power hierarchy. It is then no wonder that since that time here and there the sultans, 'tsareviches,' are mentioned as the representatives of the khan's power in the guise of military chiefs and administrators.

The main evidence of the active participation of the Bulgar Ulus in the military and political efforts of the khanate is the episode of the war against Aksak-Timur, when before the battle on the Kondurcha River, he was forced to initiate the beginning of the battle as he feared that Tokhtamysh would be reinforced with the troops from Azak and Bulgar [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 164]. The strength and power of the army of the Bulgar Ulus is demonstrated by the fact that Aksak-Timur did not risk invading its territory neither in 1391 nor in 1395–1396, preferring to pass it by.

At the end of the 14th century, for the first time together with Bulgar, Kazan started being mentioned as one of the most important regional centres. According to the data from the Russian chronicles, in 1391 'the people from Great Novgorod and Ustyug went out in the boats and ushkuis down along the Vyatka River and took Zhukotin and robbed it, and Kazan, and went to the Volga and robbed all the guests and went away' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 438; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 141].

In a set of later and partially cut chronicles, this message contains only the name of the city of Juketau (see: [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 23, p. 132; 30, p. 129]).

The next time Kazan is mentioned on the pages of the chronicles during a great campaign of Prince Yuri Dmitriyevich against Bulgar in 1399 and was clearly called a centre of one of the emirates, together with Bulgar, Juketau, and Kermenchuk. The events that caused the campaign of the Russian princes are related to the general Horde policy upon the weakening of the power of the Grand Prince of Muscovy. The reason for the campaign was the claims of Semyon Dmitriyevich from Suzdal for the Principality of Nizhny Novgorod. Evidently, the Great Emir Edigu supported his claims for power and sent with him Sultan Yentyak with the army. Judging from the context and further events, Yentyak was the sultan of the Bulgar Ulus and got directly interested in the situation when the prince of Nizhny Novgorod was his ally, not his enemy. The army of Yentyak—'a thousand Tatars' with Prince Semyon—came up to Nizhny Novgorod and began a siege. Some time later the residents surrendered and on 25 October 1399 made peace with the attackers, but the latter perfidiously broke it and robbed the city. Prince Semyon could not stop the destruction of the city, and it set the residents against him. As soon as it became known that the Muscovite troops were coming up, the Tatars together with Prince Semyon hurried up to retreat. In reply, Grand Prince Vasily sent the army headed by his brother Yuri Dmitriyevich, 'and with him the voivodes and the eldest boyars and a lot of forces. He went to conquer the city of Bulgar, Zhukotin, Kazan, Kremenichuk and took all these lands, laid waste to many Besermyans and Tatars, and captured the Tatar land. Three months later he came back with a great victory and a lot of benefits to the Russian land' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 453; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4, p. 380; 15, p. 470; 25, pp. 225–226]. The success of the campaign was serious. Typical was the maxim of the chronicler, who described this campaign: 'no one will remember ages hence when Rus' conquered the Tatar land' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4, p. 380]. Later

in 1402 this 'Tsarevich Yentyak' was called as an ambassador of Edigu to the Grand Muscovite Prince Vasily [Priselkov, 1950, p. 456; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 232]. This proves that he was loyal to the central power and acted for its interests [Gorsky, 2000, p. 126].

Meanwhile, around 1406–1407 Edigu again conquered the Bulgar Ulus. The information about it is placed in the memories of a German soldier, who had been captured by Turks, then taken to the service of Sultan Chekre; he took part in the military and political events in the Jochid Ulus during 1405–1427. He wrote that Chekre after his returning was taken to the court of Edigu and fought together with him in Siberia and the Volga Region. At that time, after conquering Siberia, '...Edigu and Chekre invaded Bulgaria, which was also conquered by them. After that they went back' [Shiltberger, 1984, p. 35]. Perhaps this campaign had an aim to strengthen the powerful authorities of Edigu before a more important and significant military campaign against the Muscovite Principality. Most probably, at that time Sultan Yentyak was dismissed, and a new representative from the khan in the Bulgar Ulus was appointed.

After concentrating the power in his hands and suppressing the discontent of the ulus-beks, Edigu decided to bring the Grand Prince of Muscovy to obedience and made him pay out the 'Horde tribute' in the same amount as Vasily Dmitriyevich stopped paying the tribute and started his independent policy from the beginning of the reign of Edigu. Having been assured by fruitless peaceful negotiations, in autumn 1408 Edigu suddenly invaded Rus' (Ruthenia) and besieged Moscow. At that time his troops started ruining the main cities and 'volosts' in the north-east of Rus' [Priselkov, 1950, pp. 468–471; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, pp. 177–185; 15, pp. 482–484; 4, p. 400; 25, pp. 238–239]. At the same time, with the main forces along the Volga within the principality of Nizhny Novgorod, the other army led by 'another tsarevich' invaded; as he was not named, evidently, it was not Yentyak but the other Sultan—Talych. His army included 'a lot of Tatars, Bulgars, and Mordvins.' They conquered and robbed a lot of

cities, Nizhny Novgorod, Gorodets, and Kurmysh and almost reached Kostroma and Vologda [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 484]. Evidently, together with them came Prince Daniil Borisovich, who with the help of Edigu was restored in his father's demesne on the throne of Nizhny Novgorod, together with his brother and relatives and the descendants of the princes from Suzdal. Further these princes became active supporters of the khan's power and opponents of the Grand Prince of Muscovy.

The war caused new raids of the ushkuiniks. In 1409 the famous Dvina Voivode Anfal Nikitin again gathered a significant ship army and decided to rob the Bulgar Ulus. The movement was to start from two sides, one fleet with 100 ships—'flat-bottomed boats' had to go along the Kama, and the other 150, along the Volga. However, the Volga fleet delayed, and the Kama fleet was defeated: 'They were beaten on the Kama by Tatars, and Anfal was captured and brought to the Horde' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 239; 23, p. 143]. Later he was probably set free for a ransom and died in 1417.

Meanwhile, in Rus' (Ruthenia) there was a war between Vasily of Moscow and Daniil of Suzdal [Gorsky, 2000, p. 134]. In summer 1410, having taken advantage of the absence of the Muscovite troops, Daniil called Sultan Talych and made a joint raid on Vladimir. Prince Daniil Borisovich sent to the city a detachment of 1,500 warriors led by the boyar Semyon Karamyshev, which was joined by the similar detachment of Sultan Talych. On 3 July their detachments 'came to Vladimir through forests secretly from the Klyazma River' and suddenly conquered the city, ruined it and 'burnt it with fire...' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 160; 25, p. 240; 23, p. 143].

In reply, in January 1411 Vasily of Moscow advanced on Nizhny Novgorod with troops led by his brother Prince Pyotr Dmitriyevich. Daniil and Ivan Borisovich called all their allies for help. The ruling elite of Bulgar probably replied on their request and sent its army with '... the princes of Bulgar, Zhukotin, and Morodova.' The army of Nizhny Novgorod joined the allies and started waiting for the Muscovite regiments on the island of Lyskov. The battle

took place on 15 January 1411, on the ice of the Volga. The fight was severe and bloody: 'And there was an atrocious struggle between them, and the Prince of Suzdal Daniil Vasilyevich was killed, and a lot of people died from both sides.' However, the winners 'the Nizhny Novgorod princes... stood upon the bones' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, 1965, p. 186; 15, pp. 485–486]. It was an obvious success, both the demonstration of the military power of the Bulgar Ulus and the diplomacy that showed the ability of the Bulgar and Juketau emirs to carry out an active diplomatic exchange in the Volga Region. However, success was not complete as that year's summer Edigu was dismissed by Khan Timur, and the Jochid Ulus was involved in a new period of conflicts.

The political situation in the Bulgar Ulus is only actually known due to the numismatic data and is defined with the issue of the coins by a new mint. The place of coinage was pointed out as 'the city of Bulgar al-Jadid' ('New Bulgar'), and as G.A. Fedorov-Davydov surmised, Kazan was hidden under this name. In 'Bulgar al-Jadid,' as the capital of the ulus, the coins were made on behalf of the ruling sultan from the Jochids, Ghiyath al-Din (1422–1425) [Mukhamadiyev, 1983, pp. 124–135]. Judging by them monetary reform was taking place under his reign, and they started to make coins with the title 'Highest Sultan' and with their own coat of arms, a lyre-shaped tamga. Evidently, at the reign of this sultan the Bulgar lands were actually united under the power of Kazan. At his time the Bulgar Ulus tried to influence the internal affairs of the Horde but failed. Since 1426 the monetary court 'Bulgar al-Jadid' again made coins on behalf of the khans of the Jochid Ulus. Perhaps, it was not a coincidence as exactly at that time the power of Khan Ulugh Muhammad in the Jochid Ulus was strengthened. It is not excluded that he dismissed Sultan Ghiyath ad-Din, who was obviously eager to obtain autonomy, and appointed his protégé.

The support of the khan and increasing military power led to the situation where the Bulgar Ulus tried to play an active role in politics by defending the interests of his lands. In the

winter of 1428–1429 the rulers of the Bulgar Ulus began a war against the Galich Principality. By the chronicles, in winter 'the Tatars went to Galich,' though despite a sudden attack and a one-month siege, they ruined the premises but could not take the city. Having made a rapid march on the Epiphany, 6 January, they took Kostroma 'out of the blue' and 'captured it,' and later they 'took Plyos and Lukh.' Having taken the loot and the prisoners, Tatars started retreating 'down the Volga.' Having reached Nizhny Novgorod, the troops turned back. However, the Bryansk voivode Fyodor Konstantinovich and the Suzdal Prince Fyodor Davydovich the Spotted, at their own will, without notifying the chiefs, continued following up and managed to get and defeat the rear guard of the rival. Having heard of the raid, from Moscow the chase was prepared and 'sent to pursue them with their uncles Prince Andrey and Kostyantyn, and with them Ivan Dmitiyevich, with their regiments.' However, the Muscovite princes were acting with fear and were not in a hurry. As a result, they 'did not catch up with them and got back.' Only Princes Fyodor Paletsky the Spotted and Fyodor Konstantinovich secretly continued following and managed to get the prisoners back [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 248; 27, p. 102; cf.: Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4, p. 451]. Nevertheless, it was an impressive success, which demonstrated the high military organisation and skills of the chiefs and a strengthening of the Bulgar Ulus perhaps at the dominance of the Kazan Emirate.

According to the chronicler, the Tatars were commanded by 'the tsarevich and prince Ali-Baba' [ibid.] There are some doubts about the name of the last sultan as in the chronicle he is not mentioned by name. A.A. Gorky thinks that, perhaps this 'tsarevich' was Mahmud Khodja (Makhmud-Hozya) [Gorsky, 2000, p. 142], who was mentioned in the agreement between the Galich Prince Yury Dmitriyevich and the Ryazan Prince Ivan Fyodorovich: 'Tsarevich Makhmut-Hozya with his army was also in your Galich...' [Spiritual and Contractual Charters, 1950, p. 86, No. 33]. As the Russian campaign in 1431 was performed as a reply to the raid of 1429, when Bulgar was

ruined, it is reasonable to suppose that it was carried out by the rulers of Bulgaria.

This raid could not remain unpunished, and in 1431 the Muscovite troops, led by Prince Fyodor Davydovich the Spotted from Stary Dub, were sent to the Middle Volga Region. The chronicles quite briefly note that the army was sent to 'the Volga Bulgars,' and the prince 'went there to take them and to conquer their entire land' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 248; 27, p. 102, 269; 23, p. 147]. It is unusual that, for this mostly successful campaign, the chronicles do not contain mention about the prisoners taken and war loot. It makes one suppose that the success of this raid is exaggerated. In historiography disproportionate significance is given to this campaign as after 1431 in the chronicles the mention of Bulgar and the Bulgar land disappears forever. Only Kazan and the Kazan land are met. It is not excluded that the military events in the beginning of the 1430s sped up the final fall of the political significance of Bulgar, yielding to Kazan.

Summing up all the scant information from the Russian chronicles about the territory of the historical Bulgaria, it can be concluded that in the end of the 14th century 'the Bulgar land'—that is, the Bulgar Ulus, was divided at least into two parts: one was in the centre of Bulgar (perhaps, the capital), and the other one had its centre in Juketau. The first information about the autonomous political actions by the possessors of Juketau could be referred to 1360, when in reply to the attack of the ushkuiniks they complained to Khan Khizr, and he made the Russian princes deliver the raiders [Priselkov, 1950, p. 377; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 30, p. 112; 25, p. 181; 27, pp. 242, 326]. The latest information where the Juketau emirs together with the Bulgar ones are mentioned as an independent military political force is referred to 1411, when they, being in alliance with the Suzdal Prince Daniil Borisovich, defeated the Muscovite troops at the battle of Lyskov [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 186, pp. 485–486].

On the contrary, the sources fix some elements of new centres increasing, an obvious process of a gradual decline, the loss of the

importance of old powerful centres, and the establishment of new ones. At least, from the 1360s to 1380s the sources point to four centres instead of two (Bulgar and Juketau).

A very important stage on the way for the union of all the Bulgar lands under the power of Kazan was the invitation to the sultan of the Jochids Giyath al-Din (1422–1425) to the throne. And Kazan was likely to be a centre of the Bulgar Ulus. It can be seen from a gradual decline of Bulgar as a leading centre of the Bulgar Ulus, while Kazan was strengthening step by step. At approximately the same time Kazan started making its own coins mentioning the place of coinage as 'Bulgar al-Jadid' [Muhamadiyev, 1983, pp. 118–135]. All this depicts the increased military power and political influence of the Kazan beks and sultans and their rising ambitions for sovereignty from the end of the 14–beginning of the 15th centuries.

To understand the structure of power in the Bulgar Ulus, it is important to underline that together with 'princes' on the territory of the Bulgar Ulus between the 1370s and the 1420s there are tsareviches (sultans). Evidently, the sultans ruling in Bulgar were Muhammad-Sultan (the 1370s), Bektut (ca. 1391), Yentyak (1398/99), Talych (1410), Giyath al-Din (1422–1425), and Mahmud Khodja (1429). Thus, there are clear testimonies that since the 1370s the Bulgar Ulus was ruled by a sultan from the Chinggisid dynasty, appointed by the khan. This conclusion not only excludes the existence in Bulgar of any local Bulgar dynasty but underlines the inclusion of these lands into the Tatar all-Horde clan system.

It is interesting that 'Prince Ali-Baba' was also mentioned as a participant in the campaign of 1429 against Galich [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 248; 27, pp. 102, 269]. If to connect the Kazan 'Votchich Libey' with 'Ali-Baba,' who headed the attack of the Kazan Tatars in 1429 on the Russian lands [Iskhakov, 2000, p. 151; Gorsky, 2000, p. 142], probably his name sounded as Ali/Hali, and the title was 'Bey/Bek.' Some researches relate him to Alim/Halim/-Bek, according to the Tatar historical narratives, recorded in the 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name' [Usmanov, 1972,

pp. 97–133], who was a son of the Bulgar ruler, 'Khan' Habdulla, killed by Timur. However, the legend itself about Alim-Bek is most probably a part of a historiographic tradition of Kazan and the mythologema of the khanate, underlining its origin both from the Jochid Ulus and from 'Saint Bulgar' [Izmaylov, 2006]. On the other hand, the name 'Libey' could hide the title 'ulubek' or 'ulusbek'—that is, the ulus ruler. It makes clear his title 'votchich,' which could not be referred, for example, to Giyath al-Din from the Chinggisid. It is not excluded that this term meant the ulusbek or the daruga as a chief of the Tatar clans and the governor of the military, political, and fiscal affairs in Kazan and in the Bulgar Ulus. All in all, by the present times there is no evident position about the origin of this Kazan 'votchich' or 'ulusbek,' but it can be noted that it played a key role in the system of the power in Kazan before an establishment of the dynasty of independent khans there.

This mention is also interesting because it allows us to confirm the idea that the real power in the Bulgar Ulus was performed by the representatives of the Tatar clans through their darugas (or later karachibeks), who had real power and commanded the military forces of the ulus. Taking into account these facts, it becomes clear that the Bulgar Ulus from the second half of the 14–beginning of the 15th centuries was in a situation when here power belonged to a sultan from the Chinggisids, and rule was carried out by the 'prince'/emir—daruga-bek or ulusbek. If to extrapolate this situation upon the structure of the central power, being at that time in Sarai, a total correspondence can be discovered. In the Jochid Ulus at the time of the Chinggisid khan the head of the state and military affairs was an ulug karachibek, as well as in the uluses at the times of the governing sultan there was a daruga-bek—that is, an ulusbek, or a prince-daruga, from the yarliqs to the Russian metropolitans. This structure by copying the governing system of the entire Jochid Ulus was a potential root of state power. There was only a need for a powerful sultan with authority who could defend his lands in the Middle Volga Region from the ambitions of Moscow and Saray.

The ruling Giyath al-Din did not carry out this mission, although he was close to it in the 1420s. However, from the middle of the 1420s Bulgar had started making coins with the names of the Horde khans. This demonstrates a decrease in the Kazan rulers' aspirations to power.

At the same time, the failures at the wars with the Grand Principality of Moscow (for example, the destruction of Bulgar by the Russian troops in 1431) made evident the incapability of the Bulgar governors to separately oppose the Russian troops and the absence of help from the Horde khans who were involved in the internecine wars. Thus, Bulgar as a regional centre and the capital of the united ulus gave the leading position to the other centre of power-Kazan. The later 'Kazan History' though tried to degrade Kazan by pointing to 'its humility for a short time, and its quiescence, and falling into decline, and being empty for 40

years' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 19, p. 13]. In fact, at that time the Kazan Emirate faced a significant economic and political growth, becoming a real centre that had united the lands of the Bulgar Ulus into one state. Precisely Kazan, being in the centre of a newly-cultivated agricultural region, without suffering from the wars of the previous decades, became a concentration of power and military force from all the ulus. Though, there was no political and military leader with authority in order to make a union.

That is why, when on the borders of the Kazan lands in winter 1438 there appeared Khan Ulugh Muhammad with a little squad, being exiled from the Lower Volga Region and fighting against Vasily II the Blind, the Kazan aristocracy most probably made a union with him and started a process of setting up an independent khanate.

§ 4. Finno-Ugric Peoples of the Middle Volga Region and the Cis-Ural Region in the Golden Horde Epoch

Finno-Ugric Peoples of the Middle Volga Region and the Cis-Ural Region by the early 13th century*

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Lands to the south of the Oka River in the basin of the Sura River and Volga-Moksha confluence were occupied by ancestors of the Mordovians: Erzya in the north and Moksha in the south of the region. It is quite probable that other Mordovian groups also lived there; among them there were ancestors of Tengushevo Mordovians, or Shoksha Mordvins, now populating the extreme north-east of the Republic of Mordovia, whose language and culture are marked with combination of traits both Erzyan (probably because of closeness of this group to the Erzya) and Mokshan (perhaps a

result of later influence) and by some original traits not evolved directly from these two components. In addition, groups of population kin to the Mordvins could move there from the regions further north: creators of the Ryazan burial sites culture, descendants of Muroma, the Meshcheras, and probably Merya mentioned in the chronicles who were pressed by Russian colonisation of the Oka River Region, as well as Eastern Slavonic and Baltic groups.

Politically, these territories were a kind of buffer zone between the Volga Bulgaria and the Rus' (Vladimir-Suzdal and Ryazan principalities). As early as 12th century the right bank of the Sura River probably was controlled by Bulgaria, whose influence in the early 12th century spread further west, to the upper reach of the Alatyr River (the Sarov Archaeological Site) and upstream of the Moksha River (the town of Narovchat). Russian principalities in their turn controlled the right bank of the Oka River and in the early 13th century extended their power to the lower stream of the Moksha (town of Kadom) and the mouth of the Oka

* The provisions of this part of the essay are mainly grounded in the article of one of the authors in the previous volume of 'History of Tatars' [Napolskikh, 2006].

(Nizhny Novgorod) [Belorybkin, Zelentsova, 2006]. Yet, in the 1220–30s the principality of Vladimir-Suzdal was weakened by several appanages appearing at its territory, all headed by sons of Vsevolod the Big Nest (1154–1212), and this contributed to the de-facto independence of the Mordvinian principalities. There between the Volga Bulgaria and the Vladimir-Suzdal Rus', where laid an important economical and political road between Bulgar and Kiev, the struggle with pro-Russian orientated partisans, *Puresh* and his son mentioned by the chronicles among them, was won by Mordvinian prince *Purgas*, who rose with some military help of the Bulgarian rulers and spread his power not only over the Mordvins but over the 'Rus of those from Purgas' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, pp. 122–123, 125]. Ponetayev or *Purgas* archaeological site of the 12–13th centuries in the upper reach of Tesha, could be the centre of the union [Mokshin, 1977; 1991].

Nor-east of the Mordvin lands, on the left and right banks of the Volga, between the Sura and the Kama Rivers, a community of Mari tribes had largely formed by the 13th century. However, the left bank of the Volga and Vetluzhsko-Vyatskoye Mezhdurechye had almost no exposure to the Bulgar presence and direct influence. The area covered with thick forest, with relatively infertile soil, and no important trade routes passing through it, was obviously not very attractive for the Bulgars, who preferred to be on friendly terms with the local inhabitants, without interfering in their internal affairs. The Mari were a kind of buffer between Bulgaria and Rus' (Ruthenia), which became even more important with the establishment of Nizhny Novgorod in 1221 and the appearance of a Russian enclave in the middle Vyatka Region no later than the turn of 12–13th centuries [Makarov, 2001]. The role of the Maris, who acted like federates for Volga Bulgaria, can be reconstructed from several circumstances: 'Cheremis,' the earlier, external name of the Maris, was apparently derived from the Turkic stem* *čer-* 'troops, to make war,' and initially (probably in the times of the Khazars, when the first Turks penetrated the Middle Volga Region) denoted the 'warlike' population of the

border area; in conflicts between the Russians and the Kazan Khanate field Maris always took the side of the latter and after the fall of Kazan, in the period of the Cheremis Wars at the latter half of 16th century, remained the last active force in the struggle against Moscow, although up to now no reinforced Bolgar Archaeological Site have been discovered in Mari Lands; despite the early involvement of the (*Cheremis*) Mari in the sphere of political interests of the Turkic states in the Volga Region (at least since the 10th century, judging by a letter by Joseph, a Khazar Khagan, who mentioned them), researchers date borrowings from a Bulgar language (Chuvash) no earlier than 13th century, which means the Mari ancestors did not have very close contacts with the Turks in the pre-Mongol period.

The right bank of the Volga, the Volga-Sura interfluvium, and the territory of modern Chuvashia were most likely populated by people close to the Mari (this follows from obvious parallels in traditional culture and anthropological type of the Maris and the Chuvash, numerous traces of language links, both lexical and systemic structural similarities of the phonetic systems in both languages, parallels in morphology and syntax), who at least since the early 13th century were known by their Mordvin name *ved'en* (the name of the Chuvash in modern Mordvin languages) recorded in the form of *Veda* in the 'The Word on the Death of the Russian Land' [Begunov, 1965, p. 150] and *Wedin* in a letter of Julian the Hungarian (see below). These areas were suited for intensive agriculture, and as early as the 11–12th centuries a strong Bulgarian influence was established there, and gradual assimilation and organic integration of the local population into the social system of the Bulgar state evidently began quite early. Besides the ethnolinguistic component *Veda* ~ *Wedin* related to the Mari, Mordvin groups in the west and *Burtas* in the south of the region could have been involved in the process (the ethnolinguistic affiliation of the people has not been established to date, although the hypothesis of its Alanian origin seems to be the most preferable) as well as other Finno-Ugric and Turkic groups of Volga Bulgaria.

The indigenous lands of Volga Bulgaria on the left bank of the Middle Volga from the Samara Bend in the south to the Kama River region in the north, besides the Bulgars proper (who by the early 13th century were also not ethnolinguistically homogeneous, as according to Bulgar epigraphics, besides R-Turkic, the Bulgar language itself, a Z-Turkic language of Oghuz-Kypchak type was also in use there), along with numerous members of the Old Russian, Armenian, Jewish, Khwarezm and other diasporas who mostly lived in towns, Finno-Ugric groups were also present. First of all, the so-called '*Julian Hungarians*' must be mentioned in this regard; they were evidently semi-nomadic pagans who lived somewhere within the borders of Bulgaria and spoke a language so close to Hungarian that Julian, a Dominican monk from Hungary who traveled east in search of his tribal kin, had no difficulties in understanding them [Anninsky, 1940, pp. 81–100]. Archaeologists are looking at the possibility of correlating the builders of the Bolshoi Tigan burial site made over the 8–10th centuries on the left bank of the Lower Kama and some other sources from the area of Volga Bulgaria [Khalikova, 1976] with this people: '*Julian Hungarians*' are assumed to be part of the Old Hungarian tribal community that remained in the Middle Volga Region, whereas most of the Old Hungarians embarked on further historical migration from the hypothetical Ugric ancestral home in the south of Western Siberia, through the southern Cis-Ural and Volga Regions to the steppes of Kuban River Region and the Northern Black Sea Region region, which ended with a new homeland in Pannonia, which the Hungarians captured in the 9th century.

In the Bulgar epoch the region of the Lower Kama, especially its right bank (modern Zakazanye, lower reach of the Vyatka River), was most likely populated by the direct ancestors of the Udmurts and the Besermians, who were culturally and linguistically close to the former; they originated in the Perm ancestral land in the middle Cis-Kama Region, and their close contacts with the Bulgars (or more precisely, inclusion in the Bulgar sociocultural environment) were marked by numerous old Bulgarisms observable in the Udmurt language. It is

thought that there, within the borders of Volga Bulgaria, was the birthplace of these two ethnic groups with typical traits of their languages, traditional cultures, and self-names. In Bulgaria they formed a mostly peasant agricultural population that paid regular tributes (Udm. *kerś* - Bulg. Chuv. *χῑrâś* / *χῑrśâ* 'poll tax, public fees'—Arab *ḥarj*' expense; share, contribution, tribute) and refused to adopt Islam (the Besermyan ancestors should be noted for their special piety for Islam and its recognition as a component of folk religion). On the eve of the Mongol invasion it was evidently the Udmurts who, compared to other Finno-Ugric peoples of the region, were most deeply involved in Bulgar society; they were actually one of the ethnic groups of the country. Their organic integration into Bulgar society was the obvious reason why the Udmurts were never mentioned in written sources up to the second half of the 15th century.

The Bulgar (R-Turkic speaking) population, at least since the 14th century (Bulgar epitaph from the village of Gordino in northern Udmurtia), lived in the basin of the Cheptsä River, and there is reason to assume that no later than 13–14th centuries some groups of Bulgars, who were ancestors of the Cheptsä (Karin) Tatars, together with the Udmurts and the Besermians began moving northwards up the Vyatka River. Today there are no grounds to say for certain that the Udmurts and the Besermians lived on the Cheptsä during the pre-Mongol period, and yet this possibility cannot be excluded. In any case, the formation of the northern Udmurt massif should have followed the appearance of the Vyatka Lands, a Russian enclave in the Middle Vyatka Region, as the self-name of Cheptsä Udmurts, *Vatka*, was derived from the Russian name for both the Vyatka River and town of Vyatka, and the Vyatka Lands.

Beginning in the 9–10th centuries a system of fortified settlements known in the archaeological literature as the Rodanovo and Chepetsä archaeological sites began developing in large areas of the upper Cis-Kama and Cheptsä Regions at the northern periphery of Volga Bulgaria. The period when these sites existed coincides with Volga Bulgaria; their population conducted active trade with Bulgaria, and materials

of these sites prove mass hunting of fur-bearing animals, beaver in particular; according to pre-Mongol Arab sources, fine beaver furs were brought to the Bulgar land from a northern land called *Aru*. The name *Aru* (ارو) can be traced to the general Turkic root *aru 'the one on the opposite side': perhaps that was the name the Bulgars used for the northern lands beyond the Itil—that is, the modern areas of the Kirov Region, Udmurtia, and Perm Krai. Later the word became the base of the Tartar name for the Udmurts (*ar*) as the main people of the former *Aru* country and closest to the Tartars (see: [Belykh, 1996]). Some of the largest Rodanovo and Chepetsa archaeological sites revealed traces of a fairly large Muslim Bulgar population. On the other hand, none of the sites had any traces of any local polity organisation: residences of princes or rulers, public sanctuaries, etc. These circumstances give reason to regard Rodanovo and Chepetsa archaeological sites as Bulgar outposts with collecting furs as their main function; the sites could have been managed by both Bulgar groups of merchants, officials, and warriors and by members of the local leading tribe. Archaeological cultural traits originating from the Cis-Kama Region, the ancestral land of the Perm, led to the hypothesis that the main population of the sites spoke the Perm language, yet discussions (in the way of archaeologists) of its closeness to the Komi or Udmurt languages make little sense. However, non-Perm and non-Turkic speaking peoples might have lived there since Udmurt folklore has preserved the names of powerful rulers of Chepetsa sites of neither Perm nor Turkic etymology.

When the Chepetsa-Rodanovo ancient towns ceased to function in most of their area following the demise of Volga Bulgaria in 14th century, the local Perm population went on to different destinies. The people of Chepetsa joined the Udmurts—*Vatka*, who had moved upstream of Chepetsa from the Middle Vyatka. The Udmurts' assimilation of the Perm population of Chepetsa, who spoke a similar language, was quite fast and trouble-free, which is proved by the fact that above-mentioned tales of Chepetsa bogatyrs, whom the Udmurts saw as their own kin, were widespread in the folklore of the Chepetsa Udmurts.

The destiny of the northern Perm population was linked to the increasing role of Russian (Novgorod and Vladimir-Suzdal') influence in the north-east. The population of Vychehda was primarily reoriented to Rus', as the founders of the Vym archaeological culture, where ancestors of the Komi-Zyryans can be seen mixed with the local Perm-speaking population originating from the Cis-Kama Region. Russian sources named them *Vychehda Perm*. The population of the Rodanovo-type ancient towns in the Upper Kama River Region on the demise of Volga Bulgaria became dislocated. The foundation of these centres was also gradually reoriented to Rus'; and this can be observed in particular in the growing role and importance of the northernmost part of the Rodanovo site area, the area of Cherdyn, *Great Perm* of Russian sources, in the 14–15th centuries, with the simultaneous decay of what were formerly the largest ancient towns in the southern area. The process of economic, political, and cultural reorientation of *Perm* ended with the baptism of the Komi in Vychehda and then in the Upper Kama Region (see below).

The Mongol conquest and the fate of the Finno-Ugric peoples. The aggressive Mongol campaigns became a curse for many peoples and states of the Old World. Among the first to experience the destructive power and cruelty of the nomads in Eastern Europe were Finno-Ugric peoples of the Middle Volga and Cis-Ural Regions, which in the beginning of the 13th century had evolved into different integration models, the structures of political, socio-economic, and cultural spaces of the Bulgar State, Vladimir-Suzdal Rus', and Veliky Novgorod.

The massive campaign of the Mongol army, which, according to the decision made at the quriltai in 1235, aimed to conquer 'the countries of Bulgar, the Ases, and Rus' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 22], started in 1236. Volga Bulgaria was the main target for destruction, the plight of whose capital was recorded in Eastern and Russian chronicles [Ibid., p. 23; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 117]. After crushing individual attempts to resist the invaders in 'other areas' of Bulgaria,

the Mongol tsareviches 'after calling a council each went with their armies to the rout, starting battles and conquering all the areas along the way' [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 38].

Worth noting is the story of Julian about two princes in the Mordvin land, one of whom 'with all his people and family obeyed the Tatars,' and the other one 'with a few people went to highly fortified places to defend themselves if they were strong enough.' This record, dated 1237, resembles the reports of Russian chronicles about the suppression that erupted in the Mordvin lands in 1239, on the eve of a Mongol campaign to Western Europe [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 130], and also the information of William of Rubruck that he received in the Lower Volga Region in 1253, reporting on the difference in the position of the two neighbouring nations, *moksel* (*Moxel*) and *merdas* (*Merdas*) [Travels, 1957, p. 110]. Concerning the first, Rubruk wrote that 'they have no cities and live in small huts in the forest. Their sovereign and most of the people were killed in Germany. It was the Tatars who led them before coming to Germany.' Concerning the *Merdas*, it was only stated that they were 'Saracens.' In view of the reports, it can be assumed that as a result of a failed uprising against the invaders, a certain Mordvin prince, possibly the same about whom Julian wrote 'to defend themselves if they were strong enough,' ultimately had to recognise the power of the Mongols. The conquerors, for their part, as was frequently the case in other countries, forced the defeated forces to take part in the military campaign to Hungary and Germany in 1241.

The consequences of the Mongol campaigns for agrarian peoples, such as the Finno-Ugric peoples of the Middle Volga Region, were devastating. Destruction of urban and rural settlements, the damage to crops by the numerous mounted troops, physical destruction of a large number of people, and carrying off spoils had a huge impact on their social development. Lands that escaped a large-scale invasion of the nomad conquerors, which may include the main resettlement areas of the Mari and Udmurt, were also in an untenable position: an influx of refugees and the destruction of the social infrastructure that linked the pe-

riphery with Bulgarian centres of political, socio-economic, and cultural life had far-reaching implications for their development. The period of the Mongol campaigns was obviously a turning point with respect to a change in the pro-Bulgarian position of the Upper Kama River Region and its gradual involvement in the rising influence of Veliky Novgorod and north-eastern Russian principalities.

The catastrophic events of the Mongol conquest, which caused large population movements, increased the assimilation processes in Volga Bulgaria. This was apparently the time (latter half of the 13–beginning of the 15th centuries) when the final assimilation of the Finno-Ugric population from the right bank of the Middle Volga Region and the formation of the Chuvash people took place. The complexity and diversity of the phonetic correspondence of the Chuvash language with Turkic can be understood only by accepting the hypothesis of several successive waves of Turkisation of the proto-Chuvash population, and consequently, of a continuous process of transition of these populations to an R-Turkic language. It is likely that the 'Julian's Hungarians' were assimilated during the same period (and possibly partially eliminated, since they were nomadic and had a population of military value involved in the Mongol campaigns): ethnotoponyms such as *Machar*/*Mozhar* occur in Russian (predominantly) historical sources of the Kazan Khanate era, but there is no evidence that there was a corresponding group with a special language and self-awareness [Vásáry, 1977].

After the active phase of the aggressive Mongol campaigns, the establishment of the Golden Horde contributed to a gradual stabilisation in relations with the agricultural periphery and nomadic nucleus of the state. New forms of organisation of social links were worked out (first of all, in managing the collection and delivery of tributes to the Horde), and wherever possible, the old links were rebuilt (mainly trade contacts, which were broken in the previous period, since providing intermediary services was also one of the main forms of replenishing the Khanate treasury). Lands of the Udmurts and Mari people were probably included directly in the Bulgar Ulus of the Gold-

en Horde and were governed by its authority. The Mordvin land with its princes was apparently a vassal political entity, in which, however, there was a centre of the Horde's authority, the town of Mukhshi (Narovchat), which had also emerged. In the latter Mordvin princes repeatedly helped the Golden Horde khans by participating in the campaigns to Russian lands [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, pp. 122–123, 125, 193], and according to Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi, the Mordva(m.k.s) are mentioned within the multi-tribal troops, gathered by Khan Tokhtamysh from all the Jochid Ulus and sent in 1388 against its recent benefactor—that is, the Middle Asian sovereign Timur [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 156].

Well-known sources of the 13–15th centuries say little about the everyday life of the Mari and Udmurt in the Golden Horde but contain slightly more details about the position of the Mordvins, stressing that the main activities of these people were agriculture, livestock management, various forest activities, and fisheries [Travels, 1957, p. 110; Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, pp. 134, 159]. Obviously such a complex economy based on cultivating fields was inherent for the Maris and Udmurts. Various authors have also repeatedly noted the 'pagan' manner of Mordvin beliefs. One of the most elaborate early descriptions of specific religious practices can be found in an essay by Giosafat Barbaro, who held that he had 'some experience with the Mordvins (*Moxia*)' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, pp. 134, 159]. Obviously, even after Islam became the official religion of the state during the reign of Khan Öz Beg, in relations with the dependent population the rulers of the Golden Horde did not make any active efforts aimed at Islamisation. This, of course, does not in itself mean that the adoption of Islam by the representatives of the Mordvins, Maris, and Udmurts was official. Furthermore, it should be recalled that one of the last events since Bulgarian times under the influence of neighbouring Muslims was the disconnection of the ethnosocial group of the Besermyans.

Dynastic crises, which shook the Golden Horde in the latter half of the 14th century, led to a gradual weakening of its authority in the

dependent territories. Many princes and simply noble and arrogant aristocrats began to occupy some remote territories. Thus, in 1361 prince Bulat-Timur, after capturing Bulgar and 'capturing the whole Volga Trade Route,' obviously extended his power over the eastern regions of the Mordvin, Mari, and southern Udmurtia lands; in 1362 the Mordvins were conquered along the Pyana River by a native of the Azov Sea Region Segiz-Bek; 'and another prince of the Horde called Tagay from Bezdezh, and seized the country of Naruchyad' and remained there' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 181; 15, p. 71]. At the same time, the Vyatka Lands on the Middle Vyatka became stronger. Among its subjects were the Northern Udmurt-*Vatka* (that is, inhabitants of Vyatka). Taking advantage of the weak Horde, the princes of Nizhny Novgorod, Suzdal, Novgorod, and Vyatka in the 1460–1470s frequently 'went on campaigns' to its Volga Region lands, looting the Mordvin, Mari, and Southern Udmurtia settlements on their way along the Volga, Kama, Vetluga, and Vyatka Rivers. Russian chronicles report that one of these detachments was crushed in the Arsk Lands in the territory of the southern Udmurts [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 201]. The temporary revival of the Golden Horde's power during the reign of Khan Tokhtamysh (1380–1398) and Edigu, who reigned on behalf of Khan Shadi Beg (1399–1407) and Bulat (1407–1411), could not stop the disintegration processes. A large part of the Mordvin land was joined to the Ryazan and Moscow Principalities by the end of the 14th century, and with the establishment of the Kazan Khanate by the former Golden Horde Khan Ulugh Muhammad and his son Mahmud in 1438–1445, the Mari and southern Udmurts became its subjects.

As mentioned above, just before the Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe, two integration processes were starting to take place in an area populated by Komi farmers. The Komi who lived in Vychegda had to pay tribute to Veliky Novgorod. However, by the end of the 12th century the princes of Vladimir-Suzdal started to intervene persistently in these relations, making their claims to the right to own this

wealthy fur region. In 1178 Prince Vsevolod founded the 'town of Glyaden' in the estuary of the Yug River; and in 1212 his son Konstantin Vsevolodovich, the prince of Rostov, 'founded the city of Ustyug' [VVL, 1958, p. 257]. Ustyug later became a stronghold for entering and establishing grand-ducal power in the Vychehda Perm land. The other part of the Komi living in the Upper Kama River Region, as early as the 10th century, was inclined to maintain close socio-economic and cultural relations with Volga Bulgaria, the destruction of which in 1236 by the Mongols was the reason for the gradual involvement of the Upper Kama River Region in the sphere of interests of the north-eastern Russian lands.

The Grand Princes of Vladimir were the most active in the 13–14th centuries in the nearer Vychehda Perm, gradually forcing the people of Novgorod people out. Although the Mongol campaigns did not reach this area directly, part of the tribute collected from it by the people of Novgorod and Ustyug was payment of 'a black exit' to the prince of the Golden Horde.' In 1333 the Great Prince of Vladimir Ivan I, obviously because of a delay in delivering the 'door,' supposedly extending 'from Vychehda and from Pechora,' 'drew his anger against the people of Ustyug and Novgorod,' as a result of which the latter were forced to give him 'Vychehda and Pechora, and since then the Prince of Moscow began to collect tribute from the people of Perm.' In 1364 Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich took 'Rostov and Ustyug and Perm in Ustyug areas' from Konstantin, the Prince of Rostov. In 1367, after the conflict with the people of Novgorod, he 'took for himself Pechora, Mezen,' Kegrol.' The people of Perm kissed Cross for Prince Dmitry, but the people of Novgorod did not intend to' [Ibid., pp. 257–258].

A further step toward strengthening his positions in Vychehda Perm was support from Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich of the mission of Stefan, a monk of Ustyug, to convert the Komi to Orthodoxy, endorsed by Metropolitan Alexis. His missionary work began 'on Pyros and Viled' in 1379, where he baptised 'impious tribes of the Perm people.' Like 'the illuminators of the Slavs' Cyril and Methodius, Stefan

created a 'Permic alphabet' and translated a range of ecclesiastical texts into old Permian. His efforts to teach neophytes formed the basis of the old Permic script. The success of Stefan of Perm's activities made it possible to establish the Bishopric of Perm in 1383 with the centre in Ust-Vym, with 'the Apostle of the Zyrians' himself appointed as its first bishop [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 25, p. 211]. However, the Christian confession was consolidated in Vychehda Perm immediately: in 1389 'the Permyak idolaters...' who came to Yaransk from Udora and Pinega '...burned a monastery of the Holy Virgin Mary, robbed and flogged local people'; in 1392 the supporters of Perm sotnik Pam, an active enemy of Stefan's missionary work, plundered the churchyards near Ust-Vym together with the Vogul prince Asyka [VVL, 1958, p. 260].

At the beginning of the 14th century the residents of Vychehda Perm were drawn once again into the relations between Moscow and Veliky Novgorod [Ibid.]; and starting in the second quarter of the 15th century the Vychehda lands became the scene of bloody confrontations of the contenders to the grand-ducal throne—Vasily II and his uncle, the Prince of Galicia Yury Dmitriyevich, after whose death Dmitry Shemyaka, a son of Yury, led the struggle against Vasily. In 1451 Yermolay—one of the members of the side branches of the princes of Vereya—who started the dynasty of the 'princes of Vym,' was appointed as regent to Ust-Vym with the right 'to rule in the Vychehda Perm land... granted by the order charter and patent' issued by the Grand Prince Vasily II for organising a battle against Shemyaka (died in 1453). At the same time, his eldest son Mikhail was sent as a regent to Cherdyn, the centre of Great Perm, where he became an ancestor of the dynasty of 'Great Perm princes' [Ibid., p. 261]. Thus, by the middle of the 15th century both historical settlement areas of Komi, Vychehda Perm, and Great Perm were already firmly under the socio-economic and cultural influence of Muscovite Rus'. However, the administrative disunity, which historically prevailed there, and the later start of the baptism of Great Perm related to this became the main factors in the formation of two closely

related nations—Komi and Komi-Permyaks—in 1455 during the time of Pitirim, the fourth bishop of Perm.

The Mordvin lands as part of the Golden Horde

Gennady Belobrykin

In the early 13th century the Mordvin were situated in the Sura and Oka interfluvium and lived in compact groups in the basins of the Moksha and Tesha Rivers. This is shown by the large number of settlements and burial sites with cultural characteristics of the Mordvin [Shitov, 2000].

The number and area covered by the monuments were constantly changing under the influence of the political and military situation. In the Moksha River Region in the south, due to the expansion of Volga Bulgaria, Bulgar-Burtas settlements spread quickly, which were not only located among the Mordvin but also had a great influence on them [Belobrykin, 2003]. A striking example of this is the distribution of red circular pottery on Mordvin monuments and the appearance of imitation pottery.

The situation was the same in the northern Mordvin territory at the mouth of the Oka River. Penetration of the Russian population from the north and Bulgars from the south into Mordvin territory was followed by military campaigns and mutual raids of Mordvins to Russian fortresses and Bulgarian military detachments.

That means at the beginning of the 13th century the Mordvin land was the scene of battles between Rus' and Volga Bulgaria. But the situation changed abruptly as a result of the Mongol invasion.

At the end of the summer of 1237 the Mongol-Tatar army crossed the Volga (Itil) with all its wagons and moved towards Rus', but on reaching the Uza River, they stopped and remained there until the end of the year. Persian historian Rashid al-Din described these events thus: '...in the year of the chicken—that is, the 634th year of Hegira, the sons of Jochi—Batu, Orda, and Berke, a son of Ughetai-Khan—Kadan, a grandson of Chaghatai—Buri, and a son of Chinggis Khan—Kulkan made war on the Mokshas, the Burtases, and the Arjans

and conquered them' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 36]. As a result, almost all cities and villages of the Burtases and the Mordvins were destroyed, and today archaeologists only find some parts of the burned buildings mixed with Mongol arrowheads and traces of the destruction in the settlements. A picture of the battle has been preserved especially clearly in the ancient town of Zolotarev, where the defensive walls and ditches are strewn with arrowheads, and the surroundings are littered with bones of slain warriors and town residents [Belobrykin, 2001].

People still remember the legends about the Tsarina Narchatka, who fought the Mongol army on the ice of the Moksha River, and seeing that the battle was lost, plunged into an ice hole with her horse [Lebedev, 1958].

In 1239, before moving towards Kiev, Batu sent part of his troops to conquer the Mordvin lands. With fire and sabre, they reached as far as Nizhny Novgorod and back. As Mordvin scholars have rightly assessed, this was due to the need to replenish Mongol troops with conquered peoples [Grishakov, 2004, p. 57]. However, the Mongols only managed to conquer the local population in 1242, when Batu sent his best commander Subutai to the Middle Volga Region. As a result, the population of the Sura and Oka interfluvium were nearly decimated. Archaeologists know only of three or four small settlements of that time in the Upper Sura River Region and a few dozen in the Upper Moksha River Region. Most of the surviving Burtases and the Mordvins moved north to the Middle Sura River Region and the Moksha Region. The Golden Horde uluses emerged later in the Mordvin lands. Bakhmet, one of the first of the Golden Horde 'princes,' captured the Meshchera lands in the lower reaches of the Moksha River Region in 1298. The Mishar, Beklemishev, and Bakhmetyev princes were descended from him. The Moksha Ulus was formed in the beginning of the 14th century. In 1361 the 'prince' of Azov Region Sekiz-Bey subordinated the territory south of the Pyana River. Another emir of the Horde founded the city of Nuridzhan (Mokshi) at the same time. In the second half of the 14th century 'prince'



Spear. Tatarskaya Laka burial site. 13–14th centuries.

Bekhan settled in the middle reaches of the Moksha River in the area of Temnikov. All of this was followed by a mass migration of Tatars to the Mordvin lands.

The events that followed the Mongol invasion were described in detail by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine: 'This country beyond the Tanais River is very beautiful and has rivers and forests, where two peoples live, namely the Moksel, who have no law and are pure pagans. They have no cities and live in small huts in the forest. Their king and most of

the people were killed in Germany. The Tatars ruled them before coming to Germany, so the Moksel approve the Germans, hoping that they will help them to become free from Tatar servitude. If a merchant comes to them, whoever hosts him for the first time must take care of him for the whole time he wants to stay among them. If someone sleeps with another man's wife, he does not worry about it until he sees it with his own eyes; hence, they are not jealous. They have an abundance of pigs, honey, wax, valuable furs, and falcons. Other people live among them, who are called Merdinis by the Latins, and they are Saracens. Etilia is located beyond them' [Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, 1997, pp. 108–109].

Signs of the existence of two peoples and two princes in the Sura and Oka interfluvium are quite evident from the sources. One people, the Moksel (probably Moksha), was ruled by a prince who, according to Julian, obeyed the Tatars; and William of Rubruck adds that they were pure pagans, and their ruler was killed in Germany. The other people were Merdas, whose prince, according to Julian, tried to resist the Tatars; and the people themselves, according to William of Rubruck, were followers of Islam.

Based on the fact that those two peoples belong to the Mordvin, researchers believe that William of Rubruck was mistaken. However, given that there were a large number of settlements of the Burtases in the Moksha River Region integrated into Volga

Bulgaria, where Islam was established as the state religion, the existence of Muslims among the Mordvin cannot be explicitly denied. A comparison of the names Merdas and Burtases shows their similarities. Based on those findings, it is fair to assume that one of the peoples were Bulgar-Burtases living in the Upper Moksha River Region and the Sura River Region; and other were Mordvin, who lived on the Moksha and Tesha Rivers. Representatives of these particular peoples were taken by the Tatars on a military campaign—it is not by chance that the majority of burial sites on the Tesha River and in the Moksha River Region region ceased to exist.

Information on the princes or sovereigns of these peoples support the records in the Russian manuscripts about Prince Purgas, the ruler of a volost in Mordvin territory, the capital of which was most likely located between the Moksha and Tesha Rivers. The most appropriate settlement in this regard is the ancient town of Sarovka located in the centre of this land.

The capital of the prince of the Merdas (Burtases) was situated in the Upper Moksha River Region most likely at the Narovchatskoye archaeological site, which subsequently became the capital of the Golden Horde Ulus of Moksha. This is also shown by the fact that there is no gap between the pre-Mongol and Golden Horde materials.

At the same time, the Bulgar-type monuments in the Upper Sura River Valley and the Upper Moksha River Region have been almost completely destroyed. Separate settlements reappeared in the Sura River Region only at the end of the 13th century, but already with Golden Horde pottery and Polovtsian burial mounds [Polesskikh, 1977]. Simultaneously, Mordvin-Moksha burial sites appeared far south of the Sura, in the upper reaches of the Medveditsa River.

Golden Horde settlements also appeared in the Moksha River Region at the end of the 13th

century, after the ruin of the Bulgarian-type settlements. However, there were many more of them than on the Sura. The formation of the Golden Horde settlements was accompanied by the concentration of Mordvin monuments near them and the disappearance of the settlements and burial sites in the middle reaches of the Moksha River. In addition, the Mordvin Starostensky burial site appeared right in the city of Moksha, the centre of the ulus. Taking into account the appearance of Mordvin-Mokhsha historical monuments on the Samara Bend and in the upper reaches of the Medveditsa River, the tendency of Mordvin monuments to spread from the Moksha River Region to the south and east should be noted.

The Volga-Tesha group of monuments also suffered losses. Monuments in the middle reaches of the Tesha River almost completely disappeared, while graves appeared under the burial mounds [Martyanov, 2001]. At the same time, the monuments on the Pyana River and on the right bank of the Volga River were fully preserved and even increased.

The situation in the Oka River Region during this time was relatively stable. At the same time, there was a rapid spread of Old Russian burial sites, indicating the displacement of the Mordvins from the northern lands.

Thus, one part of the Mordvin-Mokhsha historical monuments in the Vad-Moksha interfluvium is concentrated around the city of Moksha, and another one has been moved to the east (Samara Bend) and south (the upper reaches of the Medveditsa River). Monuments of Mordvin-Erzya almost completely disappeared on the Tesha River but remained intact on the Pyana and Volga Rivers.

Although the Horde 'prince' Arabshah defeated the Russian army on the Pyana River in 1377 and plundered the outskirts of Nizhny Novgorod, he probably did not touch the Mordvin settlements, since the Mordvin princes attacked the villages of Nizhny Novgorod themselves and robbed them in the same year. However, the Russian chronicles report that Russian princes and defeated Mordvin detachments had plundered their land: '...attacked the Mordvin land, burnt neighbouring towns and villages, and robbed their churchyards and



Stirrup. Tatarskaya Laka burial site.
13–14th centuries.

huts, and killed them and captured their wives and children, and emptied their land' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11–12, p. 29]. However, there were no abrupt changes in Mordvin settlement in the 14th century either on the Pyana River or on the Moksha River.

According to the archaeological data, all of these areas were occupied by Mordvin tribes. Most archaeologists consider a group of archaeological monuments of the 12–14th centuries in the basin of the Tesha and Pyana Rivers (Sarleysky, Korinsky, Guginsky, I–II Bornukovsky, and Ml. Kuzhendeevsky burial sites) to be the burial sites of the Mordvin-Erzya [Finno-Ugric Peoples, 1999]. The settlement area of Erzya is still located there. The monuments of that time are enhanced by ethnographic features: the northern position of the buried became consistent, ring-shaped clasps were becoming widespread, and most of all there were no items or distinctive features typical of Mordvin-Mokhsha historical monuments. The first reliable mention of the ethnonym 'erzya' dates to the 13th century [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 38].

The Moksha River basin is the location of the Yefayevsky, Panzhinsky, Krasnoslobodsky, 'Zarya,' and other burial sites of the 12–14th centuries, which preserve the ethnographic features of the Ancient Moksha—that is, the southern orientation of the buried, the predominance of dead women who were laid on their

side in a crouching position, the preservation of temple pendants with rhombic plummets (Yefayevsky burial site) and their replacement during the 13–14th centuries with pendants in the form of a question mark, the widespread occurrence of syulgamas with trapezoidal patterned plate corselets, and thick splints of 'puloker' type [Alikhova et al., 1959].

The area where the monuments are located, which is usually considered to be Ancient Moksha, coincides with the present-day settlement of the Mordvin-Moksha. The first reference to the name Moksha also dates to the 13th century. William of Rubruck, who visited lands conquered by the Mongols in the mid-13th century, wrote about the people thus: 'The Moksel, who have no law, are pure pagans' [Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, 1997]. As we have already seen above, Rashid al-Din put them together with the Burtases and the Arjans.

Obviously, some groups of the Moksha fled to the Bulgarian lands as a result of the Mongol invasion. This was how groups of the Mordvin might have appeared near Samara Bend and in the Kazan Volga Region, where they left the burial sites of Muran, Kartashikhino, and other types [Alikhova, 1954]. A small group of the Mordvin-Qaratays may have remained on the Volga River, opposite the mouth of the Kama River since that time.

By the mid-15th century almost all of the territory occupied by the Mordvin-Erzya was included in the Russian State. The Mordvin-Moksha, who occupied the more southern regions, continued contacts with the Turkic-speaking population of the Western Povolzhye, the developing Tatar-Mishars. In the 16th century almost all the lands inhabited by the Mordvin became part of the Russian State, which strengthened the process of convergence between the Mordvin-Moksha and Mordvin-Erzya and the formation of a single nation.

The integration of the Mordvin territories into the Jochid Ulus had a great impact on their economic growth. In the southern regions it appeared first of all in agriculture and handicrafts. In the northern lands the influence of the Golden Horde had an impact on the spread of jewellery; however, it had almost no effect on forestry—the basis of the economy.

At the end of the 13th century, under the influence of the Golden Horde Ulus of Moksha, a plough started being used in the Moksha River Region, as proved by the discovery of a ploughshare in the ancient settlement of Panzha and on shelves in the Staraya Sotnya burial site. However, both a wooden plough with metal tips and a heavy plough were mainly used on the forest-steppe black soils, around the city of Moksha. Ploughs started being used in forest areas only in the 14th century. This is evidenced by the Nizhniye Borki treasure, which consisted of 4 ploughshares, 1 sickle, 5 arrowheads, and tools [Tsirkin, 1971].

At the same time, there is some evidence of livestock breeding in the Moksha River Region as a result of osteological studies at the Ityakovo archaeological site (layers of the 13–14th centuries) [Golyshenkov et al., 1970]. They revealed that undersized horses of a steppe appearance and cattle, also undersized and underweight, prevailed in domestic herds. Bones of small livestock and dogs are also found. Bones of the same animals are also found in graves but rarely, apart from horse burials. Horses and pigs were generally most common in Mordvin settlements.

The most common activities of the Mordvin throughout most of the Middle Ages were handicrafts. Hunting for fur-bearing animals and honey collection prevailed in the Mordvin lands. The composition of the fur game can be seen in the fact that there are still foxes, martens, weasels, squirrels, wild boars, and ferrets in the forests of the area as well as beavers and muskrats in the floodlands. Apart from fur-bearing animals, the Mordvin hunted elk and bears, which were found in the forests until recently.

The bones of wild animals and birds were also found at Ityakovo settlement in the Moksha River Region, which together with arrowheads are evidence of hunting, while fish bones and scales with fishhooks and spears are evidence of fishing.

Written sources report on the development of apiculture in Mordvin territory. In the mid-13th century William of Rubruck wrote: 'They [Mordvin] have an abundance of pigs, honey and wax, valuable furs, and falcons' [Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, 1997].

ni da Pian del Carpine, 1997, p. 109]. This is also shown by discoveries of wax fragments.

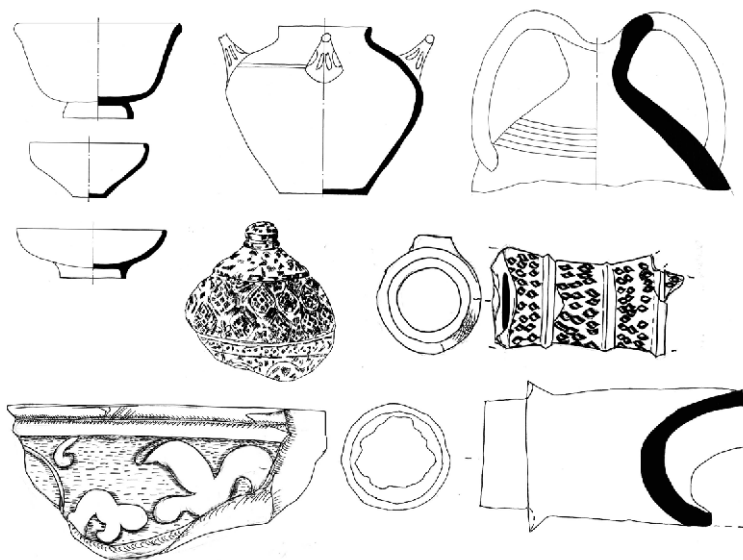
In the 15th century Giosafat Barbaro wrote about the handicrafts of the Mordvin-Moksha: 'This is how they worship it [the horse.—*G.B.*), offering sa-
bles, ermines, gray squirrels, foxes, and other furs... These people live mainly on meat, most of which is wild meat and fish they catch in local rivers. This is all I can say about the 'Moksha' [Barbaro and Kontarini, 1971, p. 159; Mokshin, 1993, p. 16]. Forest animals and mushrooms and berries were also a common part of their diet.

We may make judgments about Mordvin beekeeping activities based on the text of 'The Tale of the Ruin of the Russian Land' of the mid-13th century [Slovo, 1957, p. 253]. Although all of this information relates to a later time, we can assume that the handicrafts mentioned in them had existed previously.

In our opinion, hunting for fur-bearing animals became especially important at the time when international trade routes were established, passing through the region and large states appeared.

The town of Mokhshi, the destination of products and goods, was a major consumer of Mordvin agricultural products and handicrafts. Handicrafts, which were dominated by pottery and cast iron cookware, iron tools, and household items as well as jewellery and money spread from there.

Starting in the 16th century red circular pottery was found in large amounts at southern Mordvin settlements. The most prevalent forms were pots, jugs, and dishes. Black Old Russian circular pottery still prevailed in the northern Mordvin settlements. On the Samara Bend, where a large group of Mordvin historical monuments were built, pottery typical of Barabashovo appeared, which mixed the tradi-



Hand-thrown pottery and pipes.
Nuridzhan. Mokhshi. 13–14th centuries.

tions of Mordvin, Bulgar, and Russian pottery represented mainly by pots and bowls [Alikhova, 1954].

Owing to the high demand for iron in the city of Mokhshi, metal working began to grow rapidly in the Moksha River Region.

Iron-smelting furnaces have been found in the ancient settlements of Polyanka and Panzha and Starodevichye II in the Moksha River Region. There are traces of ore, slag, and blooms around them. In the 19th century an ancient mine in the form of a deep trench and iron-smelting furnaces were found near the village of Rybkino, where iron was mined. There were many fragments of burned clay, charcoal, slag, and blooms.

Under the influence of the Golden Horde new jewellery emerged, changes were also occurring along with old ones. The most remarkable in this respect was syulgamas, spread over the whole territory of the Mordvin. Examples of this style included rings with spirals at its end and blades. The first appeared in the 12th century, and the bladed ones throughout the Golden Horde period acquired specific forms. Blades gained a flat convex shape in the form of a triangle, and a tip of the lug of these syulgamas was hammer-flattened in the form of a rhombus. Bells were also changed, which then began to make two engraved halves.

In the Moksha River Region a splint attached to the headgear had disappeared from the Tesha River Region, while a splint with a braid inside continued to be used, and head-dresses were widespread and appeared even in Samara Bend. In fact, a splint was additionally placed into a wooden or bast case and wrapped with a leather string and bronze wire (Dolgorukovo, Staroye Badikovo I, Bednodemyanovsk, Krasnoye I, Muranka burial sites). All head-dresses were divided into two types: with and without a rod.

Braided and laminated bracelets with an engraving portraying lions' heads and floral rosettes, ribbon-like bracelets with snake heads at their ends, rings and embroidered patches with Arabic script, mirrors, earrings, and new types of cover plates for belts and buckles prevail among the mass jewellery of the Golden Horde. Braided bracelets with carnelian inserts at their ends and syulgamas with triangular blades in cross section became popular. At the same time, there were rare items, for example, linings for leather bags. An inlay depicting an animal with its head twisted round and a long tail curled behind its back and six figured rays was found at the Narovchatskoye archaeological site [Lebedev, 1958]. One of these inlays each was found in Novgorod and Ukek [Varfolomeyeva, 1994, Table III; Nedashkovsky, 2000, p. 33].

A large amount of imported jewellery from Rus' was also found [Alikhova et al., 1959, pp. 158–160]: slate spindle whorls, glass bracelets, carnelian and silver necklaces, engolpions (crosses), and lunulas.

Coins of the Golden Horde along with decorations became widespread and may be found mainly as treasure troves. Several large treasure troves of Golden Horde coins were found in the Moksha River Region [Fedorov-Davydov, 1960]. The centre of the ulus of Moksha, the city of Nuridzhan, had become an important centre of trade and coinage [Lebedev, 1958; Belousov, 1995; Golubev, 2001]. The discovery of troves of Golden Horde coins on the Alatyr and Pyana Rivers, where there were no settlements in the 14–15th centuries, is of particular interest. In the 15th century Russian coins started spreading along the Oka, Moksha, and Tsna Rivers, where large troves of coins

(up to 825 coins) (Murom, near the village of Okulovo, on the left bank of the Tsna River) and silver bullions (near the village of Kadykovo) were found [Alikhova et al., 1959, p. 161, Table 66]. All this suggests that the Mordvin carried on active trade with the surrounding towns and states.

The integration of the Mordvin into the Golden Horde, on the one hand, had been accompanied by military raids and deaths, and on the other hand, it had brought the Mordvin into the sphere of world trade, which contributed to development of the economy. The emergence of the Golden Horde ulus of Moksha was critical in this regard.

In political terms the Jochid Ulus stopped the expansion of Volga Bulgaria into the Mordvin land, and Russian colonisation was only temporary and eventually resulted in the integration of the Mordvin land into Rus'–Russia.

Relative autonomy within the Golden Horde allowed the Mordvin to complete the formation of the general ethnic features and pagan cultural traditions of the Moksha and Erzya. At the same time, the Mordvin adopted the latest achievements of those years in agriculture and handicrafts. The main territory inhabited by the Mordvin in the Sur-Oka interfluvial area remained one of the largest fur and honey suppliers, resulting in an influx of money and jewellery, and thus became a desired trophy in the struggle of the Golden Horde feudal lords among themselves and with Russian princes. As a result, numerous groups of displaced people settled in the territory of the Mordvin, including Mishar Tatars, Russians, Meshchera, and Kasimov Tatars. These contacts formed the basis of modern Mordvin traditions.

The Cis-Ural Region in the 13–15th centuries

Andrey Belavin

Starting with the first conflict with the Mordvin troops in 1223, Volga Bulgaria resisted the conquerors for many years.

After the destruction of Bilyar in 1236, many residents of Bulgaria fled the country to the Principality of Suzdal, to the Mordvin lands,

and to the Cis-Ural Region. It is likely that some of the campaigns of the Mongol troops that conquered Bulgaria, repressing numerous attacks of the Bulgars, also occurred in the Ural Region. The Middle Volga Region was integrated into the Horde as the most economically developed part of the country. Apparently, by the latter half of the 13th century the Bulgars had already restored their wide trade operations in the Cis-Ural and Trans-Ural Regions.

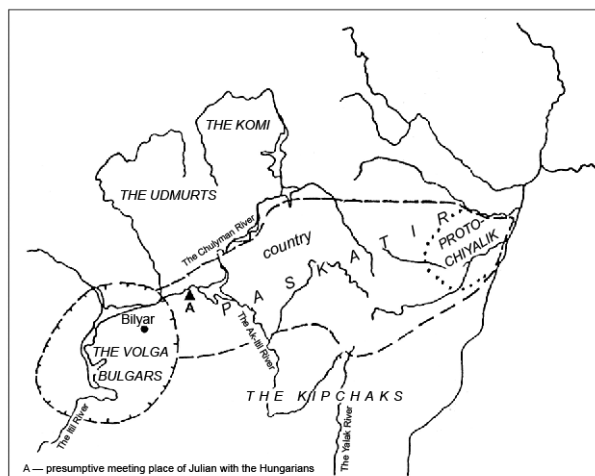
Archaeological finds at settlements and burial sites of the Cis-Ural Region and, first of all, the discoveries of Golden Horde coins, including coins minted in Bulgar, are evidence of this. The most famous trove of Golden Horde coins was discovered in 1888 in the Udmurt Cis-Ural Region near the village of Tashyaludskoye on the Lekma River, which includes 4 'Tatar-type' bracelets and 242 coins of the 14th century [MAERP, 1896, p. 81].

Items of the latter half of the 13–14th centuries that were brought from the East and had equivalents in materials of the Golden Horde period of Bulgaria were found at the Ragozinsky burial site (two copper handles from knives or forks in the collection of F. Teploukhov); bronze and iron locks in the form of horses and dogs were found in Kudymkar and Rozhdestvenskoye archaeological sites, Vakinsky ancient settlement, and Cherdynsky Uyezd; temple rings in the form of a question mark with kashin, glass, or silver beads on the end were found in Vakinsky ancient settlement, Kudymkar ancient town, in grave No. 5 of the Telyachy Brod burial site, Verkh-Borovsky burial site, and other sites. A copper bracelet with ends in the form of a lion's head was found in Verkh-Yazva. Finds of an intricate copper lamp used in mosques in Rozhdestvenskoye archaeological sites and an aigrette from a foreign-made band of a horse bridle from Cheptsa ancient town of Malovenizhsky Porkar are of interest. The first item along with finds of green tiles indicates the existence of a mosque in Rozhdestvenskoye archaeological sites during the time of the Golden Horde, while the second item, according to A. Ivanov, is associated with the presence of a mounted detachment of Golden Horde tax collectors near Cheptsa River [Ivanov, 1998, p. 135].

A number of metal medallions with an image of a 'falconer' date to the Golden Horde period; in particular, two such items found at the Telyachy Brod burial site from grave No. 5 and lifted material date to the Golden Horde period. A medallion from grave No. 5 is well dated by finds of temple rings in the form of a question mark in this burial site. It should be noted that finds of similar plates on sites in the Ob River Region are mainly dated to the Golden Horde period. It is difficult to determine where these items were produced, but a stigma in the form of an acute angle with a ray on a horse's chest found in grave No. 5 indicates their possible origin. A similar sign was found on an item from the Saygatinsky IV burial site in the Ob River Region, dated to the 13–14th centuries. Such stigmas are known from ceramic materials found in Bilyar and a number of other items from Volga Bulgaria of the late pre-Mongol and early Golden Horde periods.

Beads made of turquoise glazed kashin stand out from beads found in the Cis-Ural Region. These beads were produced in the cities of the Volga River Region [Lesman, 1994]. In the Cis-Ural Region such beads were found in a number of Chepetsk burial sites, in Telyachy Brod ancient settlement and burial site, Rozhdestvenskoye archaeological sites, and Antybarsky burial site.

Numerous finds of pottery from the Golden Horde period in a number of sites in the Perm Cis-Ural Region show that Bulgars and other representatives of the Golden Horde lived in settlements of the Cis-Ural Region in the 13–14th centuries (Rozhdestvensky, Kudymkar and Kylasov archaeological sites). Pottery from Rozhdestvenskoye archaeological sites includes 215 pieces of brownish green, green, and yellow-green glazed pottery. This kind of pottery was common in both pre-Mongol and Golden Horde Bulgaria [Bilyar pottery, 1986]. Several pieces of albarello type vessels made of reddish brown clay decorated with vertical grooves and covered with dark green glaze were found in Anyushkar. Similar vessels dating from the latter half of the 13–14th centuries were found in Urgench, Tsarevo ancient town, Azak, Uvek, and other Golden Horde sites [Nedashkovsky, 2000, p. 105]. Finds of pieces of kashin ceram-



Location of Chiyalik records
of the Ural-Volga Region

ics made of grayish pottery mass and turquoise or white glazed with brown and reddish frescoes are of special interest. This kind of ceramics was found in Anyushkar, Kudymkar, and Idnakar ancient towns. Similar watering vessels were found in the Golden Horde cities in the Middle and Lower Volga Regions.

I. Talitskaya presents an interesting fact—a burial in a bronze coffin was found at the Chernoyevsky burial site on the Inva River [Talitskaya, 1952, p. 140]. According to V. Oborin, this kind of burial was commonplace among Tatars of the Golden Horde [Oborin, 1957, p. 314].

Finds of all types of arrowheads, which specialists believe were brought to Europe during the Mongol invasion, show that the Cis-Ural Region was involved in the military and political events in the latter half of the 13–14th centuries. In Rozhdestvenskoe and Redikor archaeological sites, this kind of arrowhead was found not only on the site but also in a ditch. Arrows in the form of a wide short supported spatula were found. Armour-piercing, awl and chisel-shaped heads and Mongol arrows in the form of a narrow spatula were collected in Idnakar ancient town in the ditch and between the ramparts. Their concentration in this part of the ancient town is evidence of military clashes that in our opinion involved [Ivanova, 1995, p. 18] some Tatar detachment.

The relatively small amount of Eastern materials of the Golden Horde period in the

Cis-Ural Region shows both significant reorientation of Bulgaria towards trade with other territories (in particular, Trans-Ural Region) and gradual replacement of Bulgar goods with Old Russian and Western Baltic-Finnish imports. Bulgaria was seriously weakened by plague that broke out in 1346–1350, while the Cis-Ural Region (Nothorn and Perm) was affected by plague that broke out twice (1352 and 1363) in north-eastern Europe.

However, the attention of the Jochid Ulus directed towards territories in the Middle and Upper Kama River Regions eased only at the end of the 14th century. It was only then that intensified Russian influence over the lands of peoples of the Cis-Ural Region, and gradual penetration of Russian settlers into the Cis-Kama Region began.

Ugrians of the Eastern Trans-Kama Region within the Jochid Ulus

Eugene Kazakov

In all periods of history the Turkic-speaking Muslims maintained close political, economic, cultural, and other contacts with the large world of Finno-Ugric neighbours [Kazakov, 2006, pp. 629–630]. Written sources that in recent decades have been supported by a mass of archaeological material prove that Ugrians lived in the Eastern Trans-Kama River Region.

Various Western European sources contain valuable information about the country of Bascart and its inhabitants, the Pascatirs. For instance, William of Rubruck mentioned that their language is the same as the language of Hungarians, who had left their country, and also that the country was inhabited by shepherds who had no cities at all, which is indicative of the nomadic traditions of the population. William of Rubruck then adds the following: 'What I said about the land of Pascatirs, I learned from missionary brothers who had gone there before the arrival of the Tatars, and since that time the inhabitants were conquered by neighbouring Bulgars and Saracens, and many of them became Saracens' [Travels, 1957, p. 74].

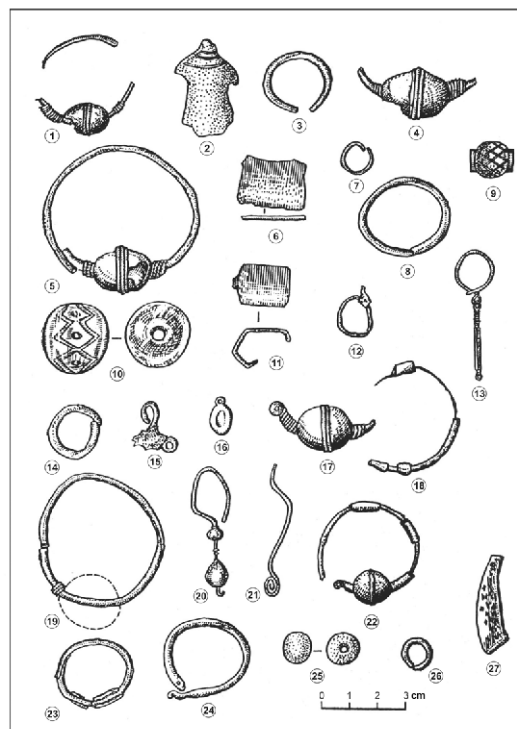
The discovery of Chiyalik culture sites, dating from the 13–14th centuries [Kazakov, 2007, pp. 59–65], confirmed the aforementioned written notes with archaeological materials. More than 20 Chiyalik ancient settlements and more than 30 burial sites have been found on a broad area from the Urals to the Eastern Trans-Kama River Region [Kazakov, 1978; Garustovich, 1998]. The name of the culture comes from a settlement studied in 1969 near the village of Chiyalik (Chiyalek) in the Aktanyshsky District of the Republic of Tatarstan [Kazakov, 1978; pp. 42–43]. The ancient settlements are characterised by a small cultural layer. Finds included winter and summer camps of semi-nomads, stationary and portable buildings (yurts, tents, huts), auxiliary (cellars, pits) and religious buildings with stone paving. Summer camps were heated by fires, sometimes covered with stones; and winter camps, with chuvals (stoves).

Tools, clothes, pottery pieces, including pieces of molded round-bottomed vessels, decorated with comb-rope ornaments, including a large number of animal bones, were found in the settlements. Judging from the latter, cattle and horses dominated in the herd.

The cultural origins of the Chiyalik antiquities are found in the Makushinsky records left by the cattle breeders of the Trans-Ural Region. They apparently moved to the Ural-Volga Region and occupied the territory, which in the pre-Mongol period was inhabited by Ugrians, who left records of the post-Petrogromsky culture.

Most of the Chiyalik graves were studied in the Aktanysh Region of the Republic of Tatarstan. The Taktalachuksky, I Izmetevsky, and Derbeshkinsky burial sites were extensively excavated here, with nearly 500 burials, mainly performed according to Islamic custom. Bodies were found in shallow graves (usually 35–40 cm deep), in line with Qibla, stretched head to the west, slightly turned to the right side, so that the face was turned to the south, in the direction of Mecca.

The burial ceremony is characterised by shallow graves, the presence of wooden frames serving as a coffin and fire pits, as well as the presence of silver temple pendants of Bulgar origin, beads, rings, coins of Khan Öz Beg and



Items from Chiyalik burial sites

Janibek, and metal parts of burial masks. Apparently, young children a few years old, who had not accepted the monotheistic religion yet, were accompanied by molded round bottomed vessels with a rope-comb ornamentation.

In the Golden Horde period these sites of the Eastern Trans-Kama Region existed apart from the settled Muslin population. The number of ancient settlements with layers containing remnants of the Bulgar-Golden Horde material culture (circular pottery, jewellery, weapons, etc.) increases. These sites are located both on the left bank of the Kama River and along the Ik and Belaya Rivers (Semiestrovsky I, Baskulsky VI, Bikbulovsky, Mellyatamasky I, Novokhutorsky I, and other ancient settlements). Cemeteries with Islamic gravestones were also found here (Utyashkino, Sredniye Chelny, Klyatli). These materials, like the written sources, clearly describe the Islamisation and Turkisation processes of the later Ugrians.

Monuments of the Golden Horde nomads were found here at the same time. A burial site found in Bavlinsky District of the Republic of Tatarstan, near the village of Bayraka-Ta-

mak, and dating to the 14th century, was made according to pagan custom [Kazakov, 1978, pp. 93–95]. However, by the end of the 14th century the pagan burial mounds in the Southern Cis-Ural Region had already been replaced by Islamic burials, as evidenced by brick or adobe mausoleums (*keshene*) of the 14–15th centuries. All of these show that by then almost the entire

population of the region had been Islamised, to a large extent culturally assimilated, and finally, had become part of the medieval Tatar ethnos. However, according to the ethnographic data, the culture of Perm Tatars and the population of the Nor-Eastern parts of Bashkortostan had preserved some elements of the Ugrian culture: plate-like jaw harps, *kharasues*, etc.

§ 5. The North-Western and Central Caucasus in the Golden Horde era

Alexander Kadyrbaev

The peoples of the North-Western and Central Caucasus were first invaded by the Mongol hordes in 1223, when the tumens under the command of Chinggis Khan's generals Subutai-Bagatur and Jebe-Noyan were running a reconnaissance raid across the countries west of the lands that were under the control of their ruler. This raid could more accurately be called a reconnaissance in force. During this era, just as now, the North-Western and Central Caucasus was an ethnographically diverse region with peoples at various levels of social development. The most numerous among them were the Iranian-speaking Alans, whose 'Alanya Mountains... were located to the west... of the Caspian Sea'; they were called *As* or *Asu* in Mongol-era Chinese sources and *Yas* in European chronicles, and by that time they had established states in the mountains and foothills of the North-Western and Central Caucasus; the mountain-dwelling *Adyghe-Abkhaz* tribes, also known as the *Circassians* and *Abazins*, in whose communities the early forms of statehood had only just begun to appear; and the Turkic-speaking *Kipchaks*—the *Polovtsians* from the Old-Russian chronicles, who inhabited the broad territory of the *Dasht-i Kipchak* (the Eurasian steppes stretching from the Altai to the Carpathian Mountains, including the *Ciscaucasian Steppes* of the Black Sea Region, adjacent to the North-Western and Central Caucasus) and who as a society were in the process of laying down the foundations of rudimentary statehood.

Having made their way across the Main Caucasian Ridge, the warriors of Jebe and

Subutai invaded Alanian territory. This event is recorded in Arab-Persian sources and in the Chinese dynastic history 'Yüan shih,' both of which made it possible in the previous chapters to provide a detailed account of the Mongols' conquest of the Alans and the Kipchaks of the North-Western and Central Caucasus, whose alliance the Mongols managed to break using cunning diplomatic methods, thereby dooming both of them to be defeated and subjugated by the Mongols; however, this occurred only at a later point in time—during the reign of Chinggis Khan's son, the great Mongol khan Ögedei, when, according to Rashid al-Din, the united Mongol army of Batu Khan was sent from 1236 to 1242 to conquer the Western countries, including *Circassia* [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, pp. 71–72].

It is known that the *Ases*, who did not submit to the Mongols during the new wave of the Mongol invasion, which resulted in the conquest of Kiev—or more precisely, 3,000 *As* families along with 40,000 *Kipchak-Polovtsians* under Khan Kotyan—retreated to Hungary, where they began to serve the Hungarian kings and became known as the *Yases*, who preserved their language up until the 18th century and now belong to a separate ethnographic group of the Hungarian people.

However, not all of the *Ases* resisted the Mongols. Some of them submitted to the conquerors, which is evidenced in the biography of *As Atachi*, who, according to the 'Yüan shih,' served the Mongols and whose father *Kanguz* (*Khankusyi* in Chinese), the head of

one of the state formations of the Ases, voluntarily submitted to the Mongols during the invasion; in return, Ögedei Khan allowed him to continue ruling his lands, awarded him the title of honour of Badur ('bogatyr'—hero), and presented him a paiza, the state symbol of the Mongol Empire, which reaffirmed his power. In line with the decree of Mongols, Kanguz marshaled one thousand As warriors to participate in the Mongol raids, and they were headed by his son Atachi [Yüan shih, 1958, juan 132, p. 27475 (1523)].

The As Yuvashi family, whose father Yanbadur (*Elibadur* in Chinese) submitted to the Mongols along with As Kanguz, was well-known in the court of the Great Mongol Khans [Ibid, p. 27478(1527)]. The 'Yüan shih' also contains biographies of other As people who served the Mongols and participated in their conquests: Kanguz's grandson Baydar and great-grandsons Oros and Fudin, the senior As Mongol commanders Georgii (*Kouertsy* in Chinese), Shari (*Cheli*), Shilabadur, Petr (*Fude*), Georgii's father, Dmitrii (Demidir) and his son Syanshan, Yuruktam and his son Badur and grandson Nogaychin, Anzorbuki (*Utszoerbukhua*), Matarsh, Betszelyan, Nikolay, Ilya, Arslan and his son Asanchen, Khurdudar and his son Khudutimur [Ibid, juan 135, p. 275(1557), pp. 27512 (1560)–27513(1561); juan 132, pp. 27476(1524)–24777(1525); juan 123, p. 27394(1442)]. As is clear from the biographies in the 'Yüan shih,' many among the first generation of As to submit to the Mongols had Iranian and Christian names, which bears witness to the spread of Christianity throughout their society, while the latter generations of As people have Mongol and Turkic names, a result of the influence of the Mongol and Turkic peoples—particularly, the Kipchaks, who were dominant in the Mongol Empires, especially in the Golden Horde.

Chroniclers writing in many different languages provide scarce and fragmentary information about the other peoples of the North-Western Caucasus in the period of the Mongol invasion and Golden Horde. Interestingly, the Chinese source 'Menuershitzi' tells of the death of As Asanchen, who served the Mongols, during an attack by the Tuerge tribe,

which the author of this work, historian Tu Ji, identifies with the Circassians [Tu Ji, 1934, juan 177]. In the later period of the Golden Horde the Circassians were mentioned by Western European traveller Johann Schiltberger: '...the country [land] of the Circassians, as on the Black Sea coast, is inhabited by Christians who profess the Greek [Orthodox] faith. However, they are base people who sell their own children to pagans [Muslims] and steal them from other people. They plunder and speak a peculiar language...' [Schiltberger, 1984, p. 45]. Al-Umari, referring to the 'adoption of Islam' by the Circassians and As/Alans, notes that 'they still violate its [the religion's] rules in many cases... they kidnap their [Kipchak] children and sell them to merchants,' 'even though they [the Kipchaks] beat out the army of the Circassians and Yas people' [The Golden Horde in the sources, 2003, 1, p. 105]. In their turn, Russian writers note: 'It is a well-known fact that these peoples live in the Caucasian mountains and are divided into many different domains with various names. Courage, contempt for death, military exploits, and the acquisition of profit by the force of arms are considered honourable, and they are not subject to any powerful ruler because they worship liberty like a precious gift, which is often abused when they raid and rob each other and the surrounding countries. Their dwellings are located in inaccessible places, and courage has saved them from being conquered by other peoples.' [Bronevsky, 1996, p. 28]. However, not all of the tribes of the North-Western and Central Caucasus managed to defend their freedom against the Mongol encroachment. According to al-Umari: 'They [Circassians and Yas people] are unable to hold out against the sultan of these countries [Khan of the Jochid Ulus], so they have become his subjects, even though they have their own tsars. If they were obedient to him and provided him gifts and other offerings, he left them alone; otherwise he robbed and sieged them; many times he had their men killed, captured their wives and children, took them to other countries as slaves...' [The Golden Horde in sources, 2002, 1, p. 103].

William of Rubruck notes that even though 'Cherkizes' [Circassians] and Alans, or Aas

[As] people... profess the Christian religion,' they 'still fight against the Tatars...' A French envoy notes that on his way to the headquarters of Batu Khan, the ruler of the Golden Horde, 'we were very afraid: that is... Alans, their slaves [Tatars?], quite large in number, form into groups of 20–30 people, head out at night with quivers and bows and kill everyone they encounter. During the day they hide out, and when their horses get tired, they approach the herds on the pastures at night, change out their horses, and take one or two with them... Our guide was very afraid to encounter them...' [Travels, 1993, pp. 96, 102]. Rubruck faced the same problem a year later as he was returning home from Mongol-controlled lands. 'We left... Sarai... headed to the south and approached the mountains where the Alans live... Alans in these mountains are not conquered yet, so two out of each dozen of the people of Sartaq [the son of Batu Khan and heir of the Golden Horde throne] were designated to guard the mountain gorges to prevent the Alans from coming down from the mountains and stealing their herds from the plain, which stretched between the domains of Sartaq, the Alans, and the Iron Gates [Derbent]... and so the Tatars, who lived at the foot of Alanya Mountains, felt it necessary to provide 20 people to chaperone us...' [Ibid, p. 165].

As evidenced by the above, attacks by the Alans on neighbouring Golden Horde lands forced the Mongols to establish special guard posts near the paths out of gorges. This information, which reflects the state of affairs in Alanian in the mid-13th century, when Mongol garrisons were posted in the fortresses that stood near mountain passes, is reproduced with remarkable accuracy in the folk literature of the descendants of the As and Alans—the Ossetian epic 'The Narts.' As it turns out, the names of the Golden Horde rulers can be found in 'The Narts': khans Saynag-aldar (that is, Sain Khan, 'the glorious khan,' Batu Khan, Baty in the Old Russian chronicles), and Berke, the brother of Batu Khan, who deposed his nephew Sartaq and the temnik (warlord) Nogai from the throne. In the epic the enemy of the Narts, Balga-Berke, sits at the path out of the gorges with his many troops

and keeps watch over the young Nart men who foray out to carry herds off into the mountains. The Alans in particular suffered at the hands of Berke, who was 'firmly entrenched in Ossetia,' when large numbers of them were crossing over the Main Caucasian Ridge and entering the service of Hulagu Khan, the ruler of the Mongolian state in Iran, against whom the Golden Horde was constantly in battle. The epic 'The Narts' presents an account of the historical situation in the North-Western and Central Caucasus during the Mongol invasion in which there are clear anti-Mongol motifs. In this respect, H'andzargas (Chinggis Khan), the enemy of the Narts, a rapist and kidnapper of girls, is a very illustrative figure [Guriyev, 1981, pp. 104–106, 115].

William of Rubruck gives an interesting account of the Alans as skilled craftsmen, gunsmiths, and gardeners who grew grapes and produced wine. 'When we approached a dangerous crossing, only two people out of twenty had armour. I asked where they had acquired it. They said that they bought the armour from the aforementioned Alans, who were good at manufacturing armor and were skilled smiths... Before we reached the Iron Gates, we found an Alanian castle that belonged to by Mangu Khan [Möngke, the great Mongol khan] himself, for he had conquered that land. There for the first time we found grapevines and drank wine...' [Travels, 1993, pp. 165–166].

As evidenced by the above, the Alans and Circassian communities of the North-Western Caucasus felt quite autonomous even after the Mongol invasion. It seems that the power of the Mongol Empire and later the Jochid Ulus over this region was not firm, as evidenced by their way of life, which included raiding their neighbours (including their fellow tribesmen) and intense involvement in the slave trade, which the authorities did not actively suppress, at least prior to the adoption of Islam by the Golden Horde khans. The peoples of the North-Western and Central Caucasus became famous not only on the battlefield as raiders and slave traders but also as skilled craftsmen and gardeners. According to the Arab chronicler al-Umari, the Circassians and Yases 'live in well-planned and populous cities as well as

forested, fertile mountains. They grow seeded bread, the udders flow [that is, they raise cattle], the rivers flow, and the fruits grow...' [The Golden Horde in the sources, 2003, 1, p. 103].

Thus, some of the Alan and Circassian tribes that dwelled in mountainous regions that were inaccessible for the Mongol troops preserved their independence from the Jochid Ulus. In the latter half of the 13th century the Golden Horde khans continued to fight against them. While the Northern Caucasian steppes were entirely under the control of the Golden Horde, this could not be said even of the foothills of the North-Western and Central Caucasus. It must be taken into consideration that the North-Western and Central Caucasus had been a part of the personal domain of the Golden Horde khans since the reign of Batu Khan, and for this reason the rulers of the Jochid Ulus were especially interested in the pacification of this region. The duration of this struggle, which prevented the Golden Horde from expanding its power into the depths of the foothills, is evidenced by the campaign of the Golden Horde khan Mengu-Timur in 1277 against the Yases (Alans), during which Dedyakov, their main city, was captured and burnt to the ground. We know about this campaign because of the Old Russian princes' involvement in them, which was recorded in the chronicles. It resulted in the defeat of Alans and apparently other mountain peoples of the North-Western Caucasus. The Russian regiments fought alongside the tumens of Mengu-Timur. As a result, on 8 February 1277 Dedyakov was conquered, and the allies—the Golden Horde people and Russians—'conquered the great greed' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 5, p. 199; 18, p. 75]. This was the most prominent instance of participation of Russian troops in the military campaigns of the Golden Horde khans. The memory of this event is preserved even in Russian folk songs, although the exact route of the campaign was not recorded in written sources and can be traced only conventionally [Yegorov, 1985, p. 194].

The constant warring in the North-Western and Central Caucasus was a result not only of the incessant raids of independent Alanian and Circassian tribes from the mountain regions

and rebellions of their fellow tribesmen, who were subjects of the Golden Horde, but also of the geographical location of the region, which shared a border with Hulaguid Ilkhanate, the Mongol state in Iran and the Middle East against, which the Jochid Ulus was constantly waging wars following the dissolution of the greater Mongol Empire; these wars directly affected the North-Western and Central Caucasus Region, even though the military operations were conducted on the lands of Georgia and Azerbaijan. The Alans and Circassians could become allies of the Hulaguids and operate in the rear of the Golden Horde troops, taking advantage of their departure to the Transcaucasia, which raised fears among the authorities of the Jochid Ulus. As a result of the prolonged struggle the power of the Jochid Ulus had extended to several deep regions of the Caucasian Mountains by the 14th century. According to written sources, in the 14th century there were ongoing tensions on the Black Sea coast, which was inhabited by Circassians. The Circassians that lived in the Kuban and on the Taman peninsula, had been subdued back in the 13th century. In the 13th century the Taman peninsula was a part of the Jochid Ulus; however, because of the struggle against the insubordinate Circassians, its borders could not extend far to the south along the coast of the North-Western Caucasus. The lands of the independent, so called 'white' Circassians, who lived along the Caucasian coast of the Black Sea, extended to the vicinity of the modern city of Tuapse. Eastern sources indicate that at the end of the 1320s the Golden Horde Khan Öz Beg was still waging wars against them [Egorov, 1985, p. 46]. Al-Umari, who died in 1349, reports that the Kipchaks, who made up a significant portion of the Golden Horde troops, 'defeated the Circassian... and Yas... troops' [Zolotaya Orda v istochnikakh, 2003, 1, p. 105].

The Chinese political terms used to signify the forms of social organisation of the As people in the 'Yüan shih' are of special interest. In the context of the era of the Mongol invasions a study of the relevant terminology is particularly interesting because the peoples of the North-Western and Central Caucasus were

beginning to organise themselves into states during that period. For instance, in reference to the As people, the 'Yüan shih' uses the term 'Go'—state [Yüan shih, 1958, juan 132, p. 27475(1523)]. Use of the term 'Go' with respect to the formations of the As people is useful in determining the level of social development that they achieved. This is supported by the fact that Chinese historiography had from its earliest days used clear terminology in identifying the level of development of tribes and peoples. According to the Rashid al-Din, 'the Chinese rulers gave nicknames to people only for a certain reason. Now they still follow the same custom: they use an unusual number of nicknames, and the degrees corresponding to each tribe and region are extremely similar and appropriate...' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 1, p. 139]. Mongol-era As and Circassian society was likely marked by social stratification and income inequality; influential and prominent clans and families stood above their compatriots, and they had their 'own tsars,' as reported by al-Umari. The adoption of a global monotheistic religion—Orthodox Christianity—and the appearance of scripts indicate the level of cultural development of the Alans and Circassians. William of Rubruck noted that 'the Alans, who are called... Aas, Christians according to the Greek model, have the Greek script and Greek priests.' [Travels, 1993, p. 92]. The Circassians did not have their own script or a borrowed one, and whenever it was necessary they used the Old Jewish script, according to Giorgio Interiano, an Italian, who lived in the North-Western Caucasus at the end of the 15th century, most likely in one of the Genoese colonies [Adyghe, Balkars, and Karachays, 1974, p. 48].

As for the level of economic development of Alanian society, it was non-migratory, and al-Umari notes a general tendency their settlements to evolve into cities. The existence of a large number of settlements in the North-Western and Central Caucasus in the 9–12th centuries, a majority of which were interrupted by the Mongol invasion, which prevented them from becoming full-fledged cities, indicates the presence of the rudiments of urban culture in Alan and Circassian society. In the Golden

Horde period small but populated settlements were replaced by intensely developing large cities, which quickly became prominent centres of craft and trade. One such city in the North-Western and Central Caucasus was Majar, whose remnants can be found on the banks of the Kuma River, near the modern city of Prikumsk in Stavropol Krai. The heyday of the city is dated to the Golden Horde period, although it is possible that there was a small settlement there before the arrival of Mongols. According to archaeologists, the ruins of this city were 2 miles in diameter at the beginning of the 19th century. This estimate of the size of Majar indicates not only the vast amount of space it occupied, which makes it possible to consider it the largest city in the North Caucasus during the Golden Horde period; it had additional significance because it played a prominent role in the political and economical life of the region. This is proved primarily by the fact that the city had the right to mint coins during the 14th century.

At the end of the 18th century there were still quite a large number of monumental brick buildings from the Golden Horde period among the ruins of Majar, which is described well by Ibn Battuta: 'A big city, one of the best Turkic cities.' Here archaeological investigations revealed not only the remnants of dwellings but also traces of various crafts and a complex city water pipeline system. In the 14th century Majar was the centre of transit trade in the North Caucasus. Two caravan routes arrived here from the north—one from Hajji Tarkhan and one from Azak—which were used to supply goods from the east and west. In turn, products from the entire North Caucasus region, mainly various metal goods, were imported to the markets of Majar.

At that time the city of Matrega, located on the Taman Peninsula, on the site of present-day Taman, and founded long before the arrival of the Mongol conquerors, was famous in the North-Western Caucasus. The name of this city is well-known from Italian sources. Matrega's importance increased significantly during the Golden Horde period after a Genoese colony was founded there at the beginning of the 14th century and maintained active trade relations

with the local population. The population of Matrega was composed mainly of Greeks and Circassians. It was also inhabited by Italians, Alans, Turkic people, and Slavs. By the 15th century, due to the weakening and dissolution of the Jochid Ulus, the Genoese strengthened their power in Matrega and made haste to build fortifications on account of frequent conflicts with the surrounding Circassian population.

From the end of the 13th century the city of Copa, which was founded by the Genoese and specialised in the trade of fish and caviar, stood at the mouth of the Kuban River. The sources describe an annual spring fair held there that was attended by fish sellers and buyers. In the 14th century there were 39 Genoese colonies, minor settlements that we know about from medieval maps, on the Black Sea and Azov coasts of the North-Western Caucasus. Such a significant number of colonies indicates the vigor with which the Italians were trading with the local population. The Genoese offered the local population cotton, cloth and expensive fabrics, salt, raw cotton, carpets, spices and blades. Among the goods that were being exported from the North-Western Caucasus, the sources mention various types of fish, caviar, leather, fur, cotton, wax, bread, wine, saffron, silver ore, fruits, and slaves [Yegorov, 1985, pp. 122–123]. It should be noted that the slave trade played an important role not only in economic but also in political relations between the Golden Horde and Egypt, the Horde's ally in the wars against the Hulaguid state, the ruling military stratum of which—the Mamluks—was by the end of the 13th and increasingly in the 14th centuries composed not only of slaves but also of the natives of the North-Western Caucasus, whom the Mamluk sultans of Egypt considered a 'strategic commodity.' The Golden Horde authorities justified the slave trade from the North-Western Caucasus by the fact that the slaves were not Muslims.

The North-Western and Central Caucasus at large was one of the important economic regions of the Golden Horde, and the extent of its participation in international trade is clear evidence of this.

However, as was mentioned before, during the Golden Horde period the natives of the

North-Western and Central Caucasus lived not only in their homeland. Many of those involved in the Mongol conquests, who involuntarily became both victims and participants of the campaigns, found themselves scattered about various Mongol-conquered countries, from Hungary to China. However, in China, at different periods of time throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, 10,000 As people, not including their families, served the great Mongol khans in specially chosen elite guard units. The As people served as bodyguards of the Mongol rulers [Yüan shih, 1958, juan 99, p. 27188(1236)]. They played an active role in the Mongols' Chinese campaigns and suffered heavy casualties [Travels, 1993, p. 146]. The As people and Alans also served and lived in the Jochid Ulus, far away from their native mountains, where they are mentioned among the 62 main tribes and peoples, predominantly of Mongol and Turkic origin, which made up the bulk of the Golden Horde's military power and strength over the entire course of its history [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2000, pp. 202–209]. Ibn Battuta tells of neighbourhoods in Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde, which were inhabited by As people and Circassians. At the same time, he notes that the As people in Sarai became Muslims, while the Circassians continued to profess Christianity [The Golden

Horde in the sources, 2003, 1, p. 143], although al-Umari, a contemporary of Ibn Battuta, mentions the 'adoption of Islam by these peoples' [Ibid, p. 105], not only by the As people but also by the Circassians. We know about existence of Alanian communities in the part of Crimea that was controlled by the Jochid Ulus—in particular, in the city of Stary Krym (Solkhat). In his turn, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine makes mention of one Mongol vicegerent in Rus'—the Alan Mikhey, who is presented as 'a man full of malice and deceit' [Travels, 1993, p. 59]. The year 1358 is associated with the Circassian Zikhabey, who was promoted in the ranks of the Golden Horde and became vicegerent in Azak, modern-day Azov. During the period from 1379 to 1386 the Golden Horde vicegerent in Crimea was Cherkesh-Bek, known in Russian chronicles as Zikhy Cherkesy, who resided in Solkhat. He support-

ed the beklyaribek (supreme commander) Mamai and in 1379 forced the Genoese from Kafa to mobilise troops in support of his patron, who was then preparing to lead a campaign on Moscow. According to an Old Russian chronicle, Mamai Khan in his struggle for power in Sarai relied on the lands of the Jochid Ulus that were under his control—Crimea and the North-Western Caucasus. 'The Golden Horde prince Mamai... came with the entire Tatar and Cuman force and in addition to that hired a regiment of... Circassians and Yas people' [Khotko, 2001, p. 105]. Circassians and As/Alans took part in the military campaigns and raids of the Golden Horde khans during the 'great zamyatnya' (internecine war), sometimes on opposing sides of the internecine wars fought between contenders for the throne in Sarai. According to al-Umari, 'the army of the sultan of this state (the Golden Horde khan) consists of Circassians, Russians, and Yas people...' [The Golden Horde in sources, 2003, 1, p. 103].

During the Golden Horde's wars with Timur, the ruler of Samarkand, which mainly took place on territories under the control of the Golden Horde, his troops invaded the North-Western Caucasus. The Circassians were the first to be attacked. Timur's warriors under the command of mirza Muhammad-Sultan, mirza Miranshah, and emir Jehan-Shah headed out from Azak (Azov) to Kuban. The Circassians resorted to scorched earth tactics and 'burnt down the meadows between Azak and Kuban,' depriving Timur's troops of a source of sustenance, and the herds of cattle that were accompanying them died from starvation. However, despite these hardships and losses, Timur's warriors 'plundered the Circassian ulus, gained enormous spoils... and returned back safely...' Timur himself 'with all of his troops moved towards the Mount Elburz [Elbrus]' and 'with the intention of conquering the disbelievers' attacked 'Burakan, the ruler of the As people.' During the campaign his warriors levelled the forest and laid a road, which allowed him to ascend Mount Elbrus. 'In the mountain fortifications and protected gorges he had many clashes with the enemies of the faith and in all cases [his] army... won, by putting to the sword... many of those

disbelievers [the As people], their fortresses were toppled, and the victorious army took immeasurable spoils from the property of the disbelievers as a grace of fate. Returning victorious from there... with immeasurable spoils, [Timur] stopped in the highest Horde...' But that was not the end of campaign—the warriors under the direct command of Timur decided to conquer the high-mountain fortresses, the last stronghold of the rebellious highlanders, 'inhabitants of Elburz,' which 'were incredibly difficult to access owing to their height, which was so great that when a person looked at them, everything became blurry before his eyes, and his hat slid from his head... so high that they could not be reached by an arrow...' But the Samarkand commander successfully solved this battlefield conundrum; he 'ordered the troops to erect several tall ladders and fasten them to one another and, by placing them on the first ledge of the mountain, climb upwards, then place them on the third ledge of the mountain, where the fortress was located... the brave fighters one by one climbed the ladders. Another group of brave fighters, once they reached the top of the mountain, girded themselves with ropes and attached the ends of the ropes to the top of mountain... and descended to a spot just across from the fortress...' [Ibid, pp. 303–304, 359–361]. Then both detachments from different heights attacked the fortress and, despite the hail of arrows and stones fired by the besieged, conquered it and massacred its defenders. Next to fall was the high-mountain fortress of Pulad, where one of the senior emirs of the Golden Horde, Uturku, had been hiding. He was captured and taken into custody by Timur. Timur completed his campaign 'in Abas,' which was inhabited by Abazins and Abkhazians. The peoples of the North-Western Caucasus paid dearly for their loyalty to the khans of the Golden Horde and resistance to Timur's army—their lands were devastated. However, following Timur's Golden Horde campaigns, which he later directed into Middle Asia, the steppe empire never recovered again and fell by the end of the 15th century, losing its grasp over the North-Western and Central Caucasus.

All the same, despite the tragedy, the Mongol era for the North-Western and Central Caucasus was not simple and straightforward. Formed mainly as a result of conquests, the Golden Horde, with all its rejection of violence and blood, also played a civilising role for the peoples of the Caucasus because the creation of an empire—which the Golden Horde was—is an attempt by humanity, though far from perfect, towards integration. Following the annexation of the North-Western and Central Caucasus to the Jochid Ulus, its lands became more stable politically compared to previously. Moreover, lack of regional partitions and boundaries in this vast Eurasian empire—that existed for about three centuries, throughout the lives of five to six generations—allowed peoples under its rule to be brought closer together. For a long time the cultures of the Caucasian peoples formed and developed within a single system of ties to the civilisations of other peoples of the horde, both from the steppe—the Mongols and the Turkic people—and the settled—Eastern Slavs, Finno-Ugrians, and Iranians—bringing them together and resulting in an amalgamation into unified multinational states such as the Golden Horde. This was the first experience in the history of the peoples of the North-Western and Central Caucasus of a multi-century existence as communities within a global empire. In contrast to the following periods, with all the wars with the Mongols and their Golden Horde successors, it did not bring these peoples to the brink of destruction and of existence as individual ethnic groups on their historic lands. However, this does not deny the consequences of the Golden Horde era.

Long and intense historical contacts of peoples of the North-Western and Central Caucasus with Mongol and Turkic steppe tribes, both in this region and beyond, had objectively created the conditions for cultural interaction. For instance, the contacts can be judged from the language of descendants of the As-Alans, the Ossetians, whose lexicon contains a significant number of borrowings from the Mongol

language, particularly in vocabulary, toponymy, and family nomenclature. This prompts a suggestion of the presence of a Mongol-speaking ethnic element in Alania, which perhaps assimilated in the Alanian environment. The contacts of Alans and steppe conquerors in the Mongol era are prominently reflected in the content and structure of Ossetian Nart sagas, particularly in the As-Alans' borrowing of Mongol legends and heroes from Mongol knightly sagas.

The impact of the Golden Horde era on the ethnic history of the North-Western and Central Caucasus is important because at that time impetus was given to the formation of new ethnopolitical communities, known today as Karachais, Balkars, and Nogais, speaking the Kipchak branch of the Turkic languages. By the beginning of the 13th century the predominant official language was Kipchak, and an irreversible process of Turkisation of a part of the North-Western and Central Caucasus highland tribes was under way, which resulted in the formation of new Turkic ethnoses. The Golden Horde's impact can be clearly traced in the genealogical legends of the Karachais, the Balkars, and the Nogais, a significant part of whose ethnic elite—their most eminent names—derived their origins from natives of the horde [Borazbiyev, 2003, pp. 84–89]. The ethnogenesis of the Karachais and the Balkars, whose origins date back to the 14th century, developed with the involvement of local Adygo-Abkhazian highland peoples, the As-Alans, and the Turkic-speaking Bulgars, reflected in the name of today's Balkars. However, the predominant cultural influence on this process, when a part of this population was speaking the Turkic languages, was exerted by the Kipchak-Polovtsians, who also played a decisive role in the ethnogenesis of the steppe Nogai people. Thus, the birth of the Karachais, the Balkars, and the Nogais—the contemporary peoples of this region—is inextricably connected with the age of a steppe empire, the final chord of whose existence was the fall of the Golden Horde.

§ 6. The Eastern Ciscaucasia in the 13–14th Centuries

Lyudmila Gmyrya

In the 13–14th centuries Dagestan was in an area of military and political interests for the Mongol rulers: Chinggis Khan, the Golden Horde khans, and the Hulaguid Ilkhans (see [Magomedov, 1940; Lavrov; 1965; The History of Dagestan, 1967; Krishtopa, 1974; Magomedov, Krishtopa, 1978; The History of the Peoples of the North Caucasus, 1988; Magomedov, 1991; Magomedov, Magomedov, 1994; Gadlo, 1994; Gadzhiyev et al., 1996; The History of Dagestan, 2005, etc.])

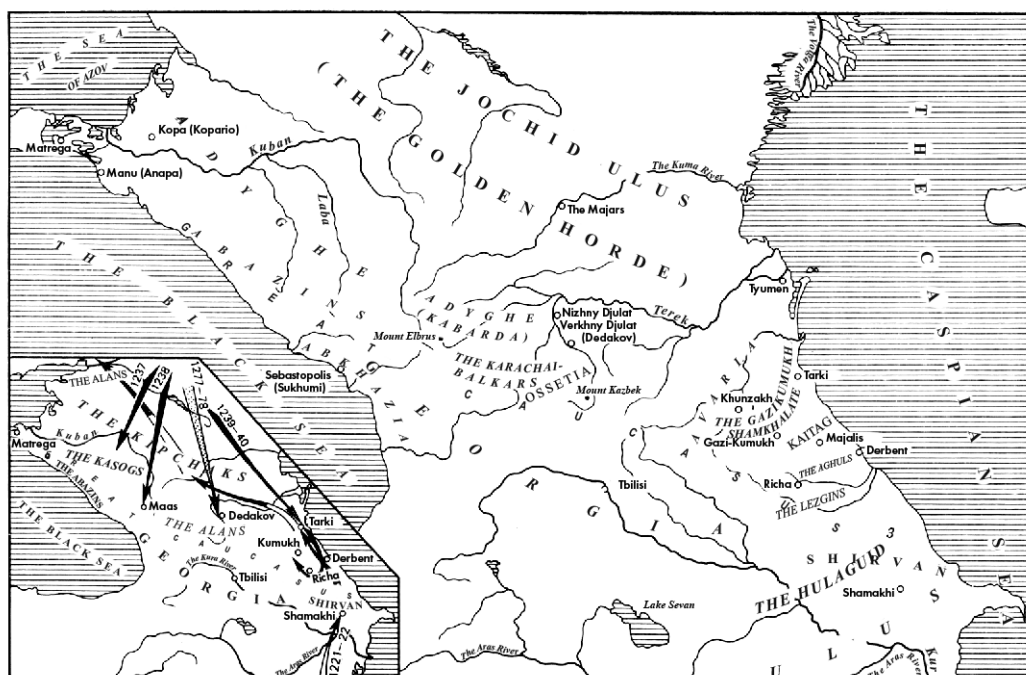
In the middle of the 13th century the Mongol Empire split into a number of independent states (uluses). Northern Dagestan and Derbent were taken by the Jochid Ulus [Gadzhiyev and others, 1996, p. 301; The History of Dagestan, 2005, pp. 228–229]. Southern Dagestan (territories south of Derbent) came under the rule of the Hulaguids [The History of Dagestan, 2005, p. 229]. The Hulaguid Ilkhans' state (1256–1353), founded by Chinggis Khan's grandson Hulagu Khan (1258–1265), took over countries of Middle Asia, the Middle East, and the Transcaucasia [Petrushevsky, 1970, pp. 229–230; Ali-Zade, 1956, pp. 265–310; Ashurbeyli, 1983, p. 157].

Both uluses—of Jochi and Hulagu—were engaged in a bitter struggle for dominance in the eastern Caucasus for almost a century (1262–1357) [Krishtopa, 1974, pp. 96–118], the first stage lasting for five years. As Kirakos indicates, military campaigns were usually held in the autumn and winter months '...for they could not [fight] in summer because of heat and floods' [Gandzaketsi, 1976, p. 237].

In August 1262 Golden Horde troops of three tumens (30,000 warriors), headed by Nogai Khan, crossed the territory of Caspian Dagestan from the north to the south, invaded Shirvan, and approached Shamakhi. This military campaign was undertaken because of the death in the Hulagu ulus in 1261–1262 of three tsareviches of the Golden Horde, Balakan, Tutar, and Kuli, grandsons of Jochi and nephews of Batu, commanding an auxiliary unit at Hulagu. The operation failed, Nogai's

army was defeated, and together with the remaining part of the army he retreated to Derbent. But on 8 December, under the pressure of Hulagu's pursuing army, he left the city and retreated fighting to the River Terek. According to research, Hulagu reached the right bank of the Terek, then sent his 70,000-strong army after Nogai, under the command of his son Abak Khan [Krishtopa, 1974, pp. 98–99]. Beyond the Terek this army 'destroyed the Golden Horde's camp' [Ibid.]. However, Kirakos describes the military campaign's course slightly differently: '...Berkai gathered countless troops to take revenge on Hulagu for the blood of his compatriots. The great Hulagu also gathered a big army and divided it into three: he gave one [army] to his son Abaga Khan, provided him with the ruler Argun's support, and sent them both to Khorasan to help Algu from this side; he gathered the second army near the Alanian gates; and, taking the rest of the army, headed out and invaded [the territory] away from the Derbent gates because there are only two ways to get there: through the Alans and through Derbent. And, destroying parts of the Jochid Ulus, he reached the great and bottomless river Terkn Itil, which many rivers fall into and which flows spilling like a sea and falls into the Caspian Sea' [Gandzaketsy, 1976, p. 237]. According to Kirakos, the vanguard of the Hulagu troops under the command of Abaka Khan pursued Nogai, who was retreating to the Terek, moving from south to north. Another part of the troops, under the command of Hulagu, invaded the domains of Jochi in the North Caucasus from the Daryal Pass (the Alanian gates) and, moving from the west to the river 'Terkn Itil,' destroyed 'parts of the Jochid Ulus.'

Here on the banks of the 'Terkn Itil' the huge army of the Golden Horde—in Kirakos' words, 'a powerful army'—assembled the day before by Berke Khan, fought against the forces of Hulagu. This battle dates to February 1263 [The History of the Peoples of the



Settlement of people in the North Caucasus in the 13–14th centuries. Inset: Mongol campaigns in the 13th century (According to [Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza, 1988, map 6, p. 190]).

North Caucasus, 1988, p. 204]. Kirakos calls this battle a 'bloodbath' and describes its terrible consequences: 'There were many dead on both sides, but a great many of them were on Hulagu's side because they froze to death, and many people drowned in the river' [Gandzaketsi, 1976, p. 237].

Researchers disagree about the location of the battle. Some say that it took place 'on the Terek River' [Magomedov, Kryshstopa, 1978, p. 9; *The History of the Peoples of the North Caucasus*, 1988, p. 204; Gadzhiyev et al., 1996, p. 302] or 'beyond the Terek' [Kryshstopa, 1974, p. 99]. S. Gadzhiyeva says that it was fought on the lower reaches of the Itil River (Volga) [Gadzhiyeva, 2000, p. 57]. In his notes on Kirakos' text, L. Khanlaryan mentions that by the name 'Terkn Itil,' used by Kirakos, should be understood the Itil (Volga) [Gandzaketsi, 1976, ch. 65, n. 6, p. 312, ch. 55, n. 1, p. 307]. The description of the 'Terkn Itil' provided by Kirakos is comparable to the Volga. The capital of the Golden Horde, Sarai Batu, was located on the lower reaches of this river, and that was likely where Hulagu was heading. The danger of the situation can also be explained by the high degree of mobilisation in the Gold-

en Horde on the eve of the battle—'eight of every ten people' [Kryshstopa, 1974, p. 99].

The remainder of Hulagu's troops, pursued by Berke Khan, returned to the Transcaucasia through Caspian Dagestan. According to Kirakos, the courage of one of Hulagu's commanders, who held back the onslaught of Berke's army, saved Hulagu from final defeat. Hulagu's troops moved to the Mugan steppe for the winter but 'set a watch at the Derbent gates' [Gandzaketsi, 1976, p. 237].

In the spring of 1263 Golden Horde troops again invaded the Hulaguid domain through Derbent. Sources record that Georgian troops were also involved in fighting back. Hulagu forced Georgia, where an anti-Mongol uprising had earlier been crushed, to send vanguard troops to Derbent to be the first to withstand the hit of Berke's army. The Golden Horde's advance was apparently stopped with great effort because some of the princes, who distinguished themselves in this operation, were awarded 'with great decorations' [The History of the Mongols in Armenian Sources, 1873, p. 48].

In 1265 the army of the Golden Horde, headed by Berke Khan and taking the advan-

The battle of Sultan Jalal ad-Din with the Georgians. Miniature to Masud Kuhistani's book 'The History of Abulkhair Khan.' Transoxania. Middle of the 16th century.



tage of Hulagu's death, invaded Caspian Dagestan again through Shirvan [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 82; 1946, p. 68; Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 121, 152, 203–205, et al.; 1941, pp. 92, 99, 210].

Despite heavy losses in the 1265 military campaign, the Golden Horde managed to keep Derbent. Rashid al-Din's statement that Ilkhan Abaka assigned his brother Yushumut the command responsible for the protection of north-eastern Caucasus border areas and granted him the domain of the Arran and Derbent regions [al-Din, 1946, III, pp. 67–68] is interpreted in some investigations that the il-khans' possession of Derbent was a fact. But Yushumut was assigned to these posts prior to the 1265 campaign, when Derbent was a part of the Golden Horde, and its transfer to the member of the Ilkhans' family indicates Ilkhan Abaka's mere claims to the border town [The History of the Peoples of the North Caucasus, 1988, p. 205]. This is indirectly proved by information from the sources that, following the events of 1265, Abaka Khan built a line of defence on the left bank of the Kura River (a palisade and deep ditches) [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 153, 510; Gandzaketsi, 1976, p. 238], which would not have been required if Derbent had been possessed by the Ilkhans.

Following the war of 1262–1267, the Golden Horde's military activities in Derbent changed, with the tactic of strengthened defence of both the city and the adjacent territory to the north. A special district was established, consisting of the plains of modern Dagestan and Chechnya. A battle-ready 'watchdog army' ('lashkar-i karaul') undertook border protection and putting down uprisings by the local population. The district was led by a family member of the khans, Toktai, the son of Tsarevich

Balakan, who had been executed in 1261 by the Hulaguids. Rashid al-Din wrote that he was also called Tama-Toktai or Murtad-Toktai. Apparently, his name got the prefix 'Tama' when he was a commander of the Derbent fortifications (the Mongol word 'tanma' means detachments that perform garrison duties) [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 103]. Researchers believe that the form of his name with the prefix 'Murtad' may indicate sympathies to Islam [Kryshtopa, 1974, p. 105]. For his border service, Tama-Toktai was given a 'winter camp,' pastures on the Terek River [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 103].

Tama-Toktai had wide-ranging authority, which included conducting independent military campaigns against the Hulagu state.

According to the written sources, during the reign of Mengu-Timur, brother of Berke Khan, the situation in the eastern Caucasus remained turbulent, but the two warring forces were trying to avoid large-scale operations. In the 1270s the eastern Caucasus was not in Golden Horde's sphere of interests, leading to the Hulaguids' increased influence in the pass of Derbent.

In 1277–1278 the Hulaguids seized territories of southern Dagestan ('Lekzistan') and the city of Derbent itself, all peacefully with the help of 'benign activities' [Rashid al-Din, 1946,

III, p. 90]. In 1288 Derbent was still under Hulaguid rule. Tama-Toktai, according to Rashid al-Din, conquered Derbent and robbed local merchants on his way to Shirvan [Ibid, p. 120]. In 1290 he again staged a plundering raid on Shirvan, a campaign that lasted for five weeks (see for details [Kryshtopa, 1974, pp. 101–102]).

As shown in Rashid al-Din's message, dated 1298, about sending Emir Nurin to Arran to 'protect the Derbent Region,' the ruler of the Hulaguid state Gazan Khan (1295–1304) kept guard contingents in the Derbent area.

The withdrawal of Tama-Toktai's troops from Northern Dagestan in 1299 contributed to the entrenchment of Hulaguid influence in the Derbent area. As Rashid al-Din mentioned, he had been recalled by Tokta Khan, who was assembling a strong force for a war against Nogai [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 85] that lasted until 1300.

At the beginning of the 14th century Northern Dagestan—the site of Tokta Khan's headquarters in 1301, according to Rashid al-Din [Rashid al-Din, 1946, III, pp. 188–189]—was under the rule of the Golden Horde.

In the winter of 1301–1302 Gazan Khan held a 'hunt' in Shirvan and southern Dagestan, a kind of military manoeuvre showing the Hulaguids' claims to these territories [Ibid., p. 189]. At the same time, anti-Mongol resistance was crushed in southern Dagestan. As Rashid al-Din describes these events: 'At that time, emirs of Lekzistan, who had long hid in these inaccessible mountains, rebelling and revolting, obediently and voluntarily submitted and sincerely turned their faces towards serving [the ruler], and held the strongest hilt of obedience and submission. The crowd of thieves and vagabonds that ran from Azerbaijan and, hiding in those mountains, preferred looting and robbery on the road, was caught and killed' [Ibid.]. The measures taken had strengthened the Hulaguids' positions both in southern Dagestan and in the Derbent area.

However, Tokhta Khan soon renewed the Golden Horde's claims to Azerbaijan. In 1302–1303 his embassy was sent to Caspian Dagestan and announced a demand for the surrender of Azerbaijan and Tokhta Khan's threat of war if it was not met.

Envoys said that Tokhta Khan massed ten tumens of guard troops (100,000 soldiers) on the southern borders of the Golden Horde, from Crimea to Karakum and Derbent [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 82–83]. Gazan Khan dismissed these claims and rebuked the horde's envoys for excessive extravagance. They arrived at the court in three groups on 325 post horses hired in Derbent. Gazan Khan said that 'five nōkers are enough for a messenger; the use of so many post horses ('ulag') from Derbent, constituting the border line between our domains... means a deviation from the rules of yasak...' [Ibid.] The mention of post horses in his speech indicates the existence of a post office in Derbent at that time and its inclusion in the chain of a single state post road of the Hulaguid state [Kryshtopa, 1974, p. 108]. This data is confirmed by a Persian inscription found by A. Komarov in Derbent, which states that a resident of Derbent on 10 May 1301 handed over to the waqf of the post office (*chapar-khane*) a source of water and well [Lavrov, 1966, pp. 114–115, inscription No. 276]. The term *ulag*, used by Gazan Khan to refer to post horses, may indicate the existence of a cart tax in Derbent, the provision of a required number of horses for an unlimited period on the demand of authorities [Kryshtopa, 1974, pp. 108–109].

Shortly before his death in 1304 Gazan Khan identified Derbent as one of the border regions of the Hulaguid state [Rashid al-Din, 1946, II, p. 285]; this remained the case until 1318–1319.

In the middle of the winter in AH 718 (1318–1319) the Golden Horde undertook a campaign against the Hulaguid state. Öz Beg Khan's cavalry passed through Caspian Dagestan and conquered Derbent: 'Öz Beg... appeared from the borders of Saqsin and Kipchak with great and countless troops, putting horses into gallop and baring the gleaming swords; every man was followed by three horses. Before the news was received, like a furious flow and roaring lion, planning devastation, they passed through the Iron Gates' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 86–87]. The author of this

report explained the speed of Derbent's conquest by the fact that the local population ('the tribe of the Lezgians') felt a sympathy for the Golden Horde and did not pass along information about their army's approach.

Öz Beg's army exceeded 80 soldiers. Reaching Kura and conducting a number of military operations that failed, he quickly took the troops beyond the lands ruled by the Ilkhans. Hulaguid troops, headed by Emir Choban, pursued them and conquered Derbent [Ibid., p. 100].

The Golden Horde repeated the campaign that same year, 1319, but it failed again. Hulaguid troops pursuing them reached the Terek River [Ibid., pp. 100–101].

In 1324–1325 the Hulaguids made a retaliatory raid on the lands ruled by the Golden Horde. Emir Choban's troops invaded the central Ciscaucasia from Georgia and devastated it significantly. Choban returned to the Hulaguid ulus through Caspian Dagestan and Derbent, which indicates that the Golden Horde's domains in the north-eastern Caucasus had been lost.

In 1335 the large army of Öz Beg Khan invaded Shirvan through Caspian Dagestan. The campaign failed [Ibid., pp. 93, 101, 143], but Derbent was secured for the Golden Horde.

In 1356–1357, 300,000 Golden Horde troops, headed by Janibek Khan, crossed the Terek River and invaded Shirvan through Derbent. They managed to conquer the city of Tabriz in Northern Iran. Most of the fighters returned through Derbent and Caspian Dagestan, and two months later the same route was used by the 50,000 troops that remained in the Transcaucasia [Ibid., pp. 102–103].

On European maps of the time the border between the two states' domains is drawn south of Derbent. A fortress under the flag of the Hulaguids to Derbent's south is marked on a Pizzigani brothers map of 1367, with the legend 'Patrol.' The Catalan Atlas (1375) also indicates a point south of Derbent called 'Patrol' [Yegorov, 1985, pp. 134, 137].

Sources contain no information about Golden Horde rule in the North Caucasus following the defeat of Mamai at Kulikovo Field in 1380 [Magomedov, Kryshstopa, 1978, p. 15;

The History of the Peoples of the North Caucasus, 1988, p. 213].

However, as early as 1385 Tokhtamysh Khan, who had seized power in the Golden Horde, invaded Shirvan with 90,000 troops through Caspian Dagestan and fortified his position there [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 110, 151]. The minting of Tokhtamysh coins in Baku and Derbent [Markov, 1896, p. 485, Nos. 1077–1078] shows that at that time the power of the Golden Horde extended to Shirvan, Caspian Dagestan, and Derbent. In Derbent the minting of Jochid dirhams with the name of Tokhtamysh started in 1388–1389 [Pakhomov, 1956, p. 49]. The majority of preserved coins with the name of Tokhtamysh were found in hoards of the latter half of the 19th century. The most representative collection of Tokhtamysh coins, minted in Derbent, Shamakhi, Shabaran, Mahmudabad, Gushtaspi in A.H. 788–791 (1386–1389), were found in the hoard dated 1851, discovered in the steppe near Aleksandrovskoye (Voskresenskoye) in the present-day Dnepropetrovsk Region in Ukraine. It contained 7,992 Tokhtamysh coins [Gusev, 1995, pp. 92–93]. According to written sources, some feudal bodies of Ciscaucasian Dagestan cooperated with the administration of Tokhtamysh [Magomedov, Kryshstopa, 1978, p. 16; The History of the Peoples of the North Caucasus, 1988, p. 213].

The strengthening of the Golden Horde's positions in the eastern Caucasus led to an aggravated relationship with Timur's state, resulting in a relentless struggle between the two rulers.

In 1395 Timur and a huge army started an ambitious military campaign aimed at the conquest of the North Caucasus. He gathered and inspected his troops on the lower reaches of the Samur River. The army stretched from the feet of the mountains to the shores of the sea [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 174]. The troops passed through Derbent and attacked 'the region of the Kaitags' (north-western Derbent), supporters of Tokhtamysh. According to Nizam al-Din Shami, 'out of many (even) a few did not survive,

and one in a million... all those regions were plundered' [Ibid., p. 119]. Advancing further to the north, to Tarki, Timur got a message that Tokhtamysh's advance guard was at the Sulak River, guarding the crossing, and he sent his troops there. Timur defeated them and pursued them to the confluence of the Terek and Sunja Rivers [Istoriya Dagestana, 2005, p. 231]. The two armies clashed on 15 April 1395, resulting in the complete defeat of Tokhtamysh [Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza, 1988, pp. 214–215; Istoriya Dagestana, 2005, p. 231].

After plundering the western uluses of the Golden Horde, the lower reaches of the Don, the Middle Volga, and the states of the north-western and central Caucasus [Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza, 1988, pp. 215–216], Timur moved through south-eastern Chechnya to the region of the river Andi Koisu and then to the Ciscaucasian Plain. Crossing the Terek River, he stopped to camp for the winter on the lower reaches of the Kuma River.

Timur resumed his expansionist campaigns in Dagestan in spring 1396. Regions of central mountainous Dagestan were plundered and devastated [Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza, 1988, pp. 214, 216–217; Gadlo, 1994, p. 186; Gadzhiev et al., 1996, pp. 306–309; Istoriya Dagestana, 2005, pp. 232–234.] Having established his authority here, Timur returned to Derbent. He ordered that the city's fortifications be built up and strengthened and gave Shirvanshah Ibrahim Derbendi (1382–1417) the commission to guard the city.

Research shows a wide range of deep negative consequences of the Mongol conquests, affecting the economic and social spheres of Dagestan's individual political units as well as of the entire region in general [Istoriya Dagestana, 1967, pp. 205–207; Krishtopa, 1974, pp. 117–118; Magomedov, Krishtopa, 1978, p. 16; Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza, 1988, pp. 188, 195, 204, 207; Gadzhieva, 2000, pp. 56–57, 63; Gamzatov, 1982, p. 8; Gadlo, 1994, p. 187; Gadzhiev et al., 1996, pp. 300, 309–311; Istoriya Dagestana, 2005, pp. 234–235]. Local residents who resisted the Mongol armies were killed; the Mongols seized wealth and cattle, enslaved people, and destroyed communities. Evidence is record-

ed both in written sources and inscriptions as well as in Dagestan folklore.

The plain regions of Dagestan (Caspian Dagestan), which were under the direct sway of the Mongol Empire, suffered the most. Mongol military campaigns, involving large resources (from 30,000 to 300,000 cavalry, carts with equipment, food, people, plundered cattle, valuables, etc.), which were passing mainly through this region, caused irreparable effects to its ecology, destroyed the local people's economy, and led to its depopulation.

As noted above, sources describe eight major military campaigns during the century-long confrontation of the Golden Horde with the Hulaguid state (1262–1357), which involved the territory of Caspian Dagestan. In 1262, 30,000 Golden Horde troops went to Shirvan through the region and came back via the same route; 70,000 Hulaguid troops from Shirvan went to the lower reaches of the Volga, pursuing and fighting the Golden Horde army; the remnants of the Hulaguid force fought its way back to Shirvan on the same route, pursued by the Golden Horde. In 1263 troops of the Golden Horde went to southern Dagestan through Derbent and fought with the Hulaguids and a Georgian advance force near the city. In 1264 a Golden Horde force again went to Shirvan through Caspian Dagestan and came back using the same route following a defeat.

During a relative stand-down (1266–1318) there were only minor regional military operations (1288, 1290, 1301).

But then, between 1318 and 1356, there were five more large-scale military campaigns. In 1318–1319, 80,000 Golden Horde troops went to Shirvan through Caspian Dagestan and came back using the same route; pursuing them, the Hulaguids reached Derbent. In 1319 the Tatars repeated their raid on Shirvan; in pursuit the Hulaguid troops reached the Terek River. In 1324–1325 the Hulaguids entered the central Ciscaucasia and returned to Shirvan through Caspian Dagestan, devastating local communities. In 1335 a huge Golden Horde army invaded Shirvan and returned through Caspian Dagestan. In 1356–1357, 300,000 Tatar troops went to Shirvan and Northern Iran

and returned to the Terek River through Caspian Dagestan. The last big campaign of the Jochid Ulus dates to 1385, when 90,000 troops of Tokhtamysh Khan invaded Shirvan through Caspian Dagestan, remaining entrenched there until 1395.

All of these military actions broke out on the narrow Dagestani coastline, 3–10 km wide, the farmland of the local people. Part of the communities was destroyed, and the inhabitants of other communities moved to the foothills. In the final period of Mongol dominance sources note just one community in the region: Tarki (the suburbs of present-day Makhachkala), where Timur was encamped during his 1395 campaign.

Derbent was strongly affected by the military campaigns. Periodic assaults and seizures of the city led to the destruction of its fortifications and the reduction of its inhabited area. Arab geographer Abu'l-Fida (d. 1357) wrote that 'according to some travellers, Bab al-Hadid is a city similar to the villages on the Khazar Sea's shore... Bab al-Hadid is a minor, little-populated, small town' (Quoted in [Istoriya Dagestana, 2005, p. 235]). The reduction of the urban area in the Mongol period is also shown in the archaeological evidence [Gamzatov, 1982, p. 10].

Scholars note that the highland political units of central and north-western Dagestan were directly affected neither by the power of the Golden Horde nor by its military confrontation with the Hulaguid state. Even though the main burden of the Mongol invasion fell on the population of Caspian Dagestan, however, it was not completely absent for the mountain population. Traditional economic relations between the mountain and plain regions were destroyed, leading to stagnation.

The international land route through Caspian Dagestan and the marine transit route through Derbent to the lower reaches of the Volga were closed off in the Mongol period, affecting Dagestan's economic development, even though during the relative stand-down the rulers of the Golden Horde and the Hulaguid state tried to renew international trade.

Members of the family of the khan of the Golden Horde seized vast pastures in North-

ern Dagestan, bringing them into the service of the army for the territory's protection, and occasionally established the khans' headquarters and major commanders' summer camping grounds there, thus reducing grazing areas for the local population.

The sources contain no information about taxation of the Dagestani population on the territories ruled by the Golden Horde, but local lore preserved evidence of tribute in the form of girls for harems [Semenov, 1891].

The population of southern Dagestan, ruled by the Hulaguids, also suffered from the Mongols' military campaigns and was also subject to punitive actions (1301). On the territories bordering the Golden Horde the Ilkhans settled foreigners (Persian Muslims), providing them with land in exchange for military service and protection of the mountain crossings [Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza, 1988, pp. 209–210; Istoriya Dagestana, 2005, p. 230]. There were cases when the local population had to provide all necessary supplies to the Hulaguid army [Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza, 1988, p. 210].

During Hulaguid rule Derbent was included in the system of the state's economic development. It was home to the final post office, connected with the state post-road system. The local population had a responsibility to provide horses for the post office's needs. Authorities supported the city's economic development, encouraged the activities of craftsmen and merchants, and minted coins circulated in many countries [Istoriya Dagestana, 2005, p. 236; Gusev, 1995, pp. 89–90].

During the reign of Öz Beg Khan, when the Golden Horde reached the zenith of its political and economic prosperity and strengthened its international trade relations [Yegorov, 1985, pp. 47, 56], the role of Derbent in the Volga-Caspian trade grew [Gusev, 1995, p. 89; The History of Dagestan, 2005, pp. 236–237].

The Mongol presence in Dagestan affected the development of military affairs and construction. The highlanders adopted some modern forms of weaponry used by Mongol troops [Abakarov, 1974, pp. 256–261]. The scale of the construction of fortifications in the foothills and highlands increased [Istoriya Dages-

tana, 2005, pp. 286–287]. Artistic glazed pottery from cities of the Golden Horde spread in Derbent [Gamzatov, 1982, pp. 13, 15].

Researchers note the significant role of the Hulaguid and Golden Horde rulers in the further Islamisation of the Dagestani population (second stage) [Istoriya Dagestana, 2005, p. 252]. Berke Khan—in whose reign the Islamisation of the ruling class of the Golden Horde began—and his successors actively supported Muslims on their territory, including Dagestan. Merchants and traders were allowed privileges. The Golden Horde actively used Islam in their struggle with the Hulaguids. The ruling class of the Golden Horde supported the Muslim clergy of the North Caucasus

and the Volga Region, contributing to Islam's advancement in these regions. In the territories that were a part of the Hulaguid state during the reign of Gazan Khan, who adopted Islam and declared it the state religion [Istoriya Dagestana, 2005, p. 229], Muslims also had preferential rights.

The names of the Mongol khans, the members of their families, and their commanders are preserved in the place names of Dagestan, recording locations of their headquarters, appanages, military camps, routes of troop movements, and places of major battles [Gadzhieva, 2000, pp. 58–59, 61]. Dagestani folklore captured numerous instances of heroic struggle against the Mongol invasion.

CHAPTER 8

Foreign Policy of the Jochid Ulus

§ 1. Relationship with the Papacy

Alexander Yurchenko

In the 13th century the eastern policy of the Roman pontiffs was realised in the Crusades, the reverse side of which was the commercial expansion of Italian bankers and businessmen, while diplomatic missions were headed by members of the Franciscan and Dominican orders [Pelliot, 1922–1932, 23, pp. 3–30; 24, pp. 225–235; 28, pp. 3–84; Sinor, 1956, pp. 39–62]. Sometimes the case was simpler. For example, in 1271 the diplomatic message of Pope Gregory X to the Mongol Kublai Khan was carried to China by the Venetian merchants Niccolò and Maffeo Polo [The Travels of Marco Polo, 1956, pp. 48–49]. In 1278 Pope Nicholas III sent to Kublai a mission consisting of five Franciscans, headed by Gerardo of Prato and financed by Florentine bankers, who had lent 998 lire to the pope for this purpose [Golubovich, 1913, pp. 427–429; Soranzo, 1930, p. 238]. The collection of information was usually the responsibility of brothers from the mendicant orders; that was the mission of Hungarian Dominicans in 1237, whose route comprised the North Caucasus and the Volga Region [Sinor, 1952, pp. 589–602]. According to Vincent of Beauvais, the missionary brothers, who had a monastery in Georgia, investigated on commission from the pope the Nestorian priest named Rabban Ata, who was with the Mongol army and had significant authority [de Saint-Quentin, 1965, p. 70].

Turning to the language of symbols, we can indicate three elements that determined the driving forces of Papal policy: the sword, gold, and the cross. With all the conventionality and the metaphorical nature of such an approach, it clarifies the true reasons that affected the shift of the Curia's geopolitical interests from the Jochid Ulus to the Iran ruled by the

Ilkhans. The case is that it was equally possible to come into contact with the Mongol khans both in Eastern Europe and Asia Minor. It is no coincidence that the first Papal messages, having similar content and dated 5 and 13 March 1245, were given to the Franciscan Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, the Dominican Ascelin, and Brother Laurent de Portugal, who was sent by the Pope to the countries of the Middle East [Lupprian, 1981, pp. 141–149].

The route of the first mission lay through Poland and Rus', while the second lay over the Mediterranean Sea to the Transcaucasia. However, from the diplomatic point of view, the final result looked the same: both papal bulls were taken to Mongolia, Karakum, where the office of the great khan was preparing an answer. It is known that in matters of foreign policy, Batu Khan was guided by the decisions of the great khan, who in turn took into account the views of the kurultai members. At the request of Batu, diplomatic missions from the West or from the Caucasus were sent to Mongolia. Thus, initially the question of the geography of contacts was not of decisive importance for the Curia. Until 1260 the Mongol world appeared as one before the West. Accordingly, there is no reason to talk about the existence of an independent diplomatic programme involving close relations between the Holy See and the Jochid Ulus. The Curia tried to lay these contacts on the Russian princes Daniel Romanovich [Bolshakova, 1976, pp. 122–129; Lederer, 1961, pp. 191–192] and Alexander Nevsky [Roshko, 1988, pp. 92–114]. The princes were assigned to inform papal nuncios about Mongol plans [Matuzova, Nazarova, 2002, pp. 351–364].

After receiving comprehensive information from the Franciscan mission of 1245, the

pope declined to take further steps in this direction. Missionaries replaced diplomats. In Eastern Europe the Curia led only passive intelligence-gathering, in contrast with its diplomatic activity in Asia Minor Region. Soviet historiography saw double standards in this papal policy because, on the one hand, the popes hampered the rapprochement of Hungarian kings with the rulers of the Jochid Ulus, but themselves honourably held the embassies of the Ilkhans [Pashuto, 1961, pp. 210–211]. In fact, it was about setting priorities. Strategically, the Ilkhans were potential allies of the Crusaders, while the rulers of the Jochid Ulus, starting with Berke (1257–1266), were focused on a union with Egypt [Vernadsky, 1927, I].

Here is one of the early episodes of Western policy aimed at the conclusion of a treaty between the French and the Mongols. The diplomatic mission of the envoys of King Louis IX, which met with the regent Turakina in Mongolia in 1248, ended without result, according to Joinville. In 1253–1255 William of Rubruck, concealing his mission from Louis IX, conducted secret negotiations with Sartaq, Batu Khan, and the Great Khan Möngke about military aid to the Crusaders. It was about an alliance against the Egyptian sultan and the fate of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. We do not know the content of the negotiations or their results, but apparently it is not a coincidence that Louis, despite the Crusaders' desperate condition, did not leave the Holy Land and was waiting for a notification from his messenger. Regardless of these negotiations, in February 1258 Hulagu conquered Baghdad and Iran. In 1260 the Mongols, in alliance with the Armenians and the Franks, conquered Damascus, Aleppo, and other Syrian cities.

In the latter half of the 13th century the interests of Genoese and Venetian trading houses concentrated on Crimea and Mongol-ruled Iran. The map of the Genoese colonies surprisingly coincides with the map of Franciscan missions [After Marco Polo, 1968, pp. 56–59].

The dissolution of the Mongol Empire into a number of independent uluses and the military confrontation of the Golden Horde with the Persian Ilkhans most likely tweaked the policy of the Curia. Beginning in 1264



The Pope's Embassy to the Great Khan.
Miniature. France. After 1333.

the activity of contacts between the Holy See and rulers of the Golden Horde significantly lessened but strengthened the relationship with the Hulagu dynasty, because they had a common enemy—Mamluk Egypt. The Popes and Ilkhans were openly negotiating common military projects. At that period of time Indian spices arrived to Europe through Tabriz, bypassing Egypt, leading to the shift of the main caravan routes to the southern regions of Iran [Petrushevksy, 1937, p. 112].

Thus, a new diplomatic axis Genoa-Rome-Tabriz had taken shape. The Council of Lyon in 1274 gave priority to the relationship with the Persian Ilkhans [Borghesio, 1938, pp. 319–331; Roberg, 1973, pp. 241–302; Sinor, 1978, pp. 55–72].

That is the overview of the facts that allow for explaining why the successful mission of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, which was accepted by Batu Khan, was not followed by another. At least during the next one hundred years (until the embassy of Giovanni Marignoli who visited the Golden Horde in 1339–1340 on the way to Khanbaliq in the reign of Öz Beg Khan) there were no official contacts between Avignon and Sarai. Genoese consuls took up the initiative. Franciscans continued missionary activity on the territory of the Golden Horde, which is evidenced by the letter of Friar Johanca the Hungarian to the head of the Order, brother Michele da Cesena [Anninsky, 1940, pp. 90–94]. As the starting point for the re-

view of the relationships between the Holy See and the Mongol Khans shall be considered the events of the Fifth crusade, namely the period of battles in Damietta in 1219–1221. Among the crusaders there spread a rumour about an extraordinary ally that inflicted a crushing defeat on the Muslims in the east and which will soon appear near the borders of Egypt [Zancke, 1879, pp. 1–22].

Obviously, this concerned the military campaign of Chinggis Khan against Khwarezm-Shah. The leaders of Crusaders imagined Chinggis Khan as a descendant of the legendary Prester John, and this association was supported by information about the actual success of the Mongols in Iran [Kunik, 1854, pp. 761–764]. In 1219 Mongol troops approached the eastern boundaries of the Baghdad caliphate. The Crusaders assumed that their new ally in the fight against the Muslims was ready to help to protect the Holy Sepulchre. Such surprising news generated incredible hope in the hearts of Crusaders, who, however, ended up with great disappointment. But we are more interested in the motivation that determined the behaviour of the Papal legates in the Middle East.

Following the conquest of Damietta, an Arab book of prophecy was found, and it promised the Crusaders a happy way out of their difficulties. The 'Book of Clement' contained a prediction that when the seaside city of Egypt is conquered, at the same time with it will fall Alexandria and Damascus, and two kings, one from the west and one from the east, will meet in the same year in Jerusalem [Rishar, 2002, p. 214]. 'Rex David,' as he was named in the letter of the legate Pelagius to the Pope Honorius III, was already a ten days' journey from Baghdad. The expected tsar from the West was Frederick II, whose coronation was held in November 1220. In 1222 Easter fell on 3 April, and all the dates matched up, which meant that the power of Islam was going to fall within one year. At the same time, the Bishop of Acre, Jacques de Vitry, having received written messages from Count Raymond of Tripoli concerning intelligence in Eastern Turkestan, spread the report of Rex David [Relatio de Davide rege Tartarorum Christiano]. This step was a kind of addendum to the book of prophecies,

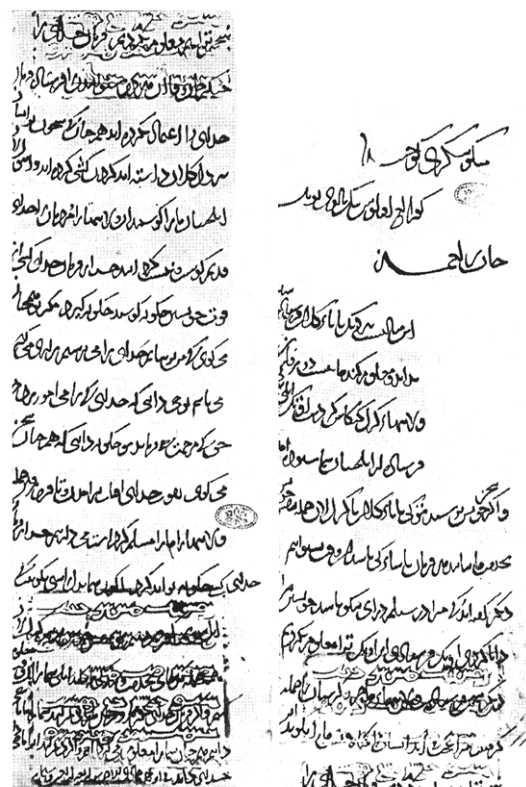
the translation of which was initiated by Pelagius. As a result of the work of both prelates, the western chronicles received the following message.

The Chronicle of Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, dated 1221, describes the campaign of the legendary king David, called Prester John, whose kingdom was located to the east of Persia: 'King David or, as some say, his son had passed through Cumania and defeated several thousand Russians, and it is said that then they destroyed the great city of Tornax—that is, Ornachia, which was frequently visited by merchants from remote countries' [MGH, 1874, p. 911]. The city of Ornachia or Ornas is the city of Urgench, the capital of Khwarezm Shah [The Vinland Map, 1965, pp. 102–104]. As for the aforementioned Cumania and Russians, this major event reflects the reconnaissance campaign of two Mongol tumens headed by Subedei-Bahadur and Jebe-Noyon, which passed from Iran to the Black Sea Steppes through Derbent and defeated Russian and Polovtsian detachments on the Kalka River. Soon Pope Honorius III received a letter from the Georgian Queen Rusudan [1224], which partially clarified the situation [MGH, 1883, p. 178 ff.]. The imaginary allies of the crusaders were the Mongols. According to Vincent de Beauvais [de Saint-Quentin, p. 178 ff.], the reconnaissance missions of the Curia were still collecting information about Transcaucasia, but the Mongols disappeared from the sight of Papal diplomacy up until the events of 1240–1242, when the troops of Batu invaded Poland, Hungary, and Dalmatia. Starting then the Curia began the rigorous collection of information on this formidable opponent because it was a real threat to the very existence of the Christian World. It will be recalled that the report of Dominican intelligence (the travels of Friar Julian to the Volga Region in 1237 by the initiative of the Hungarian king Bela) was immediately sent to the papal legate Salvio de' Salvi [Dörrie, 1956, pp. 129–135]. According to Matthew Paris's chronicle, in 1238 the Ismailit embassy arrived at the court of the French king Louis IX and informed him that 'from the northern mountains rushed some tribe of men, monstrous and inhuman, and cap-

tured vast fertile lands of the east, devastated Great Hungary, and sent frightening messages with formidable embassies' [Matuzova, 1979, p. 135]. The reference by the Ismailits to Great Hungary, the legendary ancestral home of the Ancient Hungarians, localised in the Volga Region, seems extremely surprising. Most probably, Matthew Paris got this message from the account of Julian, which in particular states the following: 'When, by the virtue of obedience to the mandate entrusted to me, I had to go to Great Hungary together with the brothers who were given to me to complete the journey as my companions, and we, desiring to complete the task entrusted to us, having reached the remote areas of Ruthenia, we succeeded in obtaining factual evidence that all the Bascarts, that is how the pagan Hungarians are called, as well as the Bulgars and many other kingdoms had been destroyed by Tatars.'

At the Council of Lyon in 1245, among the five disasters befallen the Christian World, Pope Innocent IV, first of all, mentioned the German Emperor Frederick II and the Mongol threat. Open to the outside world, Innocent IV was the initiator of broad diplomatic activity for the Curia. Last but not least, he was interested in precise information on the Mongols. It was in Lyon, at the court of Innocent IV, when the western world acquired for the first time accurate information about Mongols from a direct participant of those events, the Russian archbishop Petr, 'a honest, pious, and credible man' [Matuzova, 1979, p. 151]. If in the first bullae the Pope calls Mongols the 'Messengers of Satan and servants of the Tartars' [Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, 1874–1875, I, II, No. 11096], then the letter, which was taken to the east by the nuncius of the Holy See Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, contained significant diplomatic flexibility.

In the context of the entitled mission, Friar Giovanni was granted the broad authority of the Papal legate. Most likely, diplomatic travel to the Middle Asia was unplanned as the Pope did not send any gifts with the envoys. The messenger had to go to the nearest Mongol troop, and the route through Eastern Europe was chosen for this task. On the way, in Poland, the mission was joined by Friar Benedict Polo-



Letter of the Great Khan Güyük to Pope Innocent. Vatican

nus. In the preface of his book, Friar Giovanni made a note about the important role of this member of the mission: 'We had the decree of the Arch-priest to examine and consider everything carefully, which was fervently carried out both by us and Friar Benedict Polonius, [belonging] to the same order, who accompanied us in our need and served as translator' [Giovanni da Pian del Carpine. Book of the Tartars. Preface] [In Latin: (Carpine, 1989)]. The report of Friar Benedict was preserved in the short summary of Friar C. de Bridia [The Christian world, 2002]. The story of Friar Benedict is also known in the record of an anonymous writer, a Cologne scholar.

In this case we are interested just in one thing—the perception of the Jochid Ulus ruler among the members of the mission as a potential diplomatic partner of the Curia. Which terms were used by the Franciscans to describe the domains of Batu Khan? To answer this question, we will refer to the record of Friar Benedict's story, written by the Cologne schol-

ar. The anonymous writer states the following: 'By means of Conrad, the Polish Duke, envoys reached Kiev, the city of Rus', which now is under Tartar dominion. Rulers of this city provided them with guides for six days, up to the first Tartar watch, located near the appanage of Cumania' [Relatio fr. Benedicti Poloni. §1] [Sinica Franciscana, 1929, p. 134]. The dependence of Kiev on the Mongols is defined by the term *servitus* 'subordination, subjection, submission.' At the same time, according to Friar Giovanni, there were Italian merchants in Kiev in June 1247, and they arrived there from Constantinople. These people represented the interests of the leading trading houses of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Acre [Pelliot, 1973, pp. 73–74]. It is possible that the Italian merchants were buying not furs but slaves in Kiev. There is a famous papal bulla, dated 1 October 1246, sent to the patriarch of Jerusalem, legate of the Apostolic Curia and all archbishops assigned in the Jerusalem Kingdom, which sometimes condemns the trade of Russian slaves [Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, 1874, I, p. 1039, No. 12283]. The bulla states that some merchants from Pisa and Venice, sailing on ships from Constantinople, were taking to the Jerusalem Kingdom many Christians—Greeks, Bulgars, Russians, and Vlachs, both women and men, and were selling them to the Saracens. Many of the sold Christians were treated by their owners as slaves, and they used to flee to the church to prelates and insist that they were free and unjustly enslaved (for more on the slaves that were taken from Kaffa to the Mediterranean and sold, see: [Yemanov, 1995, p. 130]).

Let's return to the story of Friar Benedict. The steppe area between the Dnieper and Volga, controlled by the Mongols, 'was organised' in a specific way, as one can cross it only by moving from one watch [custodis] to another. The world that opened in front of the envoys was socially ordered. It should be noted that in exchange for gifts, the envoys were guaranteed safety and speedy movement. The skins of beavers and badgers were used as gifts. 'When the heads of the watch realised that they were envoys of the Pope, they requested and received gifts. Both of the Friars Giovanni and Benedict, as they were ordered, left the

third Friar there, who was ill, with the horses and servants, which they had taken with them on the horses of Tartars, and were taken safely across to the second watch along with their belongings. Horses were changed at the numerous watches' [Relatio fr. Benedicti Poloni. §2] [Sinica Franciscana, 1929, pp. 135–136]. On the third day envoys arrived to the commander of the troops who was managing eight thousand warriors. His name was Korentsa [*Cureniza*]. In Russian chronicles he is known as *Kuremsa* [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, column No. 806]. The Ulus of Kuremsa was located in the western part of Batu's domains, sharing a border with the territory of the Russian principalities. Kuremsa asked the envoys what was the purpose of their travel and what was their occupation, and then he gave them three guides who looked after the horses and food until they arrived to the orda of Batu. The servants of Batu requested gifts and received 40 beaver skins and 80 badger skins.

It is interesting that the lands subject to the Mongols are called Cumania by the Franciscans, in relation to the names of the former owners of this territory—the Comans [that is how the Kipchaks were called in Western sources]. The Armenian historian of the 13th century Kirakos Gandzaketsi also called the domains of Batu Khan Cumania: 'The great commander Baty on the north settled his residence on the shore of the Caspian Sea and the great river Atl [Itil], which does not have any equal because it spreads like a sea because of the flat terrain. There, in the great and vast Kipchak Valley, he settled with his huge, immeasurable troops, and they lived in tents, and when they moved to a new place, they moved the tents in carts, harnessing many oxen and horses' [Gandzeketsi, 1976, chapter No. 55]. Envoys spent five weeks travelling from Kiev to the camp of Batu on the Itil River. 'Then Batu listened to the message, and weighing his every word, with his letter in five days, that is on the third day of Easter, sent them with the aforementioned Tatars, their guides, to the homeland of the Tartars to the son of the great emperor, and his son's name was Kuyuk-kan.' Friar Benedict says that in these two weeks they

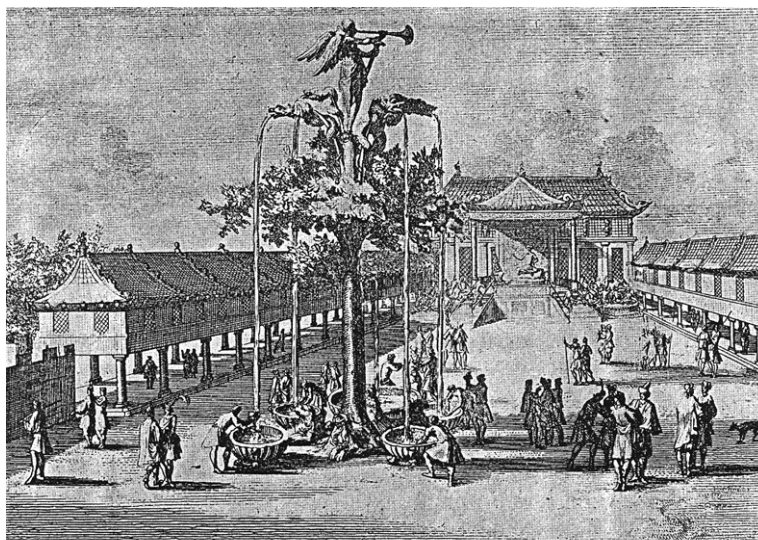
had crossed Cumania. According to the scholar, on the border of Cumania they had crossed the river known as Yaik, behind which was the land of the Kangyts [Kangly]. They stayed on the road for twenty days and did not encounter anyone. The land of the Kangyts was covered with many salty bogs and streams, which were mistaken by the scholar with the Maeotian Swamp. The Mongol presence in the steppes between the Dnieper and Volga is obvious.

What indicates, in the opinion of external observers, the inclusion of these territories into the political space of the Mongol Empire? The western diplomats note two circumstances. First of all, the change of the nomadic elites: things that earlier belonged to the Kipchak khans were now at the disposal of the Mongol Khans and tsareviches. The nomadic orda of Batu Khan was seasonally moving along the eastern bank of the Volga River, while the orda of Sartaq, son of Batu, migrated along the western bank. Other members of Jochid clan with their hordes migrated along the Don and Yaik Rivers. As it was eloquently stated by William of Rubruck, 'they had divided between each other all of Scythia, stretching from the Danube River to sunrise; and every leader knows the sizes of his pastures, depending on how many people are under his rule, and also where he shall graze his herds in the winter, summer, spring, and autumn. In winter they go down to the south, closer to the warm countries, but in summer they go up to the north to the colder countries' [Itinerarium. II. 1] [Sinica Franciscana, 1929, p. 132]. Marco Polo, who was aware of Mongol affairs, accounted the domains of the descendants of Jochi as follows: 'The first tsar of the Western Tatars was Sain; he was a strong and powerful tsar. This tsar Sain conquered Rosia, Cumania, Alania, Lak, Mengiar, Zich, Guchia, and Khazaria; all of these regions were conquered by tsar Sain himself. Before he conquered them, they were possessed by the Comans, but they were not united and did not represent a single tsardom, and that is when the Comans lost their lands and were dispersed around the world. Those who stayed there were enslaved by this tsar Sain' [Book of Marco Polo, 1956, pp. 227–228]. According to J.A. Boyle, the term sayin that means 'good' is

a stable term to refer to the dead (Boyle, 2002, pp. 28–30.)]

The second circumstance, noted by the Franciscans, relates to the change of 'sanctuaries.' Numerous Polovtsian statues, depicting the portrait of dead leaders and permanently installed on high mounds, were replaced by a single golden idol statue of Chinggis Khan. All foreigners, coming to the Horde of Batu Khan, had to bow to the statue. According to the Franciscans, the idol statue of Chinggis Khan was installed on a special cart and thus served as a 'mobile sanctuary' [Yurchenko, 2002a, 245–260].

The information of western observers about Mongol diplomatic ceremony can be used in the description of the positional inclusion of 'new' subjects into the imperial hierarchy. At the khan's receptions, foreign rulers and envoys were seated away from the centre and, as it is mentioned, the Franciscans, at the back of their Mongol guides, because foreigners were not subjects of the great khan. The sitting order reflects the structure of Mongol society, and foreign rulers, whose political fate was not yet determined by the great khan, and envoys from remote countries were outside of this society. Describing the importance of this or that place during the Mongol ceremonies, the South Song diplomat Pen Da-ya [1233] notes another feature: 'As for the 'difference between' seats (according to the degree of honour), the most honourable seats are at the centre, then the right [side], and the left [side] is considered even lower' [Lin Kyun-i Munkuyev, 1960, p. 141]. According to Friar Giovanni, the foreign envoys, which have not yet been to the headquarters of the great khan, during the meeting with Batu Khan should have been on the left side of the yurt, while on the return trip, they were always seated on the right [Giovanni da Pian del Carpine. Book about Tartars. IX. 17]. This change was related not only to the increase in the status of the envoys but also to a kind of inclusion into imperial society. Following the ceremony of presentation to the Mongol emperor, the envoys became his 'subjects,' that is why they were under his protection. The right to have a seat on 'the right hand side' of the great khan meant the acquisition of a specif-



Silver Tree Erected
by Master William.
Engraving to the First Edition
of the Book by William
of Rubruck. 1735.

ports of medieval European diplomats.

The term Horde [*orda*] is extensively used in the reports of the Franciscan mission of 1245. In different contexts *orda* means 'camp, quarters, tent of a Mongol khan or his family members' [cf.: (Sevortyan,

1974, pp. 470–472)]. Thus, for example, it is said in Friar Benedict's report that *Staciones can et principum ordea Tartarice appellantur* 'khans and princes' camps are called in Tatar *ordas*' [C. de Bridia. *The History of Tatars* §38]. Friar Giovanni writes: *Vnde, cum essemus ante Ordam (sic enim stationes imperatoris apudeos et principum appellantur)* 'when we faced the Horde (this is what they call camps of the emperor and princes' (Giovanni da Pian del Carpine. *The Book about the Tatars*. I. 5)]. In D. Sinor's opinion, *orda* in this case means home—*domus* or a tent—*tentorium* [Sinor, 1970, p. 546]. Apparently, this is just one of the meanings of the word *orda* because the place where the khan stayed included homes for his wives, retinue, and guards who provided day and night security for the khan's tent. By *sira orda* Friar Giovanni implies the large Emperor's court. Similarly, 'the great orda' is defined by the Southern Song diplomat Peng Daya, when he talks about the tents of the empresses and the camps of other subjects. In some other place, Giovanni notes that *orda* is a court: *orda sive curia* [Giovanni da Pian del Carpine. *The Book about the Tatars*. IX. 25].

All the rituals described above occurred in the khans' Horde. The Horde was a political, administrative, and sacral centre, the keystone organising the living space of the nomadic world. It is no wonder that legates included this word in their common language (along with the other two terms: the title *khan*, interpreting it as 'emperor,' and the biggest troop unit defined as *shumen*, turkic *tümen* 'ten thousands'). *Khan*, *horde*, and *shumen* are the three terms that immediately became common in the re-

ports of medieval European diplomats.

The problem, however, is in the interpretation of the term *stacio*, which depending on the context, was used by the Franciscans to define a dwelling [yurt or tent], or a camp of nomads. The closest word for the Latin term *stacio* is 'encampment' [Pers. *ugruk*], used by

Rashid al-Din with regard to Chinggis-Khan's sons [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 257]. The term *stacio* is used to describe a specifically arranged space inside which the horde was located. Additionally, Friar Giovanni calls the golden tent of Güyük where the coronation ceremony of the great khan took place, the *golden horde* [*orda aurea*]. Naming the golden tent 'golden horde' reflects the realia of the Mongol imperial way of life [Serruys, 1962, p. 356–378].

The Horde is always associated with the khan, which is actually reported by the Franciscans. For somebody to have an idea of what the horde, that is the quarters of the Mongol emperor or 'prince', looked like, the description of Batu's camp by William of Rubruck gets to the point. 'When I saw the court [*curia*] of Batu, I shuddered because his own houses looked like a big town stretched lengthwise and surrounded by people from all sides for a whole three or four levgas [approximately 11.5–15.5 km]. And just like the people of Israel knew on which side of the tent everyone should have put up their tents, they know in which direction of the court they should stand when setting up their dwellings. That's why they call the courthorde in their language which means the middle because [the master of the court] is always in the middle [surrounded] by his people, with the one exception being that nobody stands precisely to the south [of the tent] because the gates of the court open in that direction. But to the right and to the left they spread out to any extent they wish according to the site's requirements, only avoiding placing themselves right in front of the court or on the opposite side of the court' [Itinerarium. XIX. 4] [Sinica Franciscana, 1929, p. 212–213]. The Biblical text Friar William refers to is Num. 1, 50–54; 2, 1–31. Biblical language is used here for a reason—*tabernaculum* and *tentoria* [in the Russian synodical translation of the Bible: *tabernacle* and *camp*].

The first phrase of the passage cited is not instantaneously clear, as one would think that not only Batu's 'own houses' but the entire camp should have looked like a town. Another citation from Friar William's writing provides an explanation: 'Batu has twenty six wives, each

having a big house apart from other small ones [houses], which are set up behind the big ones. They look like rooms in which slaves live, and besides, each of these houses can also have two hundred double wagons adjoining them. And when they set up their houses, the first wife sets up her court the first in the Western direction followed by the others according to their statuses, so that the last wife will find herself in the Eastern end, and the distance between the court of one mistress and the court of another mistress will be equal to one stone throw. Therefore the court of one rich Moal will look like a big town, though there will be very few men in it' [Itinerarium. II. 4] [Sinica Franciscana, 1929, p. 173–174]. The word *curia* used by Friar William corresponds to the Mongol word *ordu*. As for the erroneous translation of the word *orda* as 'middle', proposed by Friar William, P. Pelliot assumes that the author confused the Mongol word *ordu* 'palais, campement central' with the Turkic word *urta* or *orta* 'middle', which, in his opinion, serves as additional proof of the Turkic language environment Friar William found himself in [Pelliot, 1973, p. 106]. A circle, as a nomadic settlement and troop formation, is observed among many nomads of the Eurasian steppes apart from the Mongols [Pletneva, 1964].

In the dictionary 'Codex Cumanicus' [1303] the translation of *ordu* from the Latin word *curia* means that the dictionary makers understood the term horde [*orda*] as 'the khan's court'. It is noteworthy that in the Persian column of the dictionary no equivalent was found to this word, the same *ordu* stands there as well [Pelliot, 1949, p. 49]. The Western Latin sources of the 13–14th centuries name the khan's quarters and military camp *orda*. On Italian maps near *Saray Grando* 'New Saray' *L'ordo de Saray*, that is 'Sarai Horde' is shown [Chekalin, 1890, II, 2]. The Venetian diplomat and traveler of the 15th century Giosafat Barbaro explains that the *orda* is a peoplehood controlled by the khan—«lordò zoè populo» [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 140, 168, note 40]. Barbaro finds an interesting image for *orda* as 'a town on wheels': 'Except that their camps are not surrounded by walls, – we view them as the largest and most beautiful towns'; 'as soon as the ruler stops,

they immediately spread out bazaars, leaving wide roads. Once the bazaars are set up, they immediately prepare their hearths, fry and boil meat and cook their meals using milk, butter and cheese. They always have game meat, especially deer. There are craftsmen in their troop—weavers, blacksmiths, gunsmiths and others, and, in general, all the necessary crafts can be found among them' [Ibid. p. 471–472].

The materials of European diplomats make it clear that the Golden Horde was perceived as an actual participant in international politics. The language describing the institutions of state power in the Golden Horde demonstrates

their inclusion into Western political practice. The Christian world had expanded its cultural horizon. If before the beginning of the 13th century in religious treatises depicting a fictitious dispute between the three adherers of world's religions involved three characters, a Christian, a Muslim and a Jew, then by the end of this century a fourth participant of the dialog appeared—'a Tatar'. Most likely this news was associated with tolerance brought to the level of law. The time of apocalyptic expectations and fictitious rumours gave way to the time of testing mutual interests, gathering information, reasonable prognoses and utopian projects.

§ 2. Military and Political Contacts with Byzantium and the Balkan Countries

István Vásáry

1.1. The First Conquest of the Balkans by the Tatars. The period of Tatar influence in the Balkans lasted for more than 100 years, beginning with the great Tatar campaign against Europe in 1242 until the reign of Janibek [1342–1357] in the Golden Horde. Then, because of the political confusion following the death of Berdibek Khan [1359], the Tatar state lost all its influence and interests in the Balkans. This one hundred year period can be approximately divided into three stages. The increasing power of Nogai, the ruler of most of the Western territories of Ulus of Jochi, is typical of the first stage. The end of this stage is marked by the death of three rulers of the region: the Bulgarian tsar Constantine Tikh died in 1277, the khan of the Golden Horde Mengu-Timur died in 1280, and the Byzantine Emperor, the founder of the Palaiologos dynasty, Michael VIII died in 1282. The change of power in these countries resulted in the slackening and collapse of Bulgaria and Byzantium, while the power of the Tatar leader grew higher than ever before. Within a very short period, his son even managed to secure his hold on the Bulgarian throne. The zenith of Tatar influence in the Balkans ended with the death of Nogai [1300] and his son Cheke [1301]. Finally, the last phase of fading Tatar influence in the Balkans falls

on the period between 1302 and middle of the 14th century.

On receiving the notification of the death of the great khan Ögedei on December 11, 1241, Batu-khan's warriors immediately left the devastated Hungarian kingdom and headed towards their Asian homeland, but one contingent of the Tatar army under the command of Kadan advanced to Dalmatia, chasing the king Bela IV. Having failed to catch him, they left Dalmatia for Bulgaria. At the same time the main forces of the Tatars, commanded by Batu-khan, trooped along the Danube against Bulgaria. [Hammer-Purgstall, 1840, S.124–126; Spuler, 1965, S.24]. The Tatar armies began to devastate Bulgaria but did not encounter any actual resistance from the Bulgarians. One would think that the weakened Bulgarian Regency accepted the Tatar suzerainty, thus avoiding the horrible devastation which occurred in Hungary as a result of the strong resistance of King Bela IV [for a good analysis of the Tatar invasion into Hungary in 1242 see: (Pavlov, Atanasov, 1994)]. The submission of Bulgaria to the Tatars by way of paying tribute to the Tatar state was the price they had to pay for peace. In 1253, eleven years after the submission of Bulgaria to the Tatars, William of Rubruck in his famous travelling notes clearly

stated that the Bulgarians paid a tribute to them [Wyngaert, 1929, p. 167–168, 331].

The submission to Tatar rule should have been of a formal and rather free character. Then the restoration of the Byzantine Empire in 1261 by the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos created absolutely new power relations in the Middle East and the Balkans, which also changed the relative indifference of the Tatars to the Balkan states. The Emir of the Golden Horde, Nogai, was the person who pursued Tatar policy in the Balkans during the last four decades of the 13th century.

1.2. Emir Nogai. Nogai was a key person in Tatar history since he was a Chinggisid, one of the great grandsons of Jochi [see: [Veselovsky, 1922, p. 2–3; Pelliot, 1949, p. 10–28, 52–54]]. The young oghlan distinguished himself for the first time in the war against the Hulaguids at the battle on the River Terek in 1255/56 [653 A.H.], where he lost an eye from a spear strike [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 96, 121, 131, 152]. Nogai, like his great uncle Berke, converted to Islam [Vásáry, 1990; CWRHGH, 1884, p. 77, 99], most probably, soon after the conversion of the khan in the 1250s. Beginning in the 1260s, emir Nogai became the absolute owner of the most western territories of the Golden Horde, stretching out from the River Don up to the Lower Danube. Although he was not a khan, he behaved in the above mentioned territories as a true sovereign, therefore Russian chronicles frequently called him a tsar [the Russian translation and equivalent to the word khan] and described him as a ruler equal to the khans of the Golden Horde [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, p. 241]. The region of the Lower Danube and Northern Bulgaria fell directly under his sphere of influence.

1.3. The Tatars Release Izz al-Din in Thrace in 1264. After the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos had restored the power of Byzantium in Constantinople in 1261, a new period of history began. Before 1261, the Egypt of Sultan Baybars and the Latin Empire had not had direct contacts, and the conversion of Berke-khan to Islam in 1250s gave an impetus to Egypt to develop a close relationship with Ulus of Jochi. In 1263, Baybars sent his

ambassadors to Berke, but they were arrested at the Byzantine court. [see: (Vernadsky, 1927, p. 77, etc.; Ostrogorsky, 1940, S.328–329; Pavlov, 1989)]. The arrest of the Egyptian ambassadors was exacerbated by the fact that Izz al-Din, the former sultan of Iconia, was held as a hostage, and the Egyptians also demanded his release. These events created the grounds for the military intervention against Byzantium carried out by Berke-khan in 1264 in order to release Izz al-Din from captivity.

'Izz al-Din Kaika'us became the Seljuk ruler in 1245. It was a troubled historical period, two years after the Mongols' victory at Köse Dag, when the Seljuks submitted to the Tatars. 'Izz al-Din and his younger stepbrother Rukn al-Din Kilic Arslan, and 'Ala al-Din Kaikobad were often just instruments in the political games of the Mongol rulers, Seljuk emirs and Byzantine emperors. After a long fight for power, 'Izz al-Din together with his wife, sons and escort had to flee [about 'Izz al-Din's life see: (EI, 1927, II, p. 682–683; Ā, 1992, VI, p. 642–645; EI2, 1971, III, p. 846–847)]. First he rushed to Antalya, from where he fled to the emperor Michael Palaiologos VIII some time before the latter reconquered Constantinople from the Latins on July 25, 1261 [Duda, 1943, p. 135].

'Izz al-Din was welcomed cordially by Michael Palaiologos but the warm relationship between them soon became strained, and the sultan was imprisoned in a fortress [Houtsma, 1902, p. 296–298; İşıltan, 1943, p. 55, 58–59; Flemming, 1964, S.29; CWRHGH, 1884, p. 200, 203]. Then he turned to the Tatars of the Golden Horde asking for help. Bulgaria had had hostile relations with Byzantium since 1262, when the Byzantines captured Fillipopol [Plovdiv], Stanimak, Mesembria [Nesebar] and Anchialos, so, they were also against Byzantium. The Tatar and Bulgarian warriors soon appeared in the Balkans where Tatar troops were a dominating element [Schopeni, 1829, I, p. 100; van Dieten, I, p. 114].

It was winter and the Tatar troops crossed the frozen Danube [Houtsma, 1902, p. 297]. According to Pachymeres, the Tatars who took part in the expedition were independent or 'autonomous', and they were not entirely submit-

ted to Nogai [Failler, Laurent, 1984, p. 303]. It is most likely that Nogai himself did not participate in that campaign, and the Tatars did not have a direct political goal, in contrast to the Bulgarians whose goal was to capture the Byzantine emperor. According to general opinion, this campaign clearly demonstrates the vassal dependence of Bulgaria on the Tatars of the Golden Horde, as Bulgaria was required to participate in the Tatar campaign with its auxiliary troops [see e. g.: (van Dieten, I, p. 247, n.176)]. Despite the generally accepted viewpoint of historians, this was not a Tatar 'state campaign' carried out by Nogai with the help of the Bulgarian auxiliary troops of tsar Constantine Tikh against Byzantium [Nikov, 1929, p. 109–110], but rather on the contrary, the Bulgarians wanted this campaign against Byzantium, and semi-independent Tartar groups of the Danube region willingly joined the expedition in the hope of a good haul. The release of sultan Izz al-Din was just a secondary goal of certain authoritative forces in the Golden Horde.

We can conclude with certainty that the release of 'Izz al-Din took place in 1263–1264, during the reign of Berke-khan. The later fate of 'Izz al-Din after his release was beyond the range of the Byzantine authors. But the Islamic sources hint at his life in Tatar exile. 'Izz al-Din was in the Crimea where Berke-khan presented him the provinces Solkhat and Sugdaia [Houtsma, 1902, p. 298]. Additionally, one of Berke's daughters, Urbay Khatun, was married off to him [SWRHGH, 1884, p. 81, 103, 482, 511]. He remained in the Golden Horde, in the capital city Saray, until his death in 1278/1279 [677 A.H.].

1.4. Nogai's Marriage to the Byzantine Princess in 1272. In 1271, new Tatar aggression against Byzantium occurred. This time the Tatars were invited by Sebastokrator Ioannes, the ruler of Thessalia, and Andronikos Tarkhanotis to attack Byzantium [Ostrogorsky, 1940, S.329]. These events convinced emperor Michael to settle his relations with the new power in Ulus of Jochi. First he married off one of his daughters, Maria, to Ilhan Abaka [Failler, Laurent, 1984, p. 234–235], then, in 1272 he made peace with emir Nogai, and as proof of union married off to him his other illegiti-

mate daughter Euphrosyne [Ibid., p. 242–243; Schopeni, 1829, I, p. 149] [Nicephoros Gregoras calls the emperor's daughter Irene]. Thus, the leaders of both Tatar states [Iran and the western part of the Golden Horde] became brothers-in-law and allies. The political aim and significance of these marriages were absolutely obvious for contemporaries. Thanks to the skillful maneuvering of emperor Michael, Byzantium could rely on a friendly circle of allies which surrounded a circle of hostile forces neighbouring Byzantium. Thus, Hulaguid Iran controlled the Ikonik Sultanate, Nogai and his Tatars held Bulgaria in their hands firmly and the Hungarian kingdom oversaw Serbia. Starting in 1273 and onward, Nogai who once had been an enemy, now became a close ally who helped Byzantium, even against the Bulgarians if needed. Soon an opportunity for an intervention occurred.

1.5. The Role of the Tatars in the Fight for the Bulgarian Throne in 1277–1280. In 1277 a new period of political instability came about in Bulgaria. In the spring of 1277, a large-scale peasants' revolt burst out, and this movement was accompanied by a fight for the Bulgarian throne which lasted until 1280 [these hard years in Bulgarian history were the subject of research in: (Zlatarski, 1940; Mutaftchiyev, 1943)]. The best source which describes the events credibly is again Pachymeres, while Nicephorus also adds some details [Failler, Laurent, 1984, p. 549–569, 589–591; Schopeni, 1829, I, p. 130–133; van Dieten, I, p. 129–131]. A strong pretender to the throne appeared in the rural area in the person of an illiterate swineherd named Ivaylo [see: (Zlatarski, 1940, p. 544 et seq.; Failler, Laurent, 1984, p. 549; Schopeni, 1829, I, p. 131; van Dieten, I, p. 130)]. The heart of the revolt must have been somewhere in the northeast of Bulgaria, close to the region which was later known under the name of Dobruja. Ivaylo's troops won victories one after another, and by the autumn of 1277 the formidable and invincible Tartars had to leave Bulgaria and retreat to the left bank of the Danube, to their homeland. Ivaylo approached the capital Tarnovo, then in a showdown fight, the tsar Constantine's army was destroyed and he himself was killed by Ivaylo [Failler, Lau-

rent, 1984, p. 551–553]. By the beginning of 1278, the rebels were already near Tarnovo, the capital without its ruler. At this moment, the emperor of Byzantium Michael decisively interfered in the Bulgarian affairs. First he married off one of his daughters to Ivan, son of Mitso, a refugee of distinguished birth, who was in the civil service in Byzantium. Ivan was the grandson of Asen II, so he had a legitimate right to the Bulgarian throne. Shortly after the wedding this Ivan, Mitso's son, was declared the Bulgarian tsar under the name of Ivan Asen III. He gave an oath of loyalty to emperor Michael VIII and set off for Tarnovo with Byzantine troops in order to assert imperial rights to Bulgaria.

In the spring of 1278, Tsarina Maria gave in and opened the gates of Tarnovo to the pretender to the throne Ivaylo, providing he would recognize her son Michael as the lawful heir to the throne. Ivaylo then immediately married her and was crowned tsar. At this moment the Byzantine emperor sought help from his brother-in-law – emir Nogai who sent his Tatar troops to Bulgaria. The emergence of Tatar troops in Dobruja changed the course of events. Beginning in the autumn of 1278, Ivaylo's rebels had to fight on two fronts, Ivaylo himself headed for the citadel Dristor [now Silistra] which had been under siege by the Tatars for 3 months. In the spring of 1279, the united Byzantine and Tatar forces were besieging Tarnovo, the Bulgarian boyars realized that their situation was hopeless. They devised a plot, captured Tsarina Maria and her son Michael and handed them over to the Byzantines who sent them to Constantinople. Ivan Asen III took hold of the throne, and Ivaylo failed to return to Tarnovo.

The Tatar troops helped to conquer Tarnovo. If the Tatar army had not distracted Ivaylo in the north, the Byzantine troops would have failed to advance from the northern fortresses of the Haimos mountain to the northern Black Sea Region, from where they managed to launch the final victorious attack against the rebels. The emperor Michael VIII fully recognized the Tatars and awarded the Tatar commander Chavush Bashi (Τζαβουσπάξης) with the honourable title of Protostrator [see:

(Moravcsik, 1958, II, p. 310; Zachariadou, 1978, p. 265–266)].

However, the Bulgarian boyars, just as they did not want Ivaylo on the Bulgarian throne, were suspicious of the new tsar, a Byzantine puppet—Ivan Asen III. Neither of them was the right person. On the contrary, George Terter was popular in Tarnovo, who was a boyar equal to them in status [who was elected the new tsar a year later, in 1280]. Terter's family was also of Kipchak [Cuman] origin, just like the family of the Asenids. Moreover, the Terterids had a mutual maternal ancestry [about George Terter see: (Zlatarski, 1940, p. 570–575)]. The Byzantine emperor knew that Ivan Asen III did not enjoy any support among the Bulgarian aristocracy, so he wanted to get this support by connecting Terter with the new tsar and Byzantium. As was agreed, Terter divorced his Bulgarian wife who together with their son Svetoslav [later the ruler Theodor Svetoslav: 1300–1321] were outlawed. He himself married the sister of Ivan Asen III and received the title of despot. The fact that the Bulgarians and Byzantines lost the support of Chavush Bashi, who had been removed from this high post by George Terter, was the price they paid for empowering Terter. The insulted Tatar commander went over to Ivaylo. But Terter had never given up the idea to become tsar, and he devised a plot with the help of the boyars. Ivan Asen III lost the support of the nobility and after several months of holding the Bulgarian throne left Tarnovo secretly and headed for Constantinople through Mesembria. All this had happened by the end of 1279. In the next year, 1280, George Terter was elected the Bulgarian tsar.

Then Ivaylo, together with his new ally, the Tatar commander Chavush Bashi, decided to seek refuge from the Tatar emir Nogai. Nogai welcomed them cordially and promised to help. But the news about Ivaylo's staying at Nogai's court caused anxiety in Byzantium, and emperor Michael sent his brother-in-law, ex-tsar Ivan Asen III, to Nogai, his other brother-in-law, in order to ensure his support in regaining the Bulgarian throne. A very difficult situation was created, as two Bulgarian pretenders to the throne simultaneously were fighting for the favour of the Tatar ruler who



Coins of Nogai. Isaccea. Late 13th century

deigned to accept the gifts and evidences of honour from them both. Pachymeres notes scathingly that 'in reality, for both of them, this was a mission aimed against Terter' [Failler, Laurent, 1984, p. 591]. This episode alone can illustrate the political and military significance of Nogai's Tatars of that period in the policy of the Balkans. Finally, Nogai made the decision [most likely instigated by emperor Michael VIII]. He invited all the 'actors' to a feast: Ivaylo, Chavush Bashi and Ivan Asen III. At some point during the feast he ordered Ivaylo and Chavush Bashi to be killed [Ibid.]. Nogai's servants fulfilled the order of their master without hesitation. The life of Ivan Asen III was saved, most importantly due to the interference of Nogai's Greek wife—Euphrosyne.

After George Terter had ascended to the throne and Ivaylo had died, the peasant's revolt and fight for the throne came to an end. Nogai and his Tatars were involved in all the major stages of the fight, and their efforts turned out to be critical just because they had been invited by the warring parties to solve controversial issues. Although the Tatars were not the main actors of the Bulgarian and Byzantine battles, in fact, without their active participation, the events could have developed in a new direction.

2.1. George Terter [1280–1292] and Nogai. Until the 1280s, the traditional Balkan lands, that is the territories to the South of the Danube, without a doubt, fell under the sphere of interests of Byzantium. Even the Tatars of the Golden Horde did not doubt the authority of Byzantium in Balkan affairs. The ruler of the western part of the Ak Horde, Nogai, was also connected with the New Rome by strong marriage bonds. But the death of the powerful

khan Mengu-Timur [1280] and his father-in-law emperor Michael VIII [1282] opened new horizons for Nogai's dormant hopes for bigger power. In Ulus of Jochi he became a very high-power leader who brought pretenders to the throne. All the three consecutive khans—Tuda-Mengu [1280–1287], Tula-Buga [1287–1291] and Tokhta [1291–1312]—ascended the throne thanks to Nogai's help and influence. He soon turned his attention to Bulgaria where he wanted to play the same role.

Since he ascended the throne Terter began to behave as if he really were an independent ruler, and forgot that there were political realities to reckon with. But his aspiration to be more independent was soon derailed by Nogai. In 1285, the Tatars set out against Hungary, and, allegedly, wanted to invade Thrace and Macedonia as well. However, luckily, the campaign against the Balkans planned by the Tatars in 1285 in fact was aborted, and instead the Tatars set out against Poland, and in 1286–1287 devastated Krakow and Lviv [Spuler, 1965, S.66–67]. In 1285 Terter was forced to send his son Svetoslav as a hostage to Nogai's court, and to marry off his daughter [her name is unknown, Svetoslav's sister or stepsister] to Cheke, Nogai's elder son. But even this act of obvious submission could not satisfy Nogai's hunger for power. Not only did the Tarnovo tsardom fall under strong Tatar control after 1285, but also two Bulgarian despotates—Vidin and Branichevo.

2.2. Nogai ulus becomes independent. In 1292, [George] Terter fled to Byzantium from the Nogai military menace and hid in the vicinity of Adrianople. The Byzantine Emperor, however, did not take the risk to grant him political asylum [Bekker, 1835, II, p. 264]. The

next ruler Smilets descended from one of the noblest boyar families of the Bulgarians and reigned for six years on the Bulgarian throne [1292–1298] as an obedient puppet of Nogai. A long period of chaos began in the history of Bulgaria after his death in 1298.

Thus the influence of Nogai and his elder son Cheke [Čeke] began to grow rapidly in the Lower Danube area in the 1280s. This fact received many confirmations in the last decades through valuable archaeological [mostly numismatic] finds in Dobruja. Coins with Greek legends were found in Isaccea [Tulcea county in Romania] and in the surrounding region. The coins have the Nogai clan tamga on one side, and various Greek symbols and legends on the other. Besides that, one of the coins displays both Nogai and Cheke's names in Greek letters. These numismatic finds apparently reflect the fact that a Greek Despotate existed in Dobruja with its center in Isaccea [in Tatar Sakçii], while from 1280 onwards this Despotate recognized the suzerainty of Nogai and his son Cheke [Oberländer-Târnoveanu, 1987, pp. 246–249]. As for the dating of the coins that we are interested in, Oberländer-Târnoveanu at first assumed the years 1285–1295, but later favored an earlier date—1271–1285 [Oberländer-Târnoveanu, 1993, p. 294, n. 18].

During the last twenty years new treasure troves containing various coins with legends in Arabic were discovered both in Isaccea proper and in its vicinity. All these finds testify to the existence of a large mint in the town of Sakçi [Ibid., pp. 296–298]. These silver and copper coins were minted with Arabic legends, containing the names of Nogai and Cheea and the Nogayid tamga, with Sakçi always being indicated as the coinage place. These treasures are of unique significance, for they shed new light on the historical role of Nogai and his sons. Tatar coinage commenced in Sakçi in 1286 and continued till 1351. Nogai and Cheke coins were minted in the period from 1296 to 1301. In light of these new finds, we should interpret anew the historical events of the last decade of the XIII century. Nogai indeed founded a new Khanate, which we can call his Nogayid Khanate. As a Chinggisid, he had rightful justification for this, being a Khan he could not be



A coin of Cheke. Isaccea

considered 'illegitimate', and at most he could be viewed as 'illegitimately born'. Further incessant rivalry between Nogai and Tokhta, the lawful Khan of the Golden Horde [1291–1312], can be explained by the separatist policy of Nogai, which in the 1290s resulted in the establishment of an independent ulus with Sakçi as its center. That is, the minting of coins with the ruler's name is a clear sign of independence in Islam. The official title of Nogai, as reflected on the coins, was Khan, while his son Cheke was called Sultan; however, when his father was still alive, he perhaps already in 698 AH [1298–1299 AD] took the title of Khan. Evaluating these facts, it becomes more and more clear why Tokhta so harshly reacted to Nogai's separatist movement, which ended with Nogai's death on the battle field at the Kugenlik [Kagamlyk] nearby the River Bug at the end of 1299 [see: (Collection of works related to the history of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 90–91, 113–114)]. The Byzantine Emperor wanted to maintain a friendly allied status with the Tatars in the post-Nogai period as well. Apparently, during Nogai's life or right after his death, Andronikos II proposed his daughter Maria, born out of wedlock, in marriage to Tokhta, who accepted it. Upon the end of the civil war, when all the Tatar clans submitted to the Khan, the Byzantine imperial bride was sent to Tokhta and the marriage was contracted [Bekker, 1835, II, p. 268]. Thus, the Byzantine-Tatar alliance was preserved even after Nogai disappeared from the historical scene.

2.3. The Beginning of Cheke's rule. After the death of the Tatar protégé Smilets in November 1298, medieval Bulgaria plunged into a new, prolonged period of overall political chaos. Eventually the internal chaos and Nogai's death at the beginning of 1300 forced

his son Cheke to become personally involved in Balkan politics. A fierce fight for the inheritance broke out after Nogai's death among his sons, the eventual result of which was their total defeat within a year and a half. After his father's death in the horrible battle at the Kagamlyk, Cheke entered into possession of all his territories and left his younger brother Teke without inheritance. Teke, therefore, was offended and tried to come over to Tokhta, however Cheke soon killed his brother. The fratricide however caused even his followers to forsake him [Collection of works related to the history of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 91–92, 115–116]. Soon there arose a rebellion against Cheke led by two emirs: one of them was Taz, son of Munjuk and husband of Nogai's daughter Tugulji, the other was Tonguz, son of Kachan, whom Cheke appointed regent in the course of his ascent to power [about Tonguz see (Rásonyi, 1969, p. 133)]. At first Cheke fled with a small detachment of 150 warriors to the country of the Yases [Ases according to Baibars]. These Yasa were the faithful allies of Nogai and they inhabited the Lower Danube area, the territory of later Moldavia [Brătianu, 1929, p. 43]. The Yases, representing a military force of 10,000 men, joined Cheke and returned to Transnistria, where they defeated the troops led by Taz and Tonguz. The latter had to go back to Tokhta-Khan, who sent his brother Burluk to them with additional troops. In these circumstances, Cheke decided to go to Bulgaria (in the Arabic text the word Ulaq here means Bulgaria: [Collection of works related to the history of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 93, 117, 139, 161, 370, 384]).

2.4. Cheke and Theodor Svetoslav in Bulgaria. Cheke apparently arrived in Bulgaria in the spring of 1300 [Oberländer-Târnoveanu, 1987, pp. 256–257]. Theodor Svetoslav, who was the son of George Terter I by his Bulgarian mother, steps once again onto the scene here [Bekker, 1835, II, p. 265]. At first he was a hostage of the Byzantines, then his father had to dispatch him to the court of Nogai also as a hostage. The position of Svetoslav became aggravated when his father Terter also fled to Byzantium and Smilets seized the Bulgarian throne in 1292. After Smilets' death in 1298,

however, his situation did not improve; only his sister's marriage with Cheke guaranteed him political survival. Now, in the spring of 1300, Cheke arrived in Tarnovo together with his wife and brother-in-law Theodor Svetoslav. Thus it was a joint risky venture, from which all parties benefited: Svetoslav, as the son of the former ruler George Terter I, made use of his authority among the Bulgarian boyars, while Cheke ensured him military support. Pachymeres, however, does not leave any doubt as to who among them was superior to whom [Ibid.]. Svetoslav was not yet the ruler of Bulgaria, but only a regent of his brother-in-law Cheke. As is known from the fact of recently discovered coins, Cheke took the title of Khan already in 1296–1297, during the life of his father, so at the time when he was moving towards Tarnovo he apparently regarded himself as the legitimate ruler of Bulgaria. That is, since late 1298 [Smilets' death], Bulgaria had no legitimate ruler. The conjugal union with the sister of George Terter could equally boost his support by the Bulgarian boyars and the legitimization of his power. Svetoslav, however, apparently did not forget that he was the son of the former Bulgarian tsar George Terter I. At the first opportunity, backed by Tokhta, the Khan of the Golden Horde, he captured Cheke and put him into prison in Tarnovo. Later, with Tokhta's consent, Cheke was strangled there [Ibid.].

Thus, by the spring-summer 1301 Theodor Svetoslav became the Bulgarian tsar. In his person the Cumano-Bulgarian oligarchy restored their power in Bulgaria, and relative peace and consolidation set in for twenty years in the troubled land of Bulgaria. The rise and rapid fall of Nogai and his son Cheke meant the end of the separatist Nogayid movement. Balkan lands, particularly Bulgaria, though bordering the Ulus Jochi territory in the Lower Danube, were freed from a direct Tatar threat. The focal point of the Tatar force fell to the lot of the Volga Region, while the territories stretching westwards of the Bug gradually came out of their immediate control.

2.5. The Final Fall of the Last Nogayids. After the murder of Cheke, the Nogayid Khanate disintegrated. In Bulgaria, Theodor Svetoslav completely restored the rule of the Ter-

terids, while the Cheke's ulus was placed under the regency of Tokhta's brother Sareibugha. The two sons of Tokhta Khan, Tyugel-Buga and Ilbasar, were also dispatched to the former Nogai country. Tyugel-Buga became the ruler of Sakçi and the region between the Danube and the Iron Gates, while Ilbasar was sent to the River Yaik [Ural] [Collection of works related to the history of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 117, 161].

Tokhta, however, could not be safe while Torai, the third son of Nogai, was still alive. Torai indeed wanted to avenge the death of his brother. He warmed himself into the confidence of the new regent Sarai-Buga and systematically incited him to seek the Khan's power against his brother Tokhta. The plot of Sarai-Buga and Torai, however, was soon uncovered by Byurlyuk [a brother of Sarai-Buga and Tokhta], and Tokhta then crushed the mutiny and killed both its leaders. The regency of Sarai-Buga was passed on to Tokhta's son Ilbasar [Ibid., pp. 118, 161].

The drama of Nogai and his sons, however, did not end there completely. Though all three sons of Nogai had died, Cheke's son [Nogai's grandson] Qara-Kesek [Kara Küçük] was still alive. Together with his two relatives, Çerik-Temir and Iol-Kutlu, he fled to the south. Tokhta dispatched his brother Burluk in pursuit in order to capture them. Qara-Kesek with his detachment rushed to the country of Shishman, to the place named Bdl near Krk together with 3,000 horsemen. Shishman gave them a refuge in his country, where they still continued to reside during the time of the historiographer Baibars [died around 1325] [Ibid., pp. 119, 162]. The country of Shishman apparently relates to Vidin and its surroundings, being a semi-independent Bulgarian Despotate in 1301–1302, when Qara-Kesek appeared in that country. Therefore the names Bdl and Krk can be corrected to Bdn and Krl to be read as Bdin [or Bodun] and Kerel. The first variation apparently reproduces the word Vidin, and the latter is an Arabic-Persian name for the Hungarian and Polish kings in the Mongol period and, consequently, their respective countries [Hungarian *király* and Polish *król*, that is in both cases 'king'] [cf.: [Pelliot, 1949, p. 116 et seq.; Ligeti, 1964]].

3.1. The Tatars in the battle at Branichevo in 1283/84. The Serbian [king] Dragutin was compelled to hand over his throne to his younger brother Milutin in 1282 [Hafner, 1976, S. 73, 75], but Dragutin did not withdraw from the political scene and applied special efforts to extend his power northwards to the buffer zone stretching along the south of the Hungarian kingdom, between the Hungarian and Byzantine spheres of interest. This vast territory, lying south of the Danube, comprised various territorial administrative provinces called banates [*bánság* in Hungarian, that is a territory of the *bán*], organized in the 13th century into the semi-independent provinces of the Hungarian kings. These provinces included Usora, lying between the Rivers Sava, Vrbas and Drina; Soli—an area around the present-day Tuzla, and Mačva—the territory between the Rivers Sava, Drina and Kolubara. After 1284 Usora, Soli and Mačva became the property of Dragutin, who by acquiring these three provinces became the owner of a vast territory. Now his cherished goal was the establishment of a 'northern' Serbian state by uniting the provinces south of the Danube, thereby counterbalancing his brother Milutin's 'southern' state. East of the River Morava there existed two territories named after their central towns—Branichevo and Kučevo.

From 1272 onwards Branichevo was a Hungarian banate, but soon its rulers, the brothers Dorman and Kudelin, became independent [Daničić, 1866, p. 115]. The separation of the two oligarchs in Branichevo must have irritated the Hungarian king Ladislav IV, while Dragutin had his eye on the disobedient vassalage of the Hungarian king. Thus, both the Hungarians and Serbs had a common interest in crushing the rebellious brothers of Branichevo. Those Dorman and Kudelin were either Cuman warriors in Bulgarian service or Bulgarian boyars of Cuman origin, who became partly or totally Bulgarized.

When Dragutin launched an attack against the brothers of Branichevo, Dorman and Kudelin turned to the Cumans and Tatars for help, hiring them as auxiliary troops. Finding himself in such a difficult predicament, Dragutin appealed to his brother King Milutin and

with his help managed to secure victory over Dorman and Kudelin [Ibid., pp. 115–116].

3.2. The Shishman Tatars against the Serbs in Vidin in 1290–1300. Like Branichevo, Vidin also became a target of Serbian expansionist policy in the east. At the end of the 13th century, Vidin was a semi-dependent Bolgar Principality under the political control of the Tatars. In 1280, when Bulgarian boyars enthroned Terter, another Cuman boyar Shishman became the sovereign of the western Bulgarian principality Vidin [Ibid., p. 117] [about the history of the Vidin principality see: [Nikov, 1922]]. Shishman together with his Tatar and other troops invaded Milutin's Serbia, but the latter, pursuing them back to Vidin, devastated the town and land, and Shishman fled to the woods on the opposite side of the Danube. Having punished and reproached Shishman, Milutin, however soon reinstated him on the throne on the condition that he become his true ally. The political alliance was bonded by Shishman's marriage to the daughter of the Serbian Grand Župan Dragoš. More over, later Milutin married off his daughter Ana-Neda to Shishman's son Michael, who afterwards, in 1323 became the tsar of Bulgaria [Daničić, 1866, pp. 118–119].

3.3. Stefan Uroš as a Tatar hostage. Since emir Nogai's territory bordered on the Danube and his sphere of interests extended to the right bank of the Danube, to the principalities of Tarnovo, Vidin and Branichevo, a collision with Serbian power that was seeking expansion to the east was only a matter of time. Some time between 1290 to 1300, Nogai launched a campaign against Milutin's Serbia, but this time the Serbian ruler succeeded in averting the imminent Tatar danger by sending his son Stefan [the future king Stefan Uroš III of Dečani] to Nogai as a hostage. Milutin's son, together with his Serbian entourage, indeed spent a long time at Nogai's court and returned only years later, apparently, already after the death of Nogai in 1299/1300 [Ibid., p. 122].

3.4. The Tatars and Yases in the battle of Velbazhd in 1330. Nogai's death eased Tatar pressure on Balkan lands, and Bulgaria with Serbia benefited from the fall of the Nogayid clan. Byzantium followed the strengthening

of the Bulgaro-Serbian alliance with growing concern and did its utmost to hinder it. After a long struggle for power between father and son, in May 1328 Andronikos III marched to Constantinople with his victorious army, led by Kantakouzenos, and confined his aged father Andronikos II to a monastery. A new era began in the history of the Byzantine decay. The Serbian king Uroš Dečanski supported the father in his fight against his son, which resulted in tense relations between the new Byzantine power and Serbia. At the same time, the Bulgarian-Serbian relationship began to chill, while the Byzantine-Bulgarian friendship was revived. A new collision in the Balkans seemed inevitable.

The Bulgarian army moved from Vidin towards Zemen on the Struma river on the Bulgarian-Serbian border, while Stefan Dečanski set his camp by the River Kamenitsa [Kamenča; now Sovolštica. For a description of the battle of Velbazhd see: (Ibid., pp. 178–196); on other sources (Nicephorus Gregoras, Kantakouzenos, etc.) and the battle analysis see: [Jireček, 1876, pp. 292–296; Škrivanić, 1970]. The two armies remained north of Velbazhd [now Kyustendil in Bulgaria]. Both sides hired mercenaries in large numbers: the Serbian king had Spanish and German armoured knights, while the Bulgarian tsar employed Tatar, Yas and Wallachian light cavalry. The Wallachian troops were led by Basarab, the first Wallachian voivode, who managed to free himself from vassal dependence on the Hungarian king Charles Robert Angevin. Thus he is rightly considered the real founder of the Wallachian principality, as in November 1330 Basarab gained victory over the Hungarian king in the Southern Carpathians [for reports of Latin and German chronicles see: [SRH, 1937, I, pp. 496–500; 1938, II, pp. 50, 220–222, 284]]. Since Basarab was married to the sister of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander, it was natural that he rushed to his brother-in-law's aid when the latter needed it at Velbazhd. In other words, Basarab was also a descendant of the Cuman clan, likewise his brother-in-law Ivan Alexander was an offspring of the Shishmanids, also a clan of Cuman origin in Vidin. The Bulgarian and Romanian [Wallachian and Moldavian] upper classes, a group of *boyars*

and *princes* [*knezes*], were densely permeated by Kipchak [Cuman] ethnic elements in the 13–14th centuries (for the Cuman origin of Basarab and his name see: [Rásonyi, 1935]).

Both the Bulgarian and the Serbian armies had approximately 15,000 warriors each, but the Bulgarian army, apart from the Bulgars, also included 3,000 Tatars, with the number of the Yas and Wallachian light cavalry remaining unknown. The battle was decided by the western mercenaries of the Serbian king [Fatouros, Krischer, II, S. 78; Schopeni, 1828–1832, I, pp. 429–430, 455–456; van Dieten, II, 2, S. 237], and the Bulgarian tsar Michael perished on the battle field. Bodies of the fallen Tatar warriors were left not unburied in the Bulgarian camp.

4.1. Tatar incursions of 1323 and a new half-Cuman Bulgarian tsar. At the end of 1322, after a short reign of less than a year, the Bulgarian ruler George Terter II died, without leaving a successor to the throne. The Bulgarian towns lying between Nesebar [Mesembria] and Sliven [Stilbnos] went over to the Byzantines, who commenced a siege of Plovdiv [Philippoupolis], but failed to take it. Meanwhile, Bulgarian boyars elected the ruler of Vidin as their tsar. The Despot of Vidin, Michael Shishman was by birth half-Cuman and half-Bulgarian [Fatouros, Krischer, I, S. 124; Schopeni, 1828–1832, I, p. 175]. (About the Cuman name Shishman see: [Rásonyi, 1969, p. 127]). The Bulgarian boyars clearly gained from this choice: Michael was unaffected by the inner feuds of the Bulgarian boyars, had no contacts with the pro-Byzantine circles, and possessed a rather large territory and, last but not least, like his father he maintained close links with the Tatars. The latter was of special importance, as it helped attract a Tatar military contingent to his side [Burmov, 1968, pp. 230–231].

The Bulgarian boyars handed Tarnovo over to Michael Shishman, the newly elected sovereign, who immediately marched on the capital of Bulgaria with his army and allied Wallachian and Tatar forces. In the autumn of 1323, a large-scale incursion was launched on Byzantine territory. Kantakouzenos is the sole authority to have reported these events in detail [Fatouros,

Krischer, I, S.133–136; Schopeni, 1828–1832, I, p. 189–193]. The Tatar army consisted of 120,000 warriors [probably an exaggerated figure] and had two commanders-in-chief, Taytaq and Toglu-Torgan (for these names and personalities see: [Schopeni, 1828–1832, I, p. 189; Moravcsik, 1958, II, pp. 296, 315]). This Tatar incursion was particularly long-lasting, as the Tatar troops remained in Thrace for forty days after its plundering. The young Emperor Andronikos attempted to resist the Tatars by assembling his scattered troops from the Thracian towns, but his effort was rather unsuccessful. Eventually, the Tatars withdrew and left the Byzantine Lands. A persistent rumour began to circulate, Kantakouzenos writes in his narration, that the Tatars were invited by the old Emperor to devastate Thrace, which was under the control of his grandson, the young Emperor. Though Kantakouzenos resolutely rejects this possibility, his conveyance of the rumour to his readers is indicative of his doubts and suspicions in respect to old Andronikos II [about the incursion of the Tatars in Thrace in 1323–1324 see also: (Bosch, 1965, p. 64 et seq.)].

4.2. The Tatars in the events of Bulgaria and Byzantium in 1328–1333. The Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II died in 1328 and the Bulgarian tsar Michael Shishman passed away two years later, in 1330. Both events caused tension and concerns in Byzantine-Bulgarian contacts. Tatar mercenary troops, as always before, interfered in the course of the events.

Not long after Andronikos III had captured Constantinople on May 24, 1328, Michael Shishman made an incursion into Byzantium, presumably in July of the same year. He brought his Tatar auxiliaries with him, and the allied Bulgarian and Tatar forces spent many days marauding the towns of northern Thrace. Heaving learned the bad news of this Bulgarian-Tatar incursion, Andronikos III marched to Bizye and prepared his troops for an encounter with the Bulgarians. But the army of Michael Shishman withdrew to Bulgaria. The Emperor pursued the Bulgarians and within a few days he entered the territory of their country. The Byzantine army took Diampol [Jambol], pillaged the town and returned home. In September 1328, sixty days after the Emperor's

incursion into Bulgaria, tsar Michael invaded Thrace for the second time and took the town of Bukelon, near Adrianople. This time there is no explicit mention of the Tatar auxiliaries, but their presence in Michael's military force is likely (about these incursions see: [Fatouros, Krischer, II, S. 167, n. 16–18]).

The Byzantine Emperor was supported and assisted by the Bulgarian inner opposition. In the spring of 1331 the Bulgarian rebels placed Alexander, son of Stracimir and cousin of the late tsar Michael, on the throne. Immediately after his enthronement, tsar Ivan Alexander launched an attack against the unfaithful towns, that had in the meantime gone over to the Byzantine side, and retook them, as he did with Mesembria on the Black Sea coast. As usually, Tatar auxiliaries took part in Alexander's army in great numbers. Upon hearing the threatening news, the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos III marched to Bulgaria and encountered his adversary at Anchialos, which was held by the Bulgars. The Emperor and the Bulgarian ruler soon agreed that the Bulgars would return Anchialos to the Byzantines, who would hand over Diampol. The agreement took place on 17 July 1331, and the ceremony of oath-taking and the deed of mutual concessions was planned for the next day [Ibid., S. 98–100; Schopeni, 1828–1832, I, pp. 460–464]. During the night preceding the oath [17–18th of July], the allied Tatar forces reached the Bulgarian tsar Alexander. He had summoned them to assist him in suppressing the revolt of his uncle Belaur. The Bulgarian ruler, however, misused the Tatar support and treacherously told them to attack the Byzantine Emperor, what the Tatars would have never done, as they had concluded a treaty with the Byzantines not long before that. The next day the Tatars launched their attack. The Emperor, who in the expectation of peace, had dismissed most of his troops, now felt bitterly let down and deceived. At first he thought that it was the Bulgars who were attacking him, but soon he recognized the Tatars by the typical sharp sound of their trumpets. He could not believe that the Tatars had come against him, since he had just made peace with them. He thought rather that the Wallachians, whose weapons looked similar to the Tartar archers, had arrived as allies of the

Bulgarians. After a long fight, in which the Emperor and his friend Kantakouzenos also participated, the Tatars won the battle and the Byzantine army withdrew to Rhosokastron. Tsar Alexander soon sent an envoy to them, who proposed the conclusion of the peace treaty formerly agreed, and also asked for the Emperor's daughter as the wife of his son. The latter proposal was rejected, but all the other conditions were accepted and the treaty was concluded [Fatouros, Krischer, II, S. 100–104; Schopeni, 1828–1832, I, pp. 464–470].

In the summer of 1332, the Emperor launched a new campaign against the Bulgars with the aim of repossessing the fortresses in the Haimos Mountains that had been occupied by Tsar Alexander. His grandfather, Andronikos II, appointed Michael Glabas as the governor of Thrace and ordered him to build or restore these fifteen fortresses to prevent the Tatars from crossing the borders and raiding the area. After the Emperor had succeeded in capturing some of the new fortresses, Alexander sent his envoys to negotiate, but they were turned away by the Emperor. Alexander gathered an army of 8,000 Bulgarian warriors and 2,000 Tatar mercenaries. Having left Tarnovo, they moved to Rhosokastron, where they set up their camp. The Emperor's army was much smaller than the Bulgarian-Tatar troops, numbering at most 3,000 men. The two armies clashed and fought valiantly. As a result, the Byzantines failed to attain their goal and returned home [van Dieten, II, 2, pp. 252–255; Schopeni, 1829, I, pp. 483–488].

4.3. The last appearances of the Tatars in Byzantium [1337, 1341]. Andronikos III [1328–1341] tried to maintain friendly relations with the Tatars. In the early years of his reign [prior to July 1331] he concluded a peace treaty with them [Fatouros, Krischer, II, S. 101; Schopeni, 1828–1832, I, p. 465]. State relations were further strengthened by the marriage of Andronikos II's daughter to Öz Beg Khan. [Bayalun was the third wife [khatun] of Uzbek Khan. Ibn Battuta met her personally and travelled with her to Constantinople. Bayalun went to the Byzantine capital to give birth to her child but never returned to the Golden Horde [Collection of Works Related to the History of

the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 290, 294, 301–302].] Notwithstanding the relatively balanced official relations between Byzantium and the Golden Horde in these years, in 1337 a number of serious 'unofficial' Tatar incursions shook Europe, the last of their kind. Only Gregoras reports this event, while Kantakouzenos is silent. According to the former, the main cause of these incursions was that Byzantium had forgotten to send the regular gifts [that is tribute] to the Tatar ruler and nobility. In early spring an army of the Tatars crossed the Danube and plundered the whole of Thrace up to the Hellespontos. There they came across some Turks, who were accustomed to crossing the Hellespontos frequently to plunder the Thracian coast. These Turks were either taken captive or killed if they tried to resist. This incursion was quite different from earlier ones, when the Tatars used to appear suddenly, plunder and leave the next day. Now they remained and continue to plunder the area for fifty days. On leaving Thrace they are reported to have taken 300,000 [?!] captives [van Dieten, II, 2, p. 280; Schopeni, 1829, I, pp. 535–536]. The story of this incursion, though absent from Kantakouzenos' narrative, however, can be regarded as authentic. It was the last Tatar incursion into

Byzantium mentioned in the sources. A special piquant element of the story is the encounter between the Tatar and Turkish troops near the Hellespontos. One could regard this episode as symbolic: the northern nomadic warriors and experienced conquerors of the Balkans gave way to new, ambitious Turkic soldiers coming from the south. In a few decades the Turks were to set foot in the Balkans more firmly than the Tatars could ever have dreamt of for themselves.

Though the last Tatar incursion occurred in 1337, the danger was not over for years to come. In the spring of 1341, a Byzantine embassy headed by Demetrios Kydones set out to Öz Beg Khan in order to avert an alleged Tatar attack against Byzantium [Laurent, 1960, pp. 145–162; Fatouros, Krischer, II, S. 251, n. 359]. The Tatars had apparently given up their plan to invade the Balkans because of internal troubles. The greatest Khan of the Jochid Ulus, Öz Beg, died in 1341/42, and from that time onwards the Golden Horde was involved in other theatres of war and reduced its interests in the most western part of the Balkan Area. Tatar clans in Dobrudja and Bujaq acquired independence from the central power of the Tatars and lost their former political importance in Balkan politics [Spinei, 1986, p. 127].

§ 3. Wars in the West. Poland and Lithuania

Iskander Izmaylov

After the return from the European campaign the borders in the west were in a certain way stabilized. The Polish Kingdom became the northwestern neighbor of the Chinggisid empire, and relations with it, and later with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, were becoming a top priority in Ulus of Jochi foreign policy. The special attention paid to this course by the Golden Horde Khans stems from the complex diplomatic game that they had entered into, which involved having conquered Russian principalities and imposed vassal relations on the Balkan states. The task to hold these territories in the orbit of its interests and to secure them from the expansion of an ever strengthening Poland and particularly the Lithuanian

Duchy, demanded energetic preventive offensive actions. A solid reason for vigorous actions against the Polish and western lied in the desire to isolate the Galicia–Volhynian princes, preventing them from becoming the center of a resistance to Ulus of Jochi power. The policy of division and isolation of potential adversaries and of the maintenance of a 'balance of fear' in the face of the threat from Ulus of Jochi served this goal. In this context, the policy of the Ulus of Jochi's Khans in respect to Poland and Lithuania did not envisage conquering their lands or even forcing vassalage upon the Kraków Piasts or Lithuanian Dukes Mindaugas and Gediminids, but instead focused on more complex geopolitical goals.

In general, the history of the relationship between these two states can be divided into several stages. **The first period (1241–1320s)** was a time of continuous strength for Ulus of Jochi, during which the Khans strived to weaken the power of the Galicia-Volhynian princes [1240–1270s] and to impose their influence upon Poland and Lithuania, and then later to keep the Prut-Dniester interfluvium and Southern Rus' [Ruthenia] in their sphere of influence.

Having returned from the campaign in the west, Batu Khan actively set about mastering the conquered territories and bringing all the rulers of the defeated lands to vassal dependence on the Great Khan. One of the main and most acute problems turned out to be the independent policy pursued by the mighty prince of the Great Galicia-Volhynian Principality in relation to the Ulus of Jochi's Khans and his neighbors. The strengthening and consolidating of power among the southwestern Rus' with its center in Galich in no way met the interests of the Mongol Khans. A military campaign was undertaken in 1243 against Rostislav Mikhailovich, son of Mikhail of Chernigov, the last Grand Prince of Kiev, who, using the support of the Hungarian king, Galician boyars and Bolkhov Land, attempted to seize power in the Galicia-Volhynian Principality. According to the chronicles: '... Rostislav was defeated by the Tatars in a pine forest and fled to Ugry' [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 113]. At the same time, Batu dispatched two of his military commanders ['Bogatyr's'] 'Manman and Balai' to find and capture Daniil Romanovich. The latter, however, 'shut Kholm' and avoided captivity. Tatar units '... fought through to Volodava and along the lakes causing much misfortune to the Christians' [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 113; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 794]. This campaign, as well as an unfavorably developing domestic situation, forced Daniel of Galicia to adhere the summon to come to Batu Khan and accept the latter's lordship over his principality. At this, both parties clearly pursued their own individual goals: Daniel, in his confrontation with Rostislav, the rebellious boyars, Poles and Hungarians, aimed to ensure the security of his domains in the east, while

Batu sought recognition for the Mongol Khans' power over the whole territory of the Rus' and, on that basis, the grounds to interfere in European politics. From that moment onwards the fate of the Galicia-Volhynia Rus' was tightly linked to the foreign policy of Ulus of Jochi in the west.

Over the span of ten years there existed this parity, when the Ulus of Jochi's rulers supposed that Daniel of Galicia executed their will, while he in his turn assumed that they would continue to be content with just formal vassalage and strengthened his power and authority, actively interfering in the affairs of the neighboring Hungarian and Polish Kingdoms. His victories over the Hungarians, alliance with Konrad, the Duke of Masovia, and the marriage of his son Leo with the Hungarian princess Constance contributed to the strengthening of his position as a kind of regional leader. Prince Daniel, however, always remembered that 'the Tatar host does not cease being dangerous as long as it is nearby' [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 127; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 826], as he said at the negotiations with the Papal Legate Opizo of Messina. This thought apparently formed the basis of his policy in relation to Ulus of Jochi and western neighbors. He sought to strengthen his power at the expense and with the help of the West in order to repel the advance of the Horde.

Such a policy clearly matched the interests of the Holy See as the ideological inspirer of European oriental policy. On the one hand, this allowed the West to deter the aggressiveness of the Mongols with minimum and demonstrative measures, while on the other hand, to increase its influence in the region. As early as 1245, the Holy See began negotiations with Daniel's representatives to make an alliance with him and persuade him, together with his boyars and clergy, to swear allegiance to the Pope. The negotiations ended in failure. In 1252, however, Daniel, drawn into the struggle for the Austrian succession and exposed to military pressure by the Tatars, and being in need of strong allies in the West, resumed talks. Meeting him half-way, the ecclesiastical council in Lion in 1253 called on Christians to crusade against Ulus of Jochi. In these circumstances Daniel had

to make certain concessions to the Holy See and in the winter of 1253 accepted the title of crowned king.

The Khans of Ulus of Jochi followed attentively Daniel's successes in the West, but for a long time their activity in this direction was delayed by the tasks of strengthening Khan power in North-Eastern Rus' and by inner Mongolian affairs. However, after the 1252 rebellion of Andrey Yaroslavich, the Grand Duke of Vladimir, who was an ally of Daniel of Galicia, the attitude towards him drastically changed. The ruler of the right wing of Ak Horde, ulusbek Kurmysh [*Kurmyshi*, *Khurrumshi*, *Kuremsa* in the Russian chronicles], a son of Orda, began to take steps in order to weaken the authority of Daniel of Galicia and really place him in a subordinate position. Therefore Kurmysh backed anti-Prince feelings among the nobility of the border areas [Bolkhov Land] and even dispatched his vicegerents—basqaqs [darughachi] to some towns, taking the latter under his patronage [for example the town of Bakota [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 128; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, pp. 828–829].

In 1254 Kurmysh launched active military operations against the Galicia-Volhynian Principality, attempting to capture Kremenets by surprise [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 133], but failed to achieve such a goal. In return, Daniel, having repelled this incursion, moved onto the offensive and routed Kurmysh allies in Bolkhov Land and the Southern Bug river region. The following year Daniel resolved to resume the offensive and concluded an alliance with the Lithuanian Duke Mindaugas, deciding to take Vzvyagl and afterwards apparently Kiev Land. The campaign in general was successful, and the town, an ally of the Horde, was taken by storm, plundered and its residents barbarously slaughtered ['and a lake of bodies and shields and helmets lay on the ground' (Ibid.)]. A conflict between the Galicians and Lithuania, leading to the break-down of the alliance, flared during the argument over the war plunder. Daniel had been having rather strained relations with Lithuania already before that due to disputes over the section of Yatvingian lands.

In retaliation, in the winter of 1254 Kurmysh, using the opportunity of the Prince's absence, attacked Lutsk and other towns, but without success: 'not succeeding in anything, [he] withdrew to his country, that is to the fields' [Ibid., p. 134; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 842]. Overall, Daniel held out against Kurmysh troops rather effectively. A chronicler expressly wrote that the Prince of Galicia 'fought with Kuremsa without any fear of him, for Kuremsa could no longer do him harm' [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 136; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 846].

The situation changed in 1257, when this Ulus was transferred to Boroldai Bagatur. The domestic historiography usually associates this change of Ulus's rulers with the misfortunes of Kurmysh in his battle against Daniel (see: [Pashuto, 1950, s.274; Egorov, 1985, p. 188; Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, pp. 136, 312]), which is explained by the usual Russian wish to present Russia as the center around which the policy of Ulus of Jochi's khans revolved, and the relationships with which were allegedly determined all their internal policy. It seems that such an approach which replaces cause for effect, is not quite true. For the change of Kurmysh was brought about by the normal Jochid practice of redistributing uluses upon accession of a new khan to the throne, although his clan retained power and possessions in the Dnieper-Dniester interfluvium, and his sons Abaji, Karajin and Ianji played an important role at the court of Nogai, and it was noted that they belonged among 'senior military commanders and those commanding tens of thousand of soldiers in northern regions. They were equal to Nogai in terms of their power, value and the size of the forces'. It is their support that sharply increased Nogai's forces in his battle against Tokhta Khan, and their shift to the Khan's side brought him victory [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 112, 113, 117].

It is possible that there could be quite a banal reason for the transfer of power to a new ulusbek—Kurmysh's death. In this sense, it seems logical that the new Khan Berke assigned a famous commander, an old associate



Russian riders. Illuminated Chronicle.
End of the 16th century.

of Batu and Subutai as the head of one of the key uluses—the right wing of Ak Horde. At the same time it clearly demonstrates a change in his internal and foreign policies, his desire to save them from the dictates of the Great Khan and the all-Mongolian Kurultai, to give a new impetus to territorial expansion. Poland and Lithuania became one of the directions of this new aggressive policy. In light of this new course, the principality of Galicia-Volhynia became just a lever, a tool of military-political influence on the West.

Compared with his predecessor, Boroldai obviously possessed great military capabilities. This was apparently due to the fact that he relied on a powerful clan. Rather, he possessed large military forces, which, in terms of their number, were comparable with the army invading Poland in 1241. In any case, having just accepted power in the ulus ‘and having settled as a local ruler’ [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 136; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 846], Boroldai undertook a large campaign against Lithuania in 1258. This choice was not accidental. The newly formed Duchy of Lithuania was rapidly gaining pow-

er through the unification of western Russian and Polish lands and by taking advantage of conflicts between its neighbors. Boroldai’s campaign had to prevent the strengthening of Lithuania, break its alliance with Galich and suppress the fronde of Daniel of Galicia.

Having reached the borders of the principality of Galicia-Volhynia, Boroldai sent ambassadors with a laconic offer: ‘I’m going to Lithuania; if you are my friend, let’s go with me’ [Ibid]. Weakened by wars with his neighbors, Daniel did not dare to refuse the offer. The troops of Boroldai moved from the Dnieper River Region to the borders of the Galician-Volhynian principality, where regiments of Vasilko, Daniel’s brother, came from Berestye to unite with him. The Russian and the Golden-Horde detachments met probably somewhere on the right bank of the Neman river. The united forces advanced to the north, having ruined the center of the Duchy of Lithuania –Trokaysky and Nelshansky lands, which are located in the southeast [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 136; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 847]. Having finished devastating the right bank of the Neman river, the Russian-Golden-Horde troops crossed to the left bank of the river, to the land of the Yotvingians [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, pp. 847–848].

Authors, who were independent from the southern Russian chronicles, eloquently pointed out that ‘the Tatars captured the entire country of Lithuania’ [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 5, p. 189], confirming the opinion about the substantial devastation of the Duchy of Lithuania. The Tatar-Russian army turned from the land of the Yotvingians to the south and returned to Volhynia, having entered the city of Dorogochin on the Western Bug [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 136; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 848]. At the same time, Daniel’s troops invaded Black Rus’ and took Volkovysk seeking to capture Lithuanian princes Vaišelga and Tektivill [Ibid]. In addition to its immediate purpose - to attack a rising Lithuania, the campaign had another purpose - to deprive Daniel of a potential ally by turning Lithuanian princes into his worst enemies [Pashuto,

1950, pp. 283–284]. This part of the plan also was a success. In the same year, the Lithuanian prince Vaišelga attacked the Black Rus', seized it and even captured Roman, Daniel's son.

In the autumn of the next year, 1259, Boroldai moved his troops to Poland, wishing to attack the richest land of Sandomierz and Krakow [the details of this campaign see in: (Ibid, p. 284; Schaveleva, 1978, pp. 307–314)]. His way lay through Volhynia - the land of his ally, the prince of Galicia. To meet the ulusbek, prince Daniel sent his brother Vasilko and sons Roman and Leo, as well as the Kholm bishop Ivan. He himself, as in 1241, in fear of Tatar retaliation, fled at first to Poland and then to Hungary. The city of Shumsk was the first place in Volhynia, where Boroldai's army stopped, and where Boroldai issued an ultimatum ['if you are my friends'], explicitly threatening to devastate their lands in case of disobedience, and gave the order to remove the fortifications of the Galician-Volhynian fortresses of Lviv, Kremenets, Lutsk, Danilov and Stozhesk. Having achieved seen his order fulfilled, Boroldai moved to Vladimir of Volhynia, where fortifications were also burned and damaged. Only residents of the city of Kholm, locking the gates in front of the united army, refused to obey the order of Prince Vasilko to remove the city's fortifications [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, pp. 137–138; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 851].

Boroldai was not going to undertake a long siege of a well-fortified city, so he immediately led his troops to Poland to Lublin, 'having started a war against Poland'. The united army further moved to Zawichost, near which they crossed the Vistula River and moved to its left bank, and from there—to Sandomierz [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 138; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 852]. Having approached Sandomierz, the united army besieged it. According to the chronicler, 'they surrounded it from all sides and installed poroks, and poroks were blowing day and night, and soldiers were shooting arrows, so that no one could come out of the city' [Ibid]. On the fourth day of the siege—on 30 November 1259—the city was taken by a direct assault, mercilessly looted and burned.

In general, this campaign had no long-term consequences. It was very interesting that Boroldai did not set any political requirements to Polish princes—he required neither subordination, nor any tribute, so the domestic historical science usually considered this campaign only in the context of the weakening the Galician-Volhynian principality and suppression of Prince Daniel's independence [Pashuto, 1950, p. 284; Schaveleva, 1978, p. 307]. It seems that this is a too easy target for such a campaign. The siege technique and assault of Sandomierz showed that Boroldai's army could easily wipe out Russian southern fortresses, if they really resisted. At the same time, the goal of the campaign was achieved even without a fight. However, it does not explain the objectives and the direction of the campaign. Apparently, the choice of the objective of the campaign can only be explained by the fact that it was a stage of the 'second onslaught of the West', which Berke Khan was going to undertake. However, the capture of Sandomierz turned to be the only and, perhaps, the most striking episode. The confrontation, and then the war with the Hulaguids forced Berke to curtail military activities in the West, concentrating all the power in Transcaucasia.

Thus, the situation on the western borders of Jochid Ulus almost stabilized. The principality of Galicia-Volhynia got under the full control of the Golden Horde khans, which is highlighted by a quote from the chronicles, 'and all princes found themselves under the control of the Tatars' [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 147; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 872]. It is ironic, but the greatest benefit from these circumstances was drawn by Daniel of Galicia. On the one hand, he stopped playing an independent role in Eastern European politics, but retained his lands, and got an opportunity to use the military power of Jochid Ulus or the threat of its use for his political purposes. Moreover, Prince Daniel and his heirs began to suffer from the increasing aggression on the part of Duchy of Lithuania seeking to expand its possessions by adding southern Russian lands. Permanent military conflicts exhausted the strength of the parties. The attack of the Lithuanians became



Tatars under the city walls. Western Europe, 13th century.

especially intense after Prince Daniel's death and the actual collapse of the united principality in 1264. Under these conditions, Prince Leo I of Galicia repeatedly sought military support from the khans of the Golden Horde. Actively participating in interstate relations, he relied on the support of the Tartars and wished to expand his possessions and political influence in Poland, Lithuania and Hungary.

It began in 1275, when Leo applied to Mengü-Timur Khan, asking for help in the struggle against the Lithuanians [Ibid]. As a result of the successful winter campaign of 1275, Novogradok was seized, and the surrounding territory was devastated. According to a late Resurrection Chronicles, 'Tatar and Russian princes made a raid against Lithuania, but having seized nothing, they returned back; however, the Tatars did much harm to the Christians' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 7, p. 172].

A new campaign against Lithuania took place in 1277, when ulusbek Nogai asked the princes of Galicia to undertake a campaign against Lithuanians: 'You always complain about Lithuania; so you have now an army and a voivode Mamshey, so go with them against your enemies' [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 149; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 7, p. 877]. His troops, having passed the Lands of Galicia-Volhynia from

south to north, surrounded Novogradok and without waiting for the forces of the Russian princes, 'seized everything' [Ibid].

A new surge of Nogai's military activity was caused by the death of Grand Prince Bolesław V the Chaste in 1279 and the desire of the Prince Leo of Galicia to add the Lublin volost to his possessions, which belonged to his father, or even take the entire Lesser Poland (the political interrelation of princes see in: [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle,

2005, p. 339]), 'and Leo wanted this land for himself', as the chronicler wrote [Ibid, p. 151]. Whatever it was, but in 1279 he again applied to Nogai with a proposal to start a campaign against Lesser Poland. In winter of 1279/80, Tatar troops under the command of 'Konchak, Kuzey and Kubatan' together with Prince Leo, his son Yuri, and brothers Mstislav and Vladimir Daniloviches, who, according to the chronicler, 'went against their will' [Ibid; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 882]. Leo's army reached Sandomierz, near which they crossed to the left bank of the Vistula River. After standing for some time near Sandomierz and having left Vladimir to besiege it, the remaining troops moved to Krakow, probably by separate detachments, devastating all the surrounding territories. However, in February 1280, Leszek II the Black, Prince of Krakow managed to significantly defeat these scattered detachments, and perhaps even defeated Leo's druzhina ('the Lithuanians killed many boyars and servants from his army, as well as killed any Tatars'), making him retreat to Galician territories, with big losses and 'great dishonor' [Ibid].

In response, Leszek began military activities against Princes Daniiloviches attacking their lands and cities. At the same time, Volhynian princes intervened in the internecine war between Polish Princes Conrad II and

Boleslaw for Mazovia, having woven Russian-Polish relations into a tight knot. The western policy of Jochid Ulus served as a general political background for these interprince relations. A new surge in its activity was at the time of the highest power of ulug karachibek Nogai, who reigned in the western wing of the Ak Horde. With strength and power of almost the entire empire, he intervened in Balkan and Central European policy, seeking to expand his influence. One of the episodes of his activity was associated with an attempt to subjugate Hungary to his power.

The campaign of 1285 organised by Nogai involved Oglan (Sultan) Tula Buga, as well as Russian princes Leo and his son Yuri, who participated 'unwillingly', and Prince Vladimir sent his *druzhina*. Moreover, the troops were moving, like during the campaign of 1241, in two columns: the one headed by Nogai moved to Transylvania in the general direction to Braşov, and the other led by Tula Buga, had apparently to cross the Carpathian passes and enter Transylvania. Considerable military forces were gathered for this campaign; according to the chronicler, 'heavy forces were gathered, and there was a large number of soldiers' [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 154; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 888]. Nogai was successful in this campaign, and Tula Buga with his troops got lost in the mountains. The chronicler wrote with irony, that where the Carpathians could be crossed in three days, they 'were roaming in the mountains' for 30 days in a terrible need of food. The Khan's troops, which did not join the battle, suffered terrible damage: 'Eyewitnesses told as follows: 100 of them died', and the hapless commander returned 'by foot with his wife and one horse' [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 154; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, pp. 890–891]. In Arabic sources, the data about this campaign coincided with the following campaign against Krakow, but its description coincides namely with the story about Carpathian disaster contained in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle. Al-Nuwayrī wrote that Nogai and Tula Buga returned from the campaign in different ways. 'At that time, it got cold, and much snow fell', the Arab histo-

rian wrote,—Nogai with his [troops] separated from him [Tula Buga], went to his winter quarters and arrived there safely. Tula Buga went and lost his way. Many of those who were with him died. The situation made people eat their baggage animals, hunting dogs and the meat of those [people] who died from severe hunger. He [Tula Buga] suspected that Nogai had intentionally arranged [this] trap and planned something evil against him' [Collection of Materials Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 156]. The military collapse was exacerbated by the fact that the rebellious Boleslaw, Prince of Mazovia, taking advantage of the absence of Daniiloviches, attacked their lands, forced them to return from the campaign weakening the Tatar troops.

The next campaign aimed at Lesser Poland also took place in the winter of 1287 (the historical literature repeatedly confused the chronology of these campaigns [Veselovsky, 1922, pp. 30–37; Pashuto, 1950, pp. 297–298], which sometimes makes some historians believe that there were two successive campaigns with the same route and similar activities [Egorov, 1985, p. 191]). The very idea of it obviously arose under the influence and with the active participation of Prince Leo, who continued to fight against Krakow ruler Leszek the Black for the Lublin Volost. According to the authors, a campaign against Lesser Poland was to lead to the siege of Krakow, but in reality, it developed under a completely unpredictable scenario. Even when it was organised, it turned out that there were contradictions between Khan Tula Buga and Nogai. It is possible that Prince Leo, trying to play on the contradiction between them, enlisted the Khan's support, as Arabic sources directly indicate that the initiative of this campaign belonged to the Khan, who 'invited Nogai with him' [Collection of Materials Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 156]. Under these conditions, ulug karachibek, who did not want to strengthen the Khan's power, interfered with him in every possible way and sabotaged his orders. No wonder that the Volhynian chronicler wrote that the Khan and his military commander did not trust each other and were even afraid of each other: 'The former was afraid of the latter,

and the latter was afraid of the former'. Later, the lack of one-man management played a fatal role in the failure of the campaign.

Obviously, in late autumn of 1287 Khan Tula Buga 'having gathered great forces', moved through the south-eastern border of Volhynia near Kremenets to Peremyshl. Then he moved to Buzhsk, where he sharply turned to the north toward Vladimir. Most likely, Tatar troops acted in separate corps and often without any coordination of their actions (according to the chronicler, Nogai 'did not consult with Tula Buga'). Only this can explain that some part of the Tatar troops remained in the vicinity of Vladimir, ruining these territories and 'devastating Vladimir lands' [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 156; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 893]. Most of Tula Buga's troops together with the army of the Russian princes undertook a march to the city of Zawichost, where they did not manage to cross the Vistula River and were forced to go to Sandomierz. By this time, the rivers of San and Vistula got frozen, and the Tatar and Russian troops crossed them and set a camp. For 10 days, they ravaged the neighbourhood of Sandomierz and the surrounding land, and then went to Krakow. But on their way they suddenly received the news that Nogai's forces had already advanced there.

As noted by the Volhynian chronicler, Nogai 'did not go together with Tula Buga to the Lithuanians, because there was a great contradiction between them, he but went to Peremyshl along his own route. He approached Krakow, but did not manage to do anything there, as Tula Buga could not do anything in Sandomierz, but he devastated the Lithuanian lands' [Galician-Volhynian Chronicles, 2005, p. 157; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 895]. After receiving this news, Tula Buga, realising that he could not get any military loot near Krakow, 'did not reach it and returned to Torzhkou'. Annoyed with the unsuccessful campaign, Tula Buga returned and stopped near Lviv, and in two weeks he looted the surrounding territories and residents, who imprudently came from under the protection of the city walls. Nogai, having devastated Krakow's surrounding territories, turned to the south.

This military and political activity resulted in the strengthening of the power of Jochid Ulus in Lands of Galicia-Volhynia and influence of their vassals. The interprince struggle between Daniel's descendants can serve as an example, in which Khan's power acted as an arbitrator [Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, 2005, p. 174]. But, at the same time, the campaigns of the 80s of the 13th century showed that scattered regiments of several southern Russian princes could not resist the neighbours' onslaught independently, without the support of the Golden Horde khans. In fact, there was no centre of power in the region, the role of which had been played by Nogai up to a certain moment. However, when his power weakened, and after his defeat and death as a result of internecine warfare in Jochid Ulus, the region was left for itself, which led to the appearance of a new regional leader—Duchy of Lithuania. All further attempts of Khans of Jochid Ulus in the first half of the 14th century to regain their influence in Central Europe failed.

The second period (1320s–1420s) was a time of gradual strengthening and expansion of the Duchy of Lithuania and Poland, which, having subjected the southern Russian lands, began to intervene in internal Horde affairs influencing the Khan's policy.

The division of the Daniiloviches' principality into a number of separate possessions and its military weakening made its territory an object of constant expansion on the part of Lithuania, Poland and Hungary. While Jochid Ulus was at the peak of its power, it restrained aggressive aspirations of these states protecting the lands of its vassals. As a result of a number of successful attacks in the 20s of the 14th century, Lithuania lost some of its possessions in the Kiev Land. In the fight against the Horde, Poland and Lithuania tried to rely on the forces of the Catholic Europe. Fulfilling their request, in 1329 the Pope appealed to the Christian rulers with a special message and encouraged them to organise a crusade against the Tatars. However, nobody replied to this appeal.

Having found no understanding among the Europeans, the Poles decided to independently wage a war against the Golden Horde. This war proceeded with varying success. In 1337,

united Russian and Tatar troops tried to seize the Lublin Volost [Pashuto, 1959, p. 391], but failed. And in 1340, Polish spies managed to conspire and poison Prince Yuri of Volhynia. Taking advantage of this, Casimir, Prince of Poland, conquered the entire principality together with the Hungarians. In response, Öz Beg Khan directed a 40-thousand army against Lesser Poland in 1341, which although was defeated in the battle on the Vistula River [Ibid.], but managed to force Polish and Hungarian troops out of Volhynia [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 67]. All this stopped the Polish-Lithuanian attack of the western lands of Rus' for a while.

But already in 1344, Casimir started a new war for Volhynia, but only the competition with the Hungarians did not allow to add the principality to his possessions at that time. This happened in 1349, when his troops took control over the key Volhynian cities—Belz, Brestev, Vladimir, and later Galicia was also transferred under his control. It is known that Casimir, having entered the war against Jochid Ulus, again appealed to Pope Clement IV with a request to organise a crusade against the Tatars [Ibid., p. 105]. Simultaneously the pressure of Lithuanian princes on the lands of Smolensk, Polotsk and Pinsk princes increased.

A large-scale crisis and discord in Jochid Ulus in the middle of the 14th century became a turning point in the western policy, when the weakened empire was unable to provide effective support for western and southern Russian principalities, which passed under the control of Lithuanian grand princes one after another. There emerged a new military-political situation. Historian M. Grushevsky described it in the following way: 'The Tatar leadership was replaced by the Lithuanian "supreme power", but this "supreme power" came much more unnoticeably, perhaps gradually, without introducing drastic changes in the life of the region' [Grushevsky, 1891, p. 470]. Obviously, the author was quite right when he said that the power of the Lithuanian princes was established gradually, as if it was growing into the former system of Russian principalities. In fact, it was not quite a conquest, but rather adding on the basis of contracts and dynasty marriages, which guaranteed Russian princes and boyars

the preservation of their traditional rights and privileges.

By the middle of the 14th century, the power of Lithuanian princes had significantly strengthened; they managed to suppress the absolute power of the local nobility and direct its activity to foreign expansion, which was carried out mainly by several Lithuanian noblemen united around the political centre in Trokai and Prince Keistut. In the struggle for the lands of the Galician-Volhynian principality, Lithuania faced Polish princes, and after a series of Polish-Lithuanian wars in the 40–60s of the 14th century, they were divided between the winners (the extension of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania see in: [Ibid., pp. 470–490; Liubavsky, 2004, pp. 49–70; Pashuto, 1959; Florya, 1980, pp. 142–148]). The area of interest of these states was gradually defined: Lesser Poland princes and Hungarian kings claimed Volhynia and Galicia, and Lithuania wanted to obtain Smolensk, Polotsk, Kievschina and partially Volhynia.

By virtue of this 'creeping' expansion, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania did not engage in an open confrontation with Jochid Ulus for a long time, since it did not change the legal status of the Russian principalities. However, with the weakening of the Khan's power, during the 'Great Troubles', the process of absorbing Russian principalities became so extensive that it started to directly affect the interests of Ak Horde rulers. The attempts to stop the process failed. The decisive attack against the power of Tatar khans in Southern Rus' was undertaken by Algirdas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania (see: [Florya, 1980, pp. 149–150, Tsentralna Ukraina, 2003]). The first serious battle he won was on the Blue Waters River (the middle course of the Southern Bug) in 1363, which was held against the Tatar ulusbeys of the Crimea, namely Hajjibey, Kutlug Buga and Dmitry, 'and they were the three brothers, Tatar princes, fathers and grandfathers of the Podolsk land, and they assigned atamans, and the darughachis coming from these atamans charged tribute from the Podolsk land' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, pp. 31–32]. The military success opened the way for the Lithuanians to subject the Transdnistria and Dnieper River Region.

Expanding their sphere of influence, Lithuanian troops advanced south to the lower reaches of the Dnieper River, until they reached Beloberezhye [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 75; 35, p. 66]. Another clash between the Lithuanian army and the Golden Horde was recorded in 1374, when one of the beys was defeated, whose ulus remained on the western outskirts of the state. It is impossible to localise this possession correctly due to the lack of any geographic indications, but it is clear that it was the Dnieper-Dniester interfluvium [Florya, 1980, pp. 153–154, note 39]. Having suffered a number of serious defeats, the khans of Jochid Ulus not only lost the control over the southern Russian principalities, but were also pushed far into the Black Sea Steppes.

Speaking about the pushing of the Golden Horde out of the southern Russian principalities, we cannot but note an important question of the status of these territories with respect to the khans of Jochid Ulus. The historical science has usually characterised this process unambiguously, as liberation from the 'Golden Horde yoke'. For example, even A. Presnyakov wrote that the transition under the control of Lithuania 'promised liberation from the Tatar power and the hateful tribute' [Presnyakov, 1918, p. 142]. The works of modern Ukrainian historians lie within the framework of this hypothesis (see the articles: [Tsentralna Ukraina, 2003]). However, it seems that the situation in Russian lands was much more complex and far less optimistic regarding the 'liberation from the Tatar yoke'. As proven by Russian historians, such as I. Grekov and B. Florya [Grekov, 1975, pp. 26–33; Florya, 1980, pp. 145–148], the conquer of Russian principalities did not mean that their status was to be changed radically, and the khans of Jochid Ulus quite successfully achieved recognition of their traditional rights in all Russian principalities. The desire of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish Kingdom, which obtained a significant part of western and southern Russian lands in the 14th century, to weaken the dependence of their possessions from the Horde was the major pivot of political interaction between these states and the Golden Horde and Tatar Khanates in the latter half of the 14–15th centuries.

Despite the general tendency towards a weaker power of the Jochids' empire, this fight took the form of a century-long conflict and was full of dramatic collisions. Moreover, the opponents of the Golden Horde were not always successful. Even Casimir, the King of Poland, who seized Galicia Land in the middle of the 14th century, although his possessions were far enough from the main possessions of the Tatars, failed to release the occupied land from the formal dependence at that time.

Even more specific data are at our disposal regarding the Russian possessions of Lithuanian Gediminovich princes. Thus, a letters patent of Alexander Koriatovich, a Podolia Prince, dated 1375 pointed out that the possessions of the recipient were not granted immunity from payment of a tribute to the Horde, 'while all the people should have paid the tribute to the Tatars, they also have to pay it to you' (cited from [Florya, 1980, p. 146]). Similar indications are contained in later letter patents of Lithuanian princes from Podolia.

This collision was most clearly described in a famous *yarliq* of Khan Toktamyskh dated 1397 to the Grand Duke of Lithuania Jagiello Olgerdovich, which reads as follows: 'This is the principle of ruling in your lands, as *volosts* paid tribute to the White Horde, pay us what is ours' [Ibid.]. The text of the *yarliq* is a list of lands and *volosts* granted by the Khan to Great Dukes of Lithuania. The issuance of this *yarliq* was due to the fact that, having lost power in Jochid Ulus and forced to flee to Lithuania, Toktamyskh, relying on the support of Vytautas, gave him a document, under which he refused the supreme Horde rights to the lands of the Grand Duchy and, consequently, rejected to obtain tribute from these lands; no wonder that the list of lands in the *yarliq* text pointed out that they were transferred 'together with the tribute and all other charges'. Consideration of the list of lands and *volosts* contained in the *yarliqs* shows that the 'grant' of Toktamyskh applied to the territory of the later Kiev, Volhynian and Seversk lands of the Grand Duchy, as well as to Podolia. Thereby, it becomes apparent that at the end of the 14th century, a considerable part of the Grand Duchy was in a certain dependence on the Horde. To represent

a complete image, it should be noted that even the agreement with Toktamys̄h did not lead to a complete cessation of tribute payment from the Lithuanian possessions. Even in the middle of the 15th century, Mongol-Tatar 'darugas' charged 'yasak' from a number of cities of the Kiev land [Syroechkovsky, 1940, p. 46, 70]. Judging by the yarliqs of the Crimean Khan Haci Giray (1461) and Menli Giray (1472 and 1507) to grand dukes of Lithuania, the tradition of paying tribute for Russian territories to the Crimean Jochids existed until the 16th century.

The territories of the Southern Rus' were not only to pay tribute to Jochid Ulus, but were, as the Khan's vassals, to participate in its military campaigns. It is unknown whether this law was effective, and whether it all came to money payments, but formally it seems to have existed since the 13th century. This is evidenced by a fragment of a peace treaty signed in 1352 between Casimir and Gediminovich princes, where it was explicitly stated: 'If the Tatars go against the Lithuanians, then the Russians (meaning Lithuanian Rus'—I.I.) must go with the Tatars against their will' (quoted from: [Florya, 1980, p. 147]). Thus, even in the middle of the 14th century, Russian lands of the Grand Principality had a formal obligation to send an army to support the khans of Jochid Ulus.

Political relations between Poland, Lithuania and Jochid Ulus in the latter half of the 14th to the beginning of the 15th century were rather complex and often came to armed conflicts. However, when Poland and Lithuania got united, there gradually emerged a relationship triangle, whose corners' interaction determined the policy of the western part of Eastern Europe in the 15–17th centuries—Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Muscovy and Jochid Ulus, and later its successors—the Great Horde and the Crimean Khanate. Already since the 70s of the 14th century, these countries concluded various short-lived alliances among themselves, trying to establish their hegemony at the expense of their neighbours. Until 1380, a union between Mamai and its dependent khans and Algirdas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania was quite effective. During Toktamys̄h's

reign, these relations were fairly stable and mainly peaceful.

The relations between the Golden Horde and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania passed to a new level after 1397, when, defeated by Timur and then expelled from the country by the new Khan Timur Qutlugh and his ulug karachibek Edigü, Toktamys̄h fled to Duke Vytautas, bringing a significant group of Tatars with him, along with his court and his warriors' families. Some of them, having received lands to settle near Trokai—Tatar Sorok village, became a nucleus, where other Jochid Ulus' natives started to gather, and a centre for forming special military units of Lithuanian Tatars. In Lithuania, people from Jochid Ulus settled by clans, it became a basis for the military and administrative division into regiments—Khorugv. Names that matched the clan division in the Golden Horde are as follows: Ulan of the Grodno-Oshmyany Khorugv (obviously, from the descendants of Jochids—Oglans); Yushin of the Trakai Khorugv (from the clan of Uyshun/Uysun/Yushin); Naiman of the Vilna Khorugv (from the Naiman clan); Yalair of the Novogrudok Khorugv (from the clan of Jalair/Yalair), Kondrat of the Moreshlyan Khorugv (from the clan of Kongrat/Kundrat), Baryn of the Novogrudok Khorugv (from the Baryn clan) (see details in: [Mukhlinsky, 1857; Grishin, 1995, 2000]). Later, already in the 15–17th centuries, when this military and administrative system was established, Tatar khorugvs played an important role in the military history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, being the most important basis for the royal power and its regular army.

In an effort to enthrone Toktamys̄h and receive a key ally to capture the hegemony in Russia, Vytautas '...gathered many people, Toktamys̄h and his court were with him, and Vytautas involved the Lithuanians, Germans, Poles, Samogitians, Tatars, Vlachs, Podolians, and there were 50 princes with him, and the army was strong enough. And with all the regiments and units, he went against Tsar Temür Qutlugh and against his entire Tatar army' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 450]. However, Vytautas' attempt to overthrow Edigü and Khan Temür Qutlugh failed. Edigü and Khan Temür Qutlugh approached him, and in a fierce battle on the

Vorskla River on 12 August 1399 Vytautas and his ally Toktamysch were defeated by Edigü's army (see more on the military and political circumstances of this battle in: [Lyaskoronsky, 1907, pp. 18–38; Jakubovsky, 194, pp. 30–45, Izmaylov, 1994, pp. 80–83]). Having defeated the united Russian-Lithuanian-Polish army and the Tatar troops, Edigü moved to Kiev, and some detachments even reached Lutsk: 'And Tatar troops even reached the great Lutsk, and devastated many towns, and subjected many states, and Temür Qutluğ did much harm to the Lithuanian land and returned back to his country' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 451]. Vytautas suffered a terrible loss and gave up the idea of establishing his power in Russia forever.

This defeat resulted in the strengthening of the central power in Jochid Ulus and in the deterioration of relations with Lithuania, although there were no serious military clashes. The former Khan Toktamysch was forced to flee and hide in Siberia, where he was killed in 1407. In 1409, Toktamysch's sons fled to Lithuania, along with their families and military detachments. The eldest of Toktamysch's sons, Sultan Jalal al-Din was accepted at the court of Grand Duke Vytautas and included in his entourage. Later, the young Sultan heading his *tysyacha* participated in the 'Great War' against the Teutonic Order and the Battle of Grunwald in 1410 [Dlugosz, 1962, p. 57, 198, note 23; Biskup, 1991, pp. 14–16]. According

to a legend, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Ulrich von Jungingen, was killed in the battle by a Tatar commander Bagaradin. In this war and later, Tatar troops showed excellent military skills, were characterised by manoeuvrability, rapidity and fearlessness in the battle.

Later, after a revolt of the nobility and Edigü's overthrow, Vytautas actively supported his Jochid proteges—Toktamysch's sons, in their fight against Edigü. Finally, Edigü was killed in 1420, Jochid Ulus was disintegrated into separate khanates, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was to seek for allies and fight against the enemy forming a new military and political configuration of states in the post-Horde space.

Thus, the relations between Jochid Ulus, Poland and Lithuania were not only an external, but also an important internal political factor influencing the subjected lands of the southern Rus', for nearly one hundred and fifty years. The relations of Poland and Lithuania with Jochid Ulus were full of military and political contacts and wars, but they were not limited by them, since diplomatic, trade and ethno-cultural communication also played an important role. Tens of thousands of Lithuanian Tatars—heirs of the Golden Horde—were a part of upper and lower classes of the Polish and Lithuanian society for many centuries, faithfully serving to their new homeland and leaving a deep trace in the history and culture of Poland and Lithuania.

§ 4. Relations between the Jochids and Chinggisids in Middle Asia

Alsu Arslanova

According to Rashid al-Din, Chinggis Khan allocated the most remote western lands as an ulus for his eldest son Jochi, many of which were even to be conquered—from Kayalyg and Khwarezm 'to those places that were reached by the hoofs of Tatar horses'. The northern part of Khwarezm was included as a share in the Middle Asia. With the departure of Chinggis Khan's troops, Jochi left Chintimur as a ruler in Khwarezm, who later was appointed by Ögedei as the governor of Khorasan and Mazandaran. The southern part of Khwarezm,

the entire interfluvium between the rivers of Amu Darya and Syr Darya belonged to Chagatai. N. Veselovsky noted that a confusion existed in the historiography about inclusion of Khwarezm in uluses of Chinggisids. He wrote as follows, 'Speaking about the division by Chinggis Khan of his empire, Islamic writers say nothing about the fact that Khwarezm was transferred not to Chagatai's descendants, but, as it can be concluded from the words of these writers, to Jochi's descendants. This circumstance made some European writers concerned

about this issue, make an error, as they thought that Khwarezm belonged to Chagatai' [Veselovsky, 1877, p. 75].

It is known that Jochi and Chagatai brothers were out with each other. V. Bartold drew attention to the fact that during the siege of Gurganj (Khwarezmian capital), Chagatai insisted on destroying the city, while Jochi, to the contrary, wished to preserve the centre of his future possessions. According to V. Bartold, only Chinggis Khan's interference softened the conflict between his sons, and Gurganj was later wiped off the map [Bartold, 1963, I, p. 502]. This case clearly demonstrates a characteristic feature of the severe struggle among the Mongol elite, which included supporters of diametrically opposite directions, who had different opinions regarding the essence of the Khan's power, the treatment of the conquered peoples, their economy and religion. I. Petrushevsky called these directions as political tendencies. 'One of them was relatively progressive,—he wrote,—and provided for creation of a strong centralised state with strong khan's power and, therefore, control over centrifugal desires of the Mongol-Turkic feudal military and nomadic aristocracy' [Petrushevsky, 1949, p. 111]. Ögedei and Möngke were proponents of tendency. However, until the end of the 13th century, the largest part of the Mongol military nomadic noblemen supported another tendency—a reactionary and hostile to the first one. Proponents of this movement, maintaining loyalty to Mongol nomadic traditions, were extremely hostile to a settled life and the local population, which they considered to be only an object of rapacious exploitation. 'They sought to destroy cities, seeing them as footholds for anti-Mongol revolts, and convert irrigated lands to pastures. Nomadic feudals were enemies of Islam and the local culture, which they contrasted to the Yasa of Chinggis Khan and the Uyghur nomadic culture. Chagatai was an ardent opponent of this policy, who was a recognised expert and guardian of the Yasa of Chinggis Khan, an implacable enemy of Muslims, the urban life and local culture. The struggle between these two directions passes through the history of the Golden Horde, the states of Hulagu's and Chagatai's descendants as a red thread' [Stroeva,

1958, p. 207]. We can say that its essence was not only in a contradiction as to the methods of exploiting the conquered peoples, but also in the issue of their merger with the feudal upper class and the adoption of a new religion.

Chagatai, the second son of Chinggis Khan, received from his father lands inhabited by Barlas and Khongirad tribes, as well as territories from the Southern Altai and the Ili River to the Amu Darya. Thus, his domain included the Eastern Turkestan, the greatest part of Zhetysu and Transoxania, that is a large part of the Middle Asia (including Bukhara and Samarkand) and the modern day Kazakhstan. 'The main area of his ulus was called Ile Alargu, with a centre in Almalyk' [Istoria Vostoka, 1995, II, p. 409]. According to eastern sources, Transoxania (the area between the rivers of Amu Darya and Syr Darya) was a part of Chagatai's ulus, but in fact it was owned by Ögedei Khan. It is known that in the 13th century Mongol khans did not manage the economic and cultural life of their uluses, limiting to receiving tributes from the population. 'In the western area,—Peter Golden said, 'Some borders between nomads and settled people were unclear, because they were included in a close political, social and economic contact. However, the settled society was often controlled by steppe horsemen, because aggressive and warlike nomadic traditions remained strong, which resisted the desire to create a city and considered them to be only an area for robbery. Personal qualities of Chagatai's descendants, which can be simply called pro-nomadic (according to Juwayni, he entrusted control over yasa (yasak, Mongolian "Yasa(g)"), laws, tribal customs and orders of Chinggis Khan, which are equivalent to the Turkic töre, that is an embodiment of the nomadic common law) and anti-urban, intensified the antagonism. The nomadic way of life was undoubtedly an element contributing to instability, which has always been an acute issue in the history of this region. However, the weakness of Chagatai's central power was also borrowed from the major examples of the Chinggisids' policy. Enthronement of Tolui's descendants, creation of the Ilkhanid dynasty in Iran... and the union between Toluids and Jochids, at least in respect to Chagataids, all this contributed

to their isolation and often interrupted their access to urban centres and trade, which was needed for nomadic economy. When necessary, Ögedeids and Chagataids were forced to model something resembling a state for the sake of self-preservation' [Golden, 1992a, p. 303].

At first, Chagatai's power covered only the nomadic steppe tribes, because according to the order of Chinggis Khan, Transoxania was in fact controlled by a rich Khwarezmian merchant and farmer Mahmud Yalavach, who made Khodjend city his residence. Subsequently Chagatai dethroned this governor without the consent of the Kaan. Ögedei, who gave Transoxania to Chagatai in *inja*, appointed Mahmud Yalavach's son to this position—Masud Bek, who began to manage the affairs and all the settled population of Middle Asia, Zhetysu, and Eastern Turkestan (from Beshbalik to Samarkand and Bukhara) until the beginning of the 14th century.

During the reign of the great khans Ögedei, Güyük and Möngke, the unity of the Mongol Empire was generally maintained. However, as the land assigned to the members of the Khan's dynasty became further from the centre, as noted by V. Bartold, 'princes having independent military force started to gradually obtain all the power, and the empire was doomed to disintegration into a number of independent kingdoms' [Bartold, 1963, II, 1, pp. 59–60].

In the 40–50s of the 13th century, there started a fierce struggle for power between the descendants of Chinggis Khan, which was due to the increasing striving for independence. This process of disintegration of the Mongol Empire was objectively linked to a lack of political, economic and cultural ties between its multi-tribe parts and their increasing military and economic power.

Shortly after Ögedei's death in 1241, Chagatai also died. Under the testament, Chagatai's ulus was now headed by his grandson Qara Hülegü, who appointed Masud Bek as the governor of 'Transoxania, Turkestan and other regions'. Güyük, Ögedei's son, dethroned Qara Hülegü saying that the grandson could not be on the throne while the son was alive. He appointed Yesü Möngke as the head of the ulus—the eldest living son of Chagatai.

As a result of serious confrontations involving the throne of the Great Khan between the descendants of Ögedei and Tolui, Möngke eventually ascended to power (1251–1259). He was the eldest son of Tolui, and many princes of Ögedei's and Chagatai's houses were accused of conspiring against him and executed. As is well known, Batu played an active role in this struggle and managed to take advantage of the moment. 'The Mongol Empire was actually divided between the heirs of Tolui and Jochi in the middle of the 13th century. The frontier borders of Batu's possessions, who was the son of Jochi, and the Great Khan Möngke were along the Chu and Talas rivers. Zhetysu fell under Möngke's control, and Transoxania came under the Jochids' control for a while' [Istoriya Vostoka, 1995, II, p. 410]. According to William of Rubruck, the border between the spheres of influence of Möngke and Batu lied to the east of Talas, which meant that a part of the lands of Jochid Ulus belonged to Möngke's sphere of influence. This situation was due to the fact that Qara Hülegü supported the candidacy of Möngke to the position of Kaan, and Yesü Möngke was among his opponents. Möngke restored the power of Qara Hülegü in Chagatai's ulus and gave him a *yarliq* that allowed him to kill Yesü Möngke. However, Qara Hülegü died travelling through the Altai. According to the Khan's *yarliq*, his wife Orghana killed Yesü Möngke and began to rule in Chagatai ulus in the name of her infant son Mubarak Shah. Möngke then sent troops to the west to finally defeat the enemies and descendants of Ögedei and Chagatai. As a result of the fighting, their uluses fell under his power.

Thus, according to V. Bartold, in the 1250s there was actually a division of the Mongol Empire between Batu and Möngke, and Batu was more respected in Möngke's territories than the men of the Great Khan in the possessions of his son Jochi [Bartold, 1968, V, p. 499]. We must also note that Batu's sphere of influence during Möngke's reign extended to those areas of Middle Asia, which were not officially included in Jochid Ulus. 'This conclusion of the scholar (V. Bartold—A.A.) was supported by subsequent researchers, and they agreed that both Batu and Möngke tried to not interfere in

the life of its 'cultural' (first of all, settled) areas, preferring to receive instead the rent tax collected by the Khan's vicegerent of these territories, Masud Bek, who was the son of Mahmud Yalavach, a famous scout for Chinggis Khan' [Arapov, 1999, p. 41]. The borders of Masud Bek's viceroyalty were thus significantly expanded: now he controlled Transoxania, Turkestan, Otrar, the Uighur region, Khotan, Kashgar, Jend, Khwarezm and Fergana.

When Möngke died in 1259, internecine strife within the 'golden dynasty' of Chinggis Khan started up again—this time namely between the brothers Kublai and Ariq Böke. This struggle led to bloody clashes, and in 1260 Kublai convened an illegal Kurultai in Beijing, where he was elected as supreme ruler of the Mongol Empire. The capital of the empire was then moved from Karakorum to Beijing, which further contributed to the disintegration of the empire into separate uluses.

Jochi's third son Berke, who became the Khan of Jochid Ulus after Sartaq (Batu's eldest son), was the only grandson of Chinggis Khan who refused to accept Kublai as the Great Khan and started to act independently. He actively defended the interests of Jochids in the struggle for power against the descendants of Chagatai and Ögedei, but in reality, only controlled the western part of his father's ulus. The rest of the Jochids obeyed him only nominally [Bartold, 1968, V, pp. 557–558]. 'Taking advantage of the weakness of other Mongol states, Berke's government began to interfere in the affairs of Chagatai's and Kublai's uluses. For example, there are indications in the sources about the robbery of the Christian population of Samarkand and Bukhara by Berke's troops, even though Jochi had nothing to do with these cities, which belonged to Chagatai's descendants' [Safargaliev, 1996, p. 318]. In the early years of his reign, Berke was actually a co-ruler of the Great Khan Möngke and was honoured in the empire as the second important Khan. It is known that the Khan accepted Islam and provided special protection to sacred Islamic areas and communities in Middle Asia. The policy of supporting the Islamisation of the country was naturally dictated by the urgent

need to strengthen the economic and cultural ties between various areas.

Alghu, Chagatai's grandson who was appointed to the position of head of the ulus by Ariq Böke and then openly revolted against him, successfully took advantage of the situation to expand his possessions at the expense of the Jochids. He drove Jochid viceroys and officials appointed by Berke from the western part of Chagatai's possessions, extending his power even to Khwarezm, which had always belonged to Jochid Ulus (in just a few years he conquered and ruined Berke's Otrar), and set the foundation for the establishment of an independent state. According to V. Bartold, 'the extermination in Bukhara of Berke's detachment numbering 5000 people reported by Wassaf... was likely performed not by Kublai's order, as Wassaf says, or Hulagu's order, as proposed by d'Ohsson (*Histoire des Mongols*, III, p. 381), but by the orders of Alghu' [Bartold, 1968, V, p. 504]. However, the northern part of Khwarezm was soon returned to the Golden Horde. This is indicated by Khwarezmian coins bearing the name of the Golden Horde Khan Mengu-Timur, which were minted in the early 1270s. As noted by G. Fedorov-Davydov, 'even the first Khwarezmian coins, where the mark of the Jochid house indicates that Khwarezm belonged to the Golden Horde, manifest an alarming symptom of the complex political situation caused by the struggle for Khwarezm between Chagatai's and Jochi's descendants: instead of Jochi's tamga, some coins of the second type contain a tamga that was used on Chagatai's coins' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1958b, p. 94].

A Chinese map of 1331 indicates the northern part of Khwarezm including Urgench as belonging to the Golden Horde. Transoxania remained in the possession of Chagatai's descendants, although by the decision of Kurultai dated 1269, Mengu-Timur and Qaidu possessed their shares there. At the same time, one street in Urgench, namely its citadel, was included in Chagatai's ulus along with Kyat and Khiva. 'Of course', G. Fedorov-Davydov said, 'it was a nominal possession. Nevertheless, this was certainly a reason for all kinds of feudal disputes and quarrels between the heirs

of Chinggis Khan's empire. The acuteness of these conflicts was increased by the economic importance of Khwarezm, the true pearl of Jochid Ulus' [Ibid.].

After the establishment of an independent Chagatai state in the 1260s, the struggle between the various parties mentioned above became even more acute. The first two Khans, Mubarek Hoja and Barak, who accepted Islam, tended to establish closer relations with Transoxania. However, this orientation was vehemently refused by the Mongol nomadic nobility, but Barak soon still managed to gain the favour of the Mongol party in Turkestan. In autumn of 1266, he defeated Mubarek Hoja near Khodjend and proclaimed himself Khan.

Ögedei's grandson Qaidu, who fought for power with Barak, supported the latter to preserve his own interests while Hulagu's descendants were fighting with the Jochids for Transcaucasia and the northwestern regions of Middle Asia. The western border of Qaidu's and his faithful vassal Duwa's possessions ran along the Amu Darya river, where there was a war being waged between them and Hulagu's descendants that proceeded with varying success. Mengu-Timur, the Khan of Jochid Ulus, entered into an alliance with Qaidu and sent a 50-thousand man detachment against Barak to help him. His interference in the affairs of Chagatai's ulus was obviously connected with his desire to ensure the safety of the Eastern caravan trade route from prince Barak, who had turned down a path 'of injustice and lawlessness' and devastated Middle Asia. The devastation of Samarkand by Barak certainly and directly affected the interests of the Golden Horde's trade. In 1268, Qaidu defeated Barak on the Syr Darya river with support from Mengu-Timur and forced him to divide Turkestan. The defeated Barak finally accepted Mengu-Timur's conditions.

In spring 1269, Khan Qaidu convened a Kurultai in the Talas valley. There peace was established between the uluses of Jochi, Chagatai and Ögedei, and borders were officially specified. Two-thirds of Transoxania were given to Barak, and one-third was divided between Qaidu and Mengu-Timur. According to Rashid al-Din, Qaidu had the right to collect

tribute in the possessions of all the participants of Kurultai, and could appoint his sons as the heads of regions bordering on the possessions of Jochi's, Hulagu's and Kublai's descendants. Moreover, the author reports that the Kurultai participants entered into an agreement stating that 'they will settle in the mountains and steppes, will not stick to the cities, and will not let cattle walk on sowed fields or charge unwarranted tributes from their subjects (raya)' [History of the Öz Beg Soviet Socialist Republic, 1967, I, p. 307]. In addition, at the suggestion of Mengu-Timur an alliance was entered into at the same Kurultai between the 'houses' of Jochi, Ögedei and Chagatai against the Iranian Ilkhanate, with which the Golden Horde had been at war since the reign of Khan Berke. 'The end of their council was as follows', Rashid al-Din says, 'in spring Barak must have crossed the Amu Darya river leading his army to the Iranian lands and took some possessions of Abaqa Khan so that his troops would have enough pastures, land and property. Barak said, "If your heart agrees with this proposal, then we will enter into alliance and conclude a treaty"...' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 78]. 'With this union, there no longer existed the threat of formation of a coalition of Mongolian rulers against the Golden Horde.... The uluses of Jochi, Chagatai and Ögedei... were thus recognised as independent states. Their independence was legally executed and ensured by a common agreement... which released the houses of Jochi, Chagatai and Ögedei from any claims of Tolui's descendants' [Safargaliev, 1996, p. 322]. The management of the settled areas was entrusted to the same Masud Bek.

Thus, Chagatai Khans did not try to establish their power in Transoxania for nearly a half a century, and their headquarters were located in Zhetysu, which had been repurposed into pastures due to the large influx of nomads. In its desire to destroy cities and plunder the settled population, the Mongol nomadic elite actively cooperated with the nomadic elite of the Hulaguid state. Ilkhan Abaqa sent two of his armies to Bukhara and Khwarezm, having ordered them to devastate those lands. So in 1273, they both participated in the devastation

of Bukhara, which started to become populated again only in 1280.

After Qaidu's death in 1302/03 and the short-term reign of Tuqa-Timur, power in Middle Asia was passed to Qaidu's ally—Duwa (1282–1306)—a descendant of Chagatai. Circumstances were such that he became the owner of the territory that had previously belonged to Chagatai's ulus, and the princes of Ögedei's house were forced to be subjected to him. V. Bartold referred to him as the real founder of Chagatai's state. After Duwa's death there began a period of internecine strife between the tsareviches accompanied by a constant state of unrest. The Persian historian Wassaf associates the complete decline of agriculture and trade in Transoxania and Turkestan with this unrest.

In 1312, power in the Golden Horde was passed to the famous Öz Beg Khan (1312–1342) with the help of Emir Qutlugh-Timur, who accepted (probably in 1321) and thoroughly established Islam in the country. The new leader was converted to this religion himself by Sayyid Ata, a Turkestan Sheikh. It must be stated that Middle Asian sheikhs, especially Khwarezmians, continued to influence the Golden Horde khans even after this event. Öz Beg's reign was accompanied by various diplomatic contacts and the flourishing of foreign trade with western and eastern countries. During this period, Khwarezm and its surrounding territories were flourishing, as it was an important cultural, economic and craft centre of the state. Qutlugh-Timur became the viceroy in Khwarezm, and according to Ibn Battuta, we know that the area was 'one of the largest, most significant and beautiful Turkish cities, rich in bazars, wide streets, numerous buildings and second-to-none sights. It's almost as if its trembling because of its numerous inhabitants, flowing like the waves of the sea' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 308]. At that time, Esen Buqa, Duwa's son, was the ruler in Chagatai's ulus and seeking an alliance with Öz Beg against Kaan. According to the anonymous author of 'The Continuation of the Collection Chronicles', he even sent him a letter where he wrote that Kaan had allegedly said, 'Öz Beg is not worthy of being a sovereign; I

will give Toqta's place to another prince'. Hearing this, Öz Beg wanted to rebel against Kaan, but Qutlugh-Timur, who was an Emir and his (Öz Beg's) adviser, said 'If you want to follow my advice, do not pay attention to the words of Esen Buqa, because he is a self-serving person and seeks only his own benefit in this case'. Öz Beg liked this opinion, and following his (Qutlugh-Timur's) words, he did not pay attention to that (statement of Esen Buqa), and sent messengers to Kaan with a proposal of friendship, unanimity, obedience and submission' [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 141–142].

When Duwa's son, Esen Buqa, died around 1318, the throne in Chagatai's ulus was taken by his brother Kebek (1318–1326), who abandoned the Mongol nomadic tradition and supported the transition process to a settled lifestyle and urban life, seeking to gain power over the rich and cultural areas of Transoxania (today's Uzbekistan and Tajikistan). Ultimately he transferred the headquarters of Chagatai's ulus to this region (to Nakhshab) and built a palace ('Karshi') near it. Kebek patronised Muslims, and his name is associated with monetary and administrative reforms that had centralised tendencies. Up until that time, there had been no single state coin in Chagatai ulus. Instead, they were minted in Bukhara, Samarkand, Termez and other cities. There were also coins minted in Khwarezm and the Golden Horde. In fact, he introduced the same monetary system as in the Chagataid state during the reign of Ghazan Khan. It should be noted that this system was widespread in the 14th century and was introduced in the Golden Horde, Chagataid Ulus and Ilkhanate at the same time. Of course, under better conditions this system could contribute to the development of trade and economic relations between them, if the relations between the Ilkhanate and the Golden Horde on the one hand, and Chagatai ulus and Ilkhanate on the other hand, were not so hostile. Kebek's successors continued this course and sought to consolidate Chagataid ulus. For example, his brother Tarmashirin (1326–1334), who lived in the centre of the Bukhara oasis, shifted away from the nomadic way of life, became an ardent Muslim and made Islam the official religion in the Chagatai state, which

according to al-Umari, contributed to the revival of trade between Transoxania and other Islamic regions. In the future, there was an anti-Muslim reaction, feudal unrest and a struggle for power among the nomadic feudal lords that lasted until 1346 or 1347.

Kazan, Yasavur's son, was the last independent Khan of Chagataid ulus who made attempts to restore the authority of the Khan's power, but was killed by a representative of the nomadic nobility, Emir Kazagan, in Karshi in 1346. The 'twelve-year reign of Kazagan (1346–1358) was a time where the aspirations and interests of the military-nomadic nobility, who were interested in maintaining campaigns and looting raids against neighbouring countries, were fulfilled' [Stroeve, 1952, p. 67].

In the 1340s Chagatai ulus was divided into Mogolistan, which was dominated by the nomadic way of life, and Transoxania, which instead featured a settled way of life, each with its own khan. In the late 50s, the Khan's power was reduced to zero, and the Chagatai state was split into 12–15 fiefs (nomadic or settled), which continually fought one another to increase their possessions. It is understood that

along with political fragmentation, this inevitably led to the considerable weakening of the economy, declines in trade, etc. Timur managed to skillfully take advantage of this troubled period to seize power in Chagataid ulus.

The strategic military and political plans of Toktamys, who had aspirations of at least a partial restoration of the Empire of the Chingisids in three uluses, were directed towards the territories that previously constituted the possessions of Chagatai's and Jochi's descendants. But as we know, Timur alone managed to gain the favour of the nomadic Chagataid feudal lords and the feudal circles of settled Transoxania. In reality, this was the reason for his success: 'He firmly established political stability in Transoxania, liquidated the threat of invasion of conquerors, and ensured the security of caravan routes. A huge flow of materials, an massive inflow of people, and the cessation of feudal wars—all this contributed to the development of the production capacities in the country... During Mongol domination, Transoxania turned into a united and relatively centralised state for the first time ever' [Ibid., p. 87].

§ 5. Wars between the Jochids and Hulaguids

Alsu Arslanova

In the 1230s, a large portion of Iranian and Transcaucasian countries were conquered by the Mongols. Some territories belonging to Ismailism followers in the mountains of Al-bursa and Quhistan, as well as the possessions of Baghdad caliphs in Arab Iraq and in Khuzestan, remained unconquered. The all-Mongolian Kurultai of 1251, where Möngke was elected as the Great Khan, made the decision to undertake a new campaign under the command of Hulagu Khan to complete these conquests. This new campaign, which was regarded as an all-Mongolian issue, involved an army gathered from all four uluses at the rate of two soldiers from each ten [Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 67; Petrushevsky, 1977, p. 231]. The Khan's army entered Iran

in 1256, and Hulagu began his campaign with the conquest of numerous Ismailian fortresses centered around Alamut. (There were more than fifty in Quhistan alone) [Grum-Grzymajlo, 1926, p. 474].

In addition to the troops headed by Hulagu, this campaign used detachments of Mongols that had remained in Iran since the war with Jalal al-Din, as well as supporting Muslim contingents [Ibid., p. 475].)

Then he launched a campaign against Baghdad, where Caliph al-Musta'sim was the ruler (1242–1258). Thanks to the capture of Baghdad, the Mongols had the opportunity to reach the Mediterranean Sea and take control of very important trade routes—from the Persian Gulf to Syrian ports—that promised rich materials and huge profits. Therefore, Hulagu

Khan attributed great importance to the conquest of the city. Baghdad was taken by the Mongols without any losses to themselves on 5 February 1258, and it subsequently lost its importance as one of the centres of world trade. The winners obtained the extensive treasures of the Caliphate, which Hulagu Khan then sent to Azerbaijan for storage in the treasury on the Shakhi mountain near Urmia lake. The captured caliph was executed on Hulagu's order, and with this death the Abbasid dynasty was finally interrupted after ruling in Baghdad for longer than 500 years (750–1258). The further western progress of the Mongols was stopped by the Egyptians, who stubbornly resisted and defeated them in Syria in 1260. Thus, Syria was lost for the Mongols, thus starting a war between the Jochids and Hulagu that did not present the latter an opportunity to fulfil its conceived punitive expedition to this country.

Despite the fact that the Mongols made repeated attempts over the decades but never managed to seize Syria, they were nevertheless able to assert themselves over the vast area of Western Asia over a short period of time. In conquered Iran, Hulagu established his own state, and made Maragha its capital, which was then replaced by Tabriz, meaning Azerbaijan was appointed as its central area. This state also included Armenia, Georgia, a large part of Western Asia, Mesopotamia and other countries. In 1261, Kublai Khan recognised him as ruler of these lands and gave him the title of 'Ilkhan' (that is, the lord of the people or tribe). From that moment, a feud flared up between the Jochids and Hulaguids. Moreover, Berke Khan actually separated from the head of the Mongol Empire after breaking his ties with Kublai and taking the side of his opponent—Ariq Böke—in the struggle for supreme power.

It is known from many sources that the troops put forth by Hulagu for the campaign included Golden Horde troops who took part in all of these conquests. As noted by A. Ali-Zadeh, 'the materials of these historians demonstrate that after the relations between the Golden Horde Khan Berke and Hulagu Khan worsened, these troops were to return to the Golden Horde by Berke's order. Some

of them left the territory of the Ilkhans and crossed the border to enter the lands of the Egyptian Mamluks, and some of them, after crossing the Derbent, returned to the Golden Horde' [Ali-Zadeh, 1956, p. 304]. Thus, Burke found it necessary to withdraw his troops, because he was confident in their safety. 'It is known', A. Ali-Zadeh wrote, 'that the Egyptian Sultan received the Golden Horde troops like a true friend: he ordered his vice-roys to provide them with all the necessities and sent them to Cairo, where he went himself to meet them. The Golden Horde soldiers were given lodging in houses built specially for them in al-Luka. In their honour, a feast was also arranged, and the Sultan awarded them with honorary clothes, horses and money, made their commanders emirs, and included all others in the group of the 'Bakhriyya' (or Bakhrits). The first Golden Horde troops that left Hulagu's camp arrived in Egypt in 660 under Hegira (1261/62). Golden Horde detachments then continued to arrive in Egypt, and they were all warmly received' [Ibid., p. 309].

A. Yakubovsky believed that Berke most likely, by providing military assistance to the Ilkhan in the conquest of Iran and the capture of Baghdad, expected that he would receive Azerbaijan as payment, where there were beautiful pastures and a rich 'craft industry, mainly textiles, which was widespread in the towns and villages of Azerbaijan' [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 76]. The intensive trade between the Golden Horde and Iranian Azerbaijan, along with the value attached to it by the Jochids and Hulaguids, are demonstrated by Wassaf, Kirakos Gandzaketsi and other authors. However, the negotiations on this matter never ended up leading to anything. According to N. Veselovsky, the Jochids, as well as the Chagataids, were obligated to support Hulagu's campaign. Success was typically rewarded by a land plot in the conquered territory, and this was obviously a reason why Berke made claims to Arran and Azerbaijan, as this corresponded to his economic and strategic interests. 'But both of these provinces remained Hulagu's, and therefore the Golden Horde Khan felt offended' [Veselovsky, 1922,

p. 4]. In any event, there are no documented data that there was ever any agreement on this issue between Hulagu and Berke [Ali-Zadeh, 1956, p. 305].

The deteriorating relations of the Ilkhans with Jochid Ulus made for more favourable conditions regarding the union of the latter with the Egyptian sultan. They often exchanged embassies and precious gifts, and under the pretext of protecting Islam incited each other to war against the Hulaguids. As it is known, Berke had been the first person in Jochid Ulus to convert to Islam and dutifully spread it throughout his domains. Islam, in this case, performed the role of a certain ideological tool that Berke used to win the sympathies of Muslims who had been within the territory subject to the Ilkhans, as well as to form an alliance with the Egyptian Sultan, i.e. to win over the Ilkhan's internal and external enemies.

'We can say that one of the reasons for the adoption of Islam by the Horde Khan Berke, the brother and successor of Batu Khan, was his feud with the Hulaguids and alliance with the enemies of the latter, i.e. the Egyptian sultans. On the contrary, as strange as it may seem at first glance, the Ilkhans did not adopt Islam for a long time, i.e. the religion that was professed by most of their subjects. Hulagu himself generally protected the Christians, and his eldest and most beloved wife (Kereit), as reported by Rashid al-Din, was a Christian. But the same had also been done by other Chinggisids until the decline of the Mongol Empire. During the persistent wars between the Jochids and Hulaguids (the 1260–80s), the Ilkhans remained heathens, and their main support had been formed by the nomadic tribal militia that had come to Iran with Hulagu' [History of the Orient, 1995, II, p. 414]. There is no doubt that the protection of Christianity by the Hulaguids was not a random fact. Throughout the history of conflicts between the Hulaguids and Jochids, this played a significant role as a tool in their flexible policy of affirming conquered countries and in the fight against the Jochids [Narozhny, 1989, p. 112].

Thus, the diplomatic relations of the Jochid Ulus with Egypt were a result of sig-

nificant political factors, and had formed after a long and close alliance between these countries, so different from a cultural perspective, throughout the middle of the 13th and the end of the 14th century. In this regard, it should be noted that the initiative to establish a mutually complementary relationship came mainly and directly from Egypt, as it had become increasingly 'deeply interested' [Grekov, Yakubovsky 1950, p. 78] in the power of a military alliance with Jochid Ulus against their sworn enemy, the Iranian Mongols. In Egypt, they were well aware of the benefits of pitting the Golden Horde against their immediate neighbor, Hulaguid Iran, in order to ultimately weaken both states potentially capable of becoming opponents of Egyptian rulers. Moreover, the efforts of the latter had been directed at maintaining a constant feud between them to divert Hulagu's attention from Syria's conquest. The Jochids, from their perspective, were also interested in this because they did not want to allow the Hulaguids to get to the Mediterranean Sea, seize the coastal Syrian cities and establish trade links with Europe.

In the writings of Arab authors there can be found valuable information on the correspondence between the khans of Jochid Ulus and the Egyptian sultans. Thus, the Secretary of the Egyptian Sultan al-Malik al-Zahir Rukn al-Din Baybars I, Ibn Abd az-Zahir, who left a chronicle of contemporary events, wrote based on his words a letter to Berke inciting him to speak out against Hulagu, explaining that for him this was an 'obligatory holy war against the Tatars (Hulaguids)... Islam does not consist in words only; Holy War is one of its (main pillars)'. This letter was sent by the Sultan to Berke with a special embassy. According to what was written later by the same author, 'with them, he sent two people of the mentioned Tartars who belonged to the supporters and servants of the king (Berke) and knew (those) lands. With the help of (these) ambassadors, he wrote a letter in which there was much about the approval and incitement to war, with descriptions of Muslim troops, their multitude and their mixed tribal nature; with the indication of their cavalry, Turkmens, Kurdish clans, and Arab tribes, which Mus-

lim and Frankish sovereigns made obey them, who opposed them, and who were in harmony with them, who sent them gifts, and who were with them in the truce, and how all of them were subject unto him (the Sultan) and obeyed his orders. In addition, (the letter contained) instigations against Hulavun—let Allah disgrace him—an explanation of the insignificance of his cause (i.e., the ease of dealing with Hulavun), incitements against him, censure of a careless attitude towards him, and the suggestion to do whatever will result in (Hulavun's) harm' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 47, 55].

As pointed out by Salikh Zakirov, this letter served as the beginning of a series of incitements against the Hulaguids that without fail permeated diplomatic relations between Egypt and Jochid Ulus. Thus, for example, the Arab historian al-Nuwayri wrote: 'In the month of Ramadan of the said year (9 July–7 August 1263), Sultan al-Malik az-Zahir released his (Berkay's) ambassadors back and wrote him (a letter) instigating him against Hulagu and inciting him to war against him' [Ibid., p. 131–132, 152].

As correctly noted by A. Yakubovsky, 'the calculations of the Mamluk Sultan Baybars were quite simple. Hulaguid Iran was a neighbour of Egypt, owned Syria, and its borders were in Mesopotamia. A strong Iran was a threat to the Mamluk sultans. What could be a more effective means than stoking antagonism between two Mongol states? That is why the main goal of the entire foreign policy of Mamluk Egypt was to maintain in every possible way and, if possible, strengthen the animosity in this struggle' [Grekov, Yakubovsky 1950, p. 78]. A. Ali-Zadeh, a scholar who considered this question in detail based on the Persian and Arabic sources, reached the conclusion that after Hulagu invaded Iraq and destroyed the Arab Abbasid Caliphate, the Mamluk sultans did their best to keep Hulagu from moving further into Syria and trying to regain the captured Syrian cities, and then to invade the Iraqi and Arab territories of Asia Minor, etc. The Ilkhans, in their turn, also sought to seize the whole of Syria and its complete sub-

ordination. In fact, the destruction of the Abbasid caliph and the destruction of the cities belonging to Muslims, were not so much the cause as the reason for the outbreak of hostilities (see.: [Ali-Zadeh, 1956, p. 311]).

In the early 13th century (for a length of 40 years), before the Hulaguids had adopted Islam, the 'trump card' in the hands of the Mamluk sultans had been the calls for holy war against the disbelievers. For example, Arab historian al-Zahabi reported that 'one of the main causes of the war that occurred between him (the Golden Horde's Khan Berke—A.A.) and Hulagu was the killing (by the latter) of the caliph'. Similar accounts were also mentioned by other Arab historians. However, the early Hulaguid Tokudar (1282–1284) and later Ghazan Khan (1295–1304) both adopted Islam. Meanwhile, the feud between the Ilkhans and their neighbours, the Muslims was far from never blazing up in combat again. Thus, it is obvious that it did not have a religious character, but in fact one of political contradictions [Ibid., p. 300]. V. Bartold astutely considered the following reports as more plausible: 'according to which the tsareviches from the house of Jochi felt that their rights had been violated with the creation of the new Mongolian state in Persia. The new state also included such areas as Arran and Azerbaijan, where even during the times of Chinggis Khan there passed "the hooves of Mongol horses", which meant, consequently, by the establishment of the conqueror, that they must belong to the domain of Jochi' [Bartold, 1968, V, p. 505].

The military confrontations between the Golden Horde khans and Iranian Ilkhans, which lasted for almost a hundred years (1262–1357) and were only occasionally interrupted by periods of a fragile peace, had already begun during the time of Hulagu and Berke, i.e. immediately after the formation of the Ilkhan state. Berke, as the son of Jochi, considered himself an elder in the clan, and accordingly demanded submission from Hulagu. During the lifetime of Batu, who until Hulagu's arrival to Persia commanded the Mongol forces in Transcaucasia, friendly relations had been maintained. The sons of Jo-



Hulagu Khan. Miniature. Iran. Early 14th century.

chi and Tolui even teamed up to participate in the enthronement of Möngke Khan in 1251, but soon after the conquest of Baghdad and the establishment of the Hulaguid state, the situation had changed dramatically, resulting in intensified antagonisms between members of the Khan's home. Friendship turned into open hostility, as Hulagu Khan became Khan of the countries that used to belong to Batu. Arab historian al-Umari noted that prior to the death of Batu, the Golden Horde had a political influence over the countries of Western Asia, Azerbaijan and Iran were in its possession, and the Jochids opposed Hulagu Khan's campaign in the West mainly thanks to their conquest of Baghdad [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 246]. When power in the Jochid Ulus passed to Berke Khan, Hulagu began to act independently from him.

Rashid al-Din reported that Hulagu had been unhappy with 'Berke's despotism'. For his part, Berke condemned Hulagu for the fact that the latter 'destroyed all the cities of the Muslims, ruined the families of all the sovereigns of Islam making no difference between friends and foes, and killed the Caliph without consulting relatives' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 74], constantly cavilling and admonishing him. 'But', adds Rashid ad-Din, 'in view of the fact that Berke was a senior in the clan (aka), Hulagu Khan endured all of this...'. Soon, however, it started to annoy

him and, according to the same Rashid ad-Din, he said: 'Although he (Berke) is senior in the clan (aka), but because he is far from the path of humility and modesty, and treats me with threats and violence, I will not treat him with due respect... ' [Ibid., p. 73–74]. Perhaps by using his influence, Burke wanted to put Hulagu in a position of becoming dependent on him. Whereas Hulagu, in his strivings for independence, intentionally deprived him of some of the income that he received before the formation of the Ilkhan State.

Thus, the causes of this war, as pointed out by V. Bartold, were the following: the Jochids' claims on Arran and Azerbaijan, the arrogance of Berke as a senior in the clan in his relations with Hulagu, and the death of the Jochid tsareviches in Iran (Berke suspected that they had been poisoned). Berke, who by that time had become a Muslim, declared himself the protector of Islam from Hulagu's claims [Bartold, 1963, III, 1, p. 59–60].

Salikh Zakirov noted that the main reasons for this opposition were often 'hidden behind so many secondary causes that every historian and chronicler describing the course of events adhered to their own views and put forward some unique reason as the main factor, and in fact the most compelling in their own view' [Zakirov, 1966, p. 9].

Some extant documents contain information about the boundaries of Jochid Ulus and Ilkhanate, stating also the reasons for the deterioration of relations between them due to the territorial claims of the Golden Horde khans to the Ilkhans [Ichalov, 1975, p. 172].

The Persian historian of the 13–14th centuries Wassaf, as part of his determination of the boundaries of the Golden Horde and the Hulaguids, wrote that 'the extent of the land from the fringes of Kayalyk and Khwarezm and to the outer edges of Saqsin and Bulgar to the outskirts of Baku Derbend, he (Chinggis Khan—A.A.) allotted to his elder son Jochi. The area behind Derbend called Demir-kapuk (Iron Gates) had always been the winter lodg-

ings and rallying point for the scattered parts of the troops (Jochi's); at times, they made raids to Arran and said that Arran and Azerbaijan were also a part of their holdings and encampments (of the Jochids')... That is why on both sides of the Hulaguids and Jochids', the author continues, 'there began to appear reasons for discord and causes for bitterness one after another' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 80–81]. From this report, as well as from a number of other Arab and Persian sources, it is clear that the Golden Horde khans were not entirely lacking in legitimate claims to the Transcaucasian lands, as under the will of Chinggis Khan, they had been allocated to his eldest son Jochi, but were then captured by the Hulaguids. Most medieval historians place the borders of the Golden Horde state from Derbend and further to the North. Thus", noted A. Ali-Zadeh, '... we can say that Derbend (Bab al-abwab, Demir-Kapu) became part of the Golden Horde state, and the Ilkhans owned Shirvan, Arran and Azerbaijan in general. This is confirmed by the fact that taxes levied on these areas had been paid to the central treasury of the Ilkhans, and is further supported by the materials of Hamdallah al-Qazwini. As familiar to all, the latter mentions in his geographical work the total annual amount of tax revenue from these areas to the state treasury of the Ilkhans' [Ali-Zadeh, 1956, p. 310].

In fact, the main stumbling block for both states had been Azerbaijan with its centre in Tabriz, which owing to its natural resources and favourable geographical position, was one of the main hubs for trade caravan routes between the eastern and western countries [Ibid., p. 316] of both states. Hamdallah al-Qazwini's book 'Nuzhat al-Kulub' provides a detailed description of the network of caravan routes passing through the territory of Azerbaijan in various directions and linking the southern regions to the northern ones. Hulagu was therefore of particular value for the region, and made Tabriz the capital of its state, which received significant development throughout his rule. In fact, after the formation of the Ilkhan state, trade relations between the

Jochids and Hulaguids were disrupted. 'To assess the significance of these routes', noted A. Ali-Zadeh, 'it should be noted that during the time of Ilkhan the main road Soltaniyeh—Derbend, due to continued fighting between the Ilkhans and the Golden Horde Khans, was of great importance and had been often used for the movement of troops and the transportation of military materials. During periods of short-term truces, that road once again acquired commercial value as well. Thus, for example, according to Wassaf, during the reign of Gaykhatu (after the truce between the Ilkhans and the rulers of the Golden Horde), trade relations resumed, with slaves, horses and sheep serving as the main items of trade imported from the Golden Horde. These "goods", according to Wassaf, filled the markets of Arran' [Ali-Zadeh, 1952, p. 75–76].

In the narrative of his travels in Asia, Marco Polo offers his opinions on the causes of war 'between Alai king of Levant and Berke, tsar of the West'. In his view, the war broke out as a result of the disputed border area. 'Everyone wanted to take possession of it', Polo wrote, 'and neither would cede it to the other: they both considered themselves strong and powerful. They challenged each other and said, "I will go and take it, and let's see who can take it from me"...' [Minaev, 1902, p. 338]. This explanation is closer to reality than the explanation of al-Muffadal and Armenian historian Kirakos Gandzaketsi, who wrote that Berke supported Ariq-Böke against Kublai Khan, and Hulagu 'had been disappointed by this' and thus opposed Berke [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 187–189].

Meanwhile, it is nonetheless obvious that this was not just confined to local border disputes, and those deeply rooted contradictions were based on larger interests, namely the fierce struggle for the regions most important in economic and strategic terms. The above-mentioned al-Muffadal referring to certain Ala al-Din ibn Abdallah al-Baghdadi said that the cause of the war had been the division of revenues from the conquered countries, which by order of Chinggis Khan was to be divided into five parts, where two were to

be given to the Great khan, two to the army, and one part had to go to the Khan from Batu khan's home. 'When Batu died, and Berke ascended to the throne, Hulavun kept his share' [Ibid.]. The causes of the war are explained by Ibn Wasil in the same way, who indicated that by order of Chinggis Khan, the third part from each conquered region was to become part of Berke's home, Chinggis Khan's home, and the troops'. Then Hulagu ceased to comply with this ruling. 'When Chinggis Khan died', writes Ibn Wasil, 'none of the Tatars had ceased to comply with his order and directions, but when power was transferred to Hulavun and he conquered the East, al-Ajam and al-Iraq seized the property, and he gave nothing to any of the Tatars, leaving all the property to himself, without sending anything to Berke's home or Chinggis Khan's home (now) called Batu's home, who was their great and powerful tsar. This was a frustrating thing for Berke's home' [Ibid., p. 73].

Persian historian Juzjani, a contemporary of these events, wrote that after the capture of Baghdad, Hulagu only 'sent Berke something as a gift along with his share' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 19, Note 3].

However, based on the writings of Arabic author al-Umari, one can reach a different conclusion on the financial accounts between the Jochids and Ilkhans. 'It turns out that the sustenance of the auxiliary corps sent to Persia to help Hulagu was carried out with the profits from the rich industrial cities of Tabriz and Maragha. Therefore, when Ilkhans was presented with the claims, it had not been a matter of a fifth or third part of the spoils or profits being compensation for their participation in the campaign, but coverage of the military costs' [Kozmin, 1935, II, p. 97]. In fact, one can agree with Azerbaijani author M. Seyfeddini, who wrote that even 'before the formation of the Ilkhan State, the Golden Horde freely distributed the trade routes and vast pastures of Azerbaijan, Georgia, as well as part of Asia Minor. In addition, the goods imported by it were exempt from taxes. The emergence of a new state that sought to seize the trade routes leading from the Black Sea

to the southern part of Azerbaijan, naturally infringed on their interests' [Seyfeddini, 1981, 2, p. 72–73]. Hence it is clear that military action between these states were actually inevitable. As I. Petrushevsky wrote, 'the struggle for the possession of Transcaucasia between Iran's Hulaguids and the Jochids of the Golden Horde was largely a struggle for the possession of the caravan trade routes to Europe running through Transcaucasia' [Petrushevsky, 1937, p. 912].

Golden Horde khans interested in the maintenance of direct and duty-free trade, political relations with Eastern and Western European countries, as well as receiving profits from this territory, sought to gain a foothold in Azerbaijan. 'Thus, the Ilkhans' dominance over certain critical trade and caravan routes of communication was one of the main reasons forcing the Golden Horde khans to make claims to Azerbaijan and carry out occasional raids into the territory' [Ali-Zadeh, 1956, p. 316]. In addition, there were exceptional pastures that were so favoured by the Mongols, as well as important natural resources.

The immediate cause of the war between the Jochids and Hulaguids was Jochid Ulus's withdrawal of its auxiliary corps from the army of Hulagu Khan in 1261–62, and the loss of three commanders (tsareviches and nephews of Batu Khan) [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 81–82; 1946, p. 54]. Since all the gains of the Mongols were earned by all the people, every purchase also became the property of the entire tsar's family, which imposed certain obligations on the ulus khans with respect to each other and to the Mongol emperor. As noted above, when Hulagu Khan went to conquer several regions of Asia Minor, he was provided with troops from each ulus, among whom there were also some of the Golden Horde under the command of some of the tsareviches and important feudal lords. According to Rashid ad-Din, all three commanders of these groups—the tsareviches Balakan, son of Shiban, Tutar, son of Buval, and Kuli, son of the Horde—that is, the grandchildren of Jochi and the nephews of Batu, who were directly involved in the expansion of the Mongol Empire, demanded their share, and under

various circumstances were killed in the ulus of Hulagu [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 81–82]. One of the tsareviches, Tutar, was accused of witchcraft and conspiracy against Hulagu, interrogated and ultimately found guilty. In deference to Berke, Hulagu sent him to the latter. Berke, on the other hand, making sure that the charges were just, according to the Yasa of Chinggis Khan, brought him back to Hulagu, who ordered his execution. Other Golden Horde lords, according to Rashid al-Din, died of natural causes, but Berke suspected Hulagu in their intentional poisoning. The families of these three tsareviches fled to Iran, reached Derbent and from there arrived to Jochid Ulus. Contemporary opinion on this incident can be judged by the words of Rashid al-Din: '... when his (Berke's—A.A.): relatives, Tutar, Balaga and Kuli suffered misfortune (death), there was a feud between them (Hulagu and Berke) and anger that intensified day by day' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 74]. Golden Horde troops who took part in the conquest of Iran left the ranks of the Ilkhan army. A small part of them went to an that was Egypt hostile to Hulaguids, and the other went through Khorasan and Derbent to Jochid Ulus, and became actively involved in the fight against Hulagu. These events are narrated in their own way by medieval Armenian historians. For example, according to the monk Maghakia, the cause of contention between Hulagu and Berke was the following: emperor Möngke commanded the arguchis (judges) to enthrone Hulagu in the Khanate in the lands conquered by him, but some of the tsareviches rebelled against him. 'As soon as the Khan's sons learned that Gulavu intended to sit on the imperial throne, the four of them were furious and refused to obey Gulavu. Takudar and Bora Khan obeyed, while Balaha, Tutar, Katagan and Migan did not agree to recognise him as khan. When the arguchis of Mangu Khan were positive that these four were not only unwilling to obey, but also intended to resist Gulavu, they ordered to put them to yasad,—that is, strangling by bowstring, according to their traditions, as only in this way could the persons descended from Khans be put to death... Af-

ter that, the arguchis ordered the Armenian and Georgian troops to go against the armies of the rebels and kill them, which was then done. The number of people killed had been such that the stench from the corpses of killed Tatars spread throughout the mountains and fields. Only two of the leaders, Nuha-Kuun and Aratamur, having learned well in advance of the danger, took with them all the treasure, gold, and excellent horses they could, and fled with 12 horsemen. After crossing the great river of Kur, they returned to their land. But not content with having escaped, they instigated Berke, Sainkhan's brother, against Gulavu, and for 10 years maintained the course of terrible bloodshed' [History of the Mongols by monk Maghakia 1871, p. 31–32]. Kirakos Gandzaketsi in the chapter 'The bloody war between Gulavu and Berke', also describes these events: '... Great Gulavu, with which there were great and noble princes of descent equal to him, relatives of Batu and Berke, Kuli, Balaha, Tutar, Megan, Kuli's son Hatanagan, and many others, destroyed them all together with all their troops, sparing neither old men nor children, as they interfered with his orders. Only a few of them, and even then deprived of their wives, children and property, had been able to flee to escape to Berke and their other relatives. Learning of this, Berkay gathered a large army, and prepared to march against Gulavu to avenge the death of his relatives' [Istoriya mongolov po armyanskim istochnikam, 1873, p. 62–63].

Over the 100 years of wars between the Jochids and the Hulaguids, the political initiative shifted from one state to the other. Three separate periods can be singled out, respectively: from 1262 until the 1270s when the initiative belonged to the Ulus of Jochi, from the 1270s until 1318 when the Hulaguids took the initiative, and from 1318 until 1357 when the initiative returned to the Ulus of Jochi. According to A. Krishtopa, 'Regarding the Golden Horde Jochids, this initiative mainly manifested itself militarily (expansionist campaigns which were ultimately unsuccessful) due to their territorial claims; the Hulaguids' activity was predominantly political and economic' [Krishtopa, 1974, p. 98].

Thus, political and military confrontations between the Ulus of Jochi and the state of Hulaguids were connected with their struggle for the territories that were beneficial for both states economically and strategically. In many ways, this struggle defined the historical situation in this vast region, which included Dasht-I Kipchak, Transcaucasia, Iran, Khorasan, Asia, Egypt, and had an undeniably significant influence on world history in general.

Accounts of the military actions can be found in Arab, Persian and Armenian sources, though they are often quite tendentious and contain some inaccuracies. The Persian historians, whose accounts are more reliable, deserve more attention, as they were more knowledgeable about the events.

According to the Arab historian Ibn Wasil, a contemporary of the events, the military clashes started in 662 AH (1263 CE). He also said that Hulagu was the first to attack [Collected Materials on the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 70–71, 73]. Wassaf believed that the military actions started in the winter of 662 AH (1263–64 CE) [Collected Materials on the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 50]. According to Rashid al-Din, the first war between Hulagu and Berke started when the Ulus of Jochi attacked the Hulaguids' lands in August 1262 [Ibid., p. 74]. Berke sent a thirty-thousand strong army under the command of general Nogai, son of the fallen Tutar, who skipped Derbend and stopped in the vicinity of Shirvan. For this campaign, Berke mobilised the entirety of his manpower. On Hulagu's side fought the vassalised rulers of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. As Rashid al-Din wrote, Hulagu advanced from Ala-tag, the place of the Ilkhans' summer camp, on 20 August 1262. The general engagement that then took place between the Chinggisids is described in the minutest of detail by many authors [Collected Materials on History of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 70–75, 273, 275; Collected Materials on History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 81, 92, 99–100, 219, 228]. The decisive battle, which lasted the whole day, in which Hulagu suffered a serious defeat, took place on 13 January 1263. The

death toll on both sides was great. During the retreat of the army headed by Hulagu's son Abaqa-Khan across the Terek River, the ice suddenly cracked and a great number of the Ilkhanate soldiers drowned. According to Ibn Wasil, 'of the Tatars, not a single man survived who could spread the word (about what happened). All those who had run forward drowned, while those who fell behind were all killed. As for those drowned, their number is unknown. When Berke arrived and saw the place of the bloody battle, he ordered that all the dead were collected (in one place). They were brought together and their bodies made 3 mounds (or) large hills. The rains and winds had already polished them and the bones of the dead had turned white. Travellers could see them at a distance of 2 days (of travel). This battle is called the Temirkapuk battle. Hulavun escaped with a small group of soldiers'. The author of the chronicle continues: 'When Berke arrived at the scene of the battle and saw the terrible slaughter, he said: "May Allah disgrace this Hulavun who killed Mongols using Mongol swords. If we were united, then we would have conquered the whole world"' [Collected Materials on History of the Golden Horde, 1884, pp. 72, 75]. According to Ibn Kathir, Berke said through his tears: 'I feel sad that the Mongols kill one another, but what should be done to him who has broken Chinggis Khan's Yasa?' [Ibid., pp. 273, 275]. Rukn ad-Din Beibars writes about the arrival of Berke's envoys in 661 AH (1262–63 CE). In his letter, Berke emphasised his commitment to Islam: 'May it be known to the Sultan that I have fought Hulagu, who is of my flesh and blood, to praise above all Allah's word, and to be zealous in professing Islam, for he (Hulagu) is a mutineer, and a mutineer does not believe in Allah and his messenger' [Ibid., pp. 77, 99]. However, according to the sources, Berke's first letter to the sultan of Egypt was written in the 'Itil country' and dated the first of radjab 661 AH (11 May 1263) [Ibid., pp. 178, 189].

As a result, Berke seized Derbent and then returned to where he left. The battle on the Terek River brought about serious con-

sequences for the trade relations between both countries. On his return to Tabriz, Hulagu ordered that the Golden Horde merchants who were there be executed and their property confiscated; Berke did the same to the merchants from the Ilkhan State. According to Wassaf, Hulagu ordered that Berke-Ogul's merchants, who were engaged in trade and commercial transactions in Tabriz and who possessed vast, endless wealth, all be executed and all their property that is discovered be put in the treasury... Many of them had their money and valuables kept in the hands of the distinguished people of Tabriz. After their slaughter, the (said) wealth remained in the hands of the money holders. Seeking retribution, Berke-Ogul then had the merchants from his Khanate (Hulagu's Khanate) murdered, thus doing the same to them. Entering and exiting the territory, as well as travel in general for the merchants and craftsmen was hindered, (but) the shaitans of enmity had jumped out of the vessel of time' (quote from: [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 77]). Of course, Berke's victory brought Jochid Ulus and Egypt still closer together and allowed the latter to divert its armies from the Ilkhanate to fight the crusaders. As al-Maqrizi wrote, 'The Sultan (of Egypt) was glad...and the people were glad that Hulagu (because of the war in the Caucasus) was distracted from starting a campaign against the Syrian lands' [Collected Materials on the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 429].

The existing situation had grave implications for the Hulaguids' foreign policy. Now they had to give up active, large-scale operations on the Syrian-Euphratian border until their northern border was protected from the Jochid invasion. They were concentrating entirely on the struggle against Jochid Ulus, as that is where the main danger came from. In addition, the eastern border also began to de-

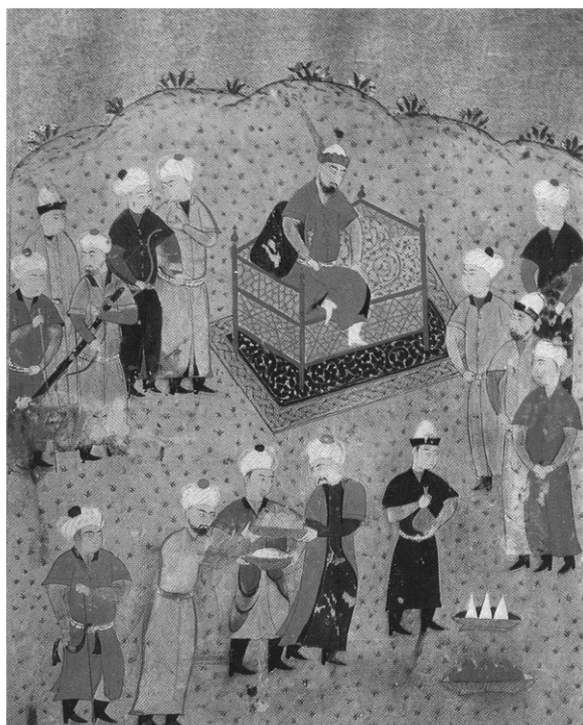


Pursuing the enemy. Miniature. Iran. Early 14th century.

mand their attention, from where Barak, the Jochids' ally and great-grandson of Chagatai, began to threaten invasion.

In February 1265, Hulagu-Khan died. Although during his lifetime he undertook massive preparations to continue the war, he never actually took any military action. He was then succeeded by Abaqa (1265–1282) and the war resumed. As Rashid al-Din writes, after Abaqa ascended to the throne, he first (of all)...sent his brother Yushumut to Darbend, Shirwan and Mugan up to Altan so that those borders were defended from the enemy' [Rashid al-Din, 1946, III, p. 67]. At first, it seemed that a kind of peaceful treaty was starting to take shape, and the Jochids were even granted certain privileges, namely revenues from Tabriz and Maragha, but this probably was not enough to pacify Berke-Khan.

Al-Umari wrote: 'As for the Kipchak kings' claims to own Tabriz and Meragha being doubtful, my lord Nizameddin Abulfadail Yakhta Ettayari told me the following: "When the Great Khan sent Hulaku to fight the Ismailis and those who stirred up a mutiny in Eljebal, Hulaku then asked him to increase the army (sent) with him, and he (the Khan) sent with him (people) from every Chinggisid Khan's army. After conquering the countries they had seized, these armies stayed with him (Hulaku), and he gave each army one of the (conquered) areas as a possession. The



Ghazan Khan on the throne among his entourage, congratulating him on adopting Islam. Miniature from the book 'The History of Abulkhair Khan' by Masud Quhistani. Transoxania. Mid-16th century.

share that was allotted to the army that was sent with him by the ruler of the Kipchak and Khwarezmian lands was in Tabriz and Maragha. And they (the Kipchaks) began to receive from them what was needed to survive. Then, when Hulagu died and his son Abaga ascended to the throne, they *managed to deceive him*, saying that Sultan Berke wanted to build a *congregational mosque* in Tabriz. He (Abaga) gave them his permission to do this, and they built it and *wrote the name of Sultan Berke on it*. Then they asked (permission) to build a *factory to manufacture fabrics there for themselves*. He also permitted them to do this. And they began to manufacture fabrics there for Sultan Berke. Things went on like this until there was a discord between them and they clashed, and Berke defeated Abaga. Abaga then became angered and *destroyed the factories*. Later, when the former clash had been forgotten and the conflict between the two kings was settled, the factories resumed their work so that they (the Kipchaks) had the

right to bring material from their land to manufacture there what they wanted. And when some more time passed, then both the mosque and the factories built in the name of Sultan Berke became the centre of their harassment (about Tabriz and Maragha)' [Collected Materials on History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 239]. It is most likely that Berke wanted in this way to prepare the people of Tabriz to recognise him as their lawful ruler.

It was inevitable that the war continued on, and a major new battle was fought between Berke's and Abaga's armies. In the summer of 1265, Nogai advanced from Derbent to Shirvan with his great army. Hulaguid prince Yushmut (Hulagu's third son) set out against him. As A. Ali-Zadeh describes this event, 'he crossed the river, and near the Jegan-Muran River (Aksu River) a bitter battle was fought, during which, according to Rashid al-Din, there were heavy losses on both sides. Nogai was wounded with an arrow which struck his eye. His army took to flight. According to Rashid al-Din, after that Abaga Khan crossed the Kura River, where at that time the Golden Horde Khan Berkay was coming with his allegedly 300,000-strong mounted *opolchenie*. Abaga-Khan then turned his army back. After crossing the Kura river he landed on its southern bank and ordered that all the bridges be destroyed. But even after a 14-day stay here, Berkay was not able to cross the river. Then he decided to go to Tiflis and cross the Kura River there, but he still failed to achieve his objective: on his way he fell ill and died. His body was taken to Sarai Batu and buried there, and his army broke up and scattered. According to Hamdallah al-Qazwini, part of the soldiers were taken prisoner and given out as *gulams*' [Ali-Zade, 1956, p. 320].

The Armenian author Vardan the Great writes the following on Berke's hostile actions on the Caucasian border: 'With the advent of year 715 (1265/66), Berke, the ruler of the Northland, the successor of Batu, and Sartaq, who had adopted Islam, upon learning about Hulagu's death, came with a large army to the Kura River and stopped on its other bank, op-

posite Abaga's army and his brother Ismud's army, thus wishing to show that he is alive while their father had passed away' (quote from: [Mikaelyan, 1952, p. 338]. In this case, Abaqa adhered to defensive tactics.

In this way, Abaqa started to vigorously build up his defensive fortifications on the Kura River, the fact of which is recorded in Arab, Persian and Armenian sources, namely by Rashid al-Din, Wassaf, az-Zahabi, Kirakos and Vardan. The wall they built on the southern side of Darbend was called 'siba' or 'sibe' by them. According to Vardan, the army (of the Hulaguids) standing on this part, frightened by Berke's hordes, fortified their banks with a palisade called a shibar, and guarded them the whole winter [ibid]. According to Rashid al-Din, 'In 664 (1265–66) Abaqa Khan ordered that a rampart be built and deep ditches excavated on the other bank of the Kura River from Dalan-naura to the Kurdaman steppe adjacent to the Kura River. A detachment consisting of Mongols and Muslims was assigned to defend them, and caravans started to go there and back on both sides' [Rashid al-Din, 1946, III, p. 68].

Despite the armistice they reached, the clashes never ended during the reign of Abaqa Khan. As Wassaf wrote, '...When Abaqa Khan learned about the numerical strength of the (Jochid) army and its courage, he built on this (Ilkhan) side of Darbend a wall called Sibe to make the further invasion and encroachment of this army disturbing the whole world impossible. The animosity here was constant and unfading, and the two sides avoided one another until the reign of Gaykhatu Khan' [Collected Materials on History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 82].

The next invasion of the Hulaguids' territory by the Golden Horde army took place during the reign of Tula-Buga (1287–1290) during ramazan in 687 AH (1288) and was headed by Tama-Tokhta and Nogai [Ibid., p. 68; Rashid ad-Din, 1946, III, p. 118]. Arghun Khan (1284–1291) crossed the Kura River, reached Shamakhi and from there sent out a reconnaissance party of several emirs and princes to find out the enemy's positions and available strength. Several days later, they

came back to say that the enemy had retreated from their territory.

During Rabi' al-awwal of 689 AH (26 March 1290), the army of the Golden Horde Khan again entered the Ilkhan's appanages. The first battle took place on 29 April of the same year on the bank of the Kara-su River, on the other side of Darbend. The battle was violent with both sides suffering heavy losses, and the Golden Horde army lost several prominent commanders both killed and wounded. According to Rashid al-Din, the battle ended with the victory of the Ilkhan army while their enemy took to flight. The news of this victory was sent to all of Ilkhan's vassalised vilaiyets [Rashid ad-Din, 1946, III, p. p. 208, 118].

After Arghun Khan's death in a place called Bagche in Arran, the relations between the states improved temporally. According to Rashid al-Din, before the reign of Ghazan Khan in Iran (1284–1291) and Tokhta in Jochid Ulus (1290–1312), there were no military clashes. As Wassaf wrote, 'when Tokta became successor of the kingdom of Mengu-Timur, then (again) the route for merchants and holders of commercial deposits was opened thanks to the exchange of ambassadors and diplomatic correspondence. Measures for the safety and peace of travelers were also taken. The Arran people were excited to see the abundant bullock carts and yurts, horses and sheep. After a pause lasting for some time, the commodities and rarities of those countries were once again in wide use' (quote from: [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 89]. At that time Jochid Ulus was experiencing internecine wars that increased and lasted until Nogai's death in 1299–1300. The khans had to therefore give up their active foreign policies for some time. Besides, during this period Egypt was at peace with the Hulaguids. When in 1306 Khan Tokhta's embassy arrived to Egypt's ruler Malik an-Nasir Muhammad (1299–1309) with the proposal of fighting the Ilkhans together, the sultan refused politely. Besides their efforts to seize Syria, the Hulaguids also had to exercise control over their border with the Chagataids. However, according to Persian historians, the Hulaguids did not use the confusion among

the Jochids to their advantage. For example, Rashid al-Din quotes the words that were allegedly spoken by Ghazan Khan to the Golden Horde envoys sent by Tokhta: 'I do not interfere in your internal affairs, nor do I take advantage of (your) bad situation...' He instructed his trusted people in the following way: 'By no means are we to start a quarrel or be the first to act in matters that cause disturbance, so that we are not blamed for the damage caused to the ulus [Collected Materials on the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 72–73].

The Golden Horde rulers renewed their claims to Azerbaijan at the time when Ghazan Khan was preparing to march against Egypt. In 1300–1301, he moved his army to Syria against the Sultan of Egypt. The same year (on 3 May), Ghazan Khan was visited by Tokhta's envoys. It is likely that the latter wanted to make the most of the situation and gain territorial concessions from the Ilkhan. But the negotiations never resulted in anything. Counting on the advantage of surprise, Tokhta moved his considerable army to the border with the purpose of seizing Azerbaijan. Ghazan Khan, who had returned from his campaign in Syria, went to Arran and nearly reached the limits of Darbend, which aroused alarm among the Golden Horde army. But the sources do not mention any specific military actions. Rashid al-Din only says that Tokhta Khan took to flight and his princes and emirs, thinking that Ghazan Khan was going to attack them, retreated to the other side of the river (Samura?). When the Golden Horde commanders saw that their guess was wrong, peaceful trade relations were once again resumed [Rashid al-Din, 1946, III, pp. 344–345, 188–189]. Historians assert that Ghazan Khan left his military forces in Arran to protect its borders.

Subsequent relations between the Ilkhan and the Khan of Jochid Ulus worsened still due to Tokhta's efforts, who hoped to use the alliance with the sultan of Egypt in his own interests. On 22 December 1302, the sultan of Egypt's envoys paid a visit to Ghazan Khan. At the same time, Tokhta's envoys also arrived there, and the number of their guards was con-

siderably larger than the diplomatic protocol of that time required. According to Rashid al-Din, there were 300 men [Ibid., pp. 352–353, 193], and according to Wassaf, the 3 ambassadorial uimaks arrived on 325 post horses [Collected Materials on History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 82]. In reality, Tokhta's embassy made the demand of Ghazan Khan that the Caucasian territories be conceded to them. According to Wassaf, Tokhta demanded that Azerbaijan be given to the Golden Horde. 'When Toqtai became a sovereign Khan and established himself as the peak of honour and good fortune, a feeling of vanity and arrogance awoke (in him) and he wished again to add (to his domain) Arran and Azerbaijan...' [Ibid.]. He said that his demand was motivated by the fact that according to the division of the Mongol Empire envisaged by Chinggis Khan's testament, Arran and Azerbaijan were to have belonged to Batu Khan, and that 'they (the Hulaguids) have wrongly been in possession of incomes and taxes for (many) years' [Ibid.]. Tokhta threatened Ghazan Khan and warned him that if his requirement was not met, he would achieve his aim using weapons. Ghazan decisively rejected Tokhta's demand. He said in response: As for the claim to these lands, ...the answer is this: although since the reign of Hulagu Khan these lands have passed to the extensive domains (of his), but (besides) the Mongols and Tajiks, nomads and city dwellers are aware that we conquered this area by using something precious, besides which there is no (other) mirror to see the face of victory, and no (other) preacher on the pulpits of subjection, and no (other) mediator in military clashes, and no (other) dragoman to talk of victory..., meaning the sword of an Indian origin; therefore, the conversation about its deprivation (of that area) must also be conducted in the language of the sword...' [Ibid., p. 83]. After the talks, Ghazan allowed the Golden Horde envoys to return. As the same Wassaf writes, '...(Ghazan Khan) honoured the Kipchak envoys with gifts and favours; he sent the 21 falcons that they had brought to his own hunting lodge and gave for each of them pearls from the treasury worth 1,000 dinars. He gave prince Toqtai his answer with differ-

ent exhortations and compliments, and suggested that he should continue to go along the road of consent and mutual agreement [Ibid., p. 84]. The envoys of the sultan of Egypt were sent to Tabriz (according to Wassaf, to Hamadan) and were kept there. No specific military actions between the two Khans are observed in the sources. Most likely, Tokhta's efforts were ultimately unsuccessful.

After Ghazan's death, there were no military actions between the Golden Horde khan and Sultan Muhammad Öljeitu (1304–1316), but the latter would never stop keeping military forces in Arran. After his death, the situation radically changed.

The next Khan of the Golden Horde, Öz Beg, who adopted Islam and successfully dealt with his internal enemies, decided again to raise his claims to the Hulaguids while maintaining lively, allied diplomatic ties with Egypt. In 1318–19, at the beginning of Ilkhan Abu-Sa'id's reign, the Khan of the Golden Horde and the sultan of Egypt set out against him. In the winter of that year, Öz Beg's considerable forces moved from Darbend to Arran. The emirs on the Ilkhans' side then began to retreat without fighting, so the Jochids managed to seize a large territory and reach the banks of the Kura River, on the opposite banks of which were positioned Abu-Sa'id's troops, which were numerically much fewer than in Öz Beg Khan's army. In addition, their fighting spirit left much to be desired, as they suffered from hunger due to lack of food, unfavourable weather conditions and the death of crops and cattle. During this time, the omnipotent emir Choban, who would have moved to Horsan to suppress the rebellions of the nomadic feudals, earned about Öz Beg's invasion and at once decided to come to help the Ilkhans' army, most likely trying to take the enemy from the rear. Öz Beg had to leave the captured lands and began to retreat towards Darbend [Ibid., pp. 87–88, 92], but Abu-Sa'id's troops pursued him all the way there.

It can be assumed that the relations between the two countries were generally peaceful over a period of several years. However, in all probability, Öz Beg Khan never abandoned his secret hope to unite Jochid Ulus

and Hulaguid Iran under his control. In fact, 'Sheikh—Uvays's History' states that a certain Bagdad-Khatun carried on a correspondence with Öz Beg Khan, inviting him to assume the Hulaguid throne, for which she was executed in 1335 [Ibid., p. 101]

Using the internecine strife among the Ilkhans to his advantage, Öz Beg Khan tried to seize Azerbaijan once again. Warned by informers and without waiting for the attack, Abu Sa'id went with a large army to Arran and reached Shirvan in 1334–1335 (according to Mirkhond, in the early 1335–1336). But an epidemic spread throughout his army and many soldiers died. The Ilkhan himself fell seriously ill himself, and on 30 November 1335 he died in Karabag. According to some historians, he was poisoned.

After Abu Sa'id's death, discord and internecine strife spread in the Ilkhan State, giving rise to people's revolts. Succession to the throne thus became an issue of great importance, and Arpa Khan was actually elected without all family members present due to the emergency caused by Öz Beg's invasion. Taking advantage of the situation, Öz Beg Khan invaded Arran with a large army. In the winter of 1335–36, Arpa Khan, who had succeeded to the throne after Abu Sa'id's death, also moved his army to Arran and reached the Kura River. A major battle took place between the two enemies which ultimately ended in the Golden Horde Khan's defeat. It should also be mentioned that the weather conditions had worsened by that time due to the bad drought. In addition, Öz Beg Khan had received a message from Qutlugh detailing Timur's death and, as Hamdallah al-Qazwini writes, 'they were not able to stay (at that place)' [Ibid., p. 93]. A. Ali-Zade, proceeding from the accounts of the Persian historian Muhammad Shebangarai, wrote: 'According to the historian, when Abu-Sa'id was alive, Öz Beg Khan planned to set out via Derbent. When he learned about Abu-Sa'id's demise, he moved his army through Derbent, approached the limits of Karabag, and stopped on the bank of the Kura River. Upon receiving the news of the Golden Horde's invasion, Arpa Khan, in command of a large army and together with

his vizier Giyath al-Din, son of Rashid al-Din and his emirs, immediately marched against the army of the Golden Horde Khan Öz Beg. For 45 days, both armies stood opposite one another, but military actions only took place for two or three days. According to the historian, during this time a grass grew in the steppe that the Golden Horde horses ate and died. In addition, when Öz Beg Khan saw that the army fighting against him was the same Abu-Sa'id's army that surpassed the Golden Horde troops in fighting skills, strength and equipment, he ordered to light a lot of fires, and at midnight, after he left the captured territory, he came back. On the following day, the Golden Horde troops vanished without a trace [Ali-Zadeh, 1956, p. 328].

Arpa Khan was killed during feudal strife, and the Hulaguid state broke up into a number of appanages that feuded internally. The Ulus of Jochi was also consumed with the same issues.

The Golden Horde Khan Janibek (1342–1357), following the traditions of the Golden Horde khans' attitude towards Azerbaijan, which was captured by the Chobanids after Abu-Sa'id's death, aspired to add it to his domains. According to the author of 'The History of Sheikh-Uvays', many hojis (merchants) of 'Tabriz, Serakhs, Ardebil, Bailekhan, Berda and Nakhichevan' were displeased with Malik Ashraf's policy and came to Janibek Khan to ask him to take power in Azerbai-

jan into his own hands [Collected Materials on the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 230, 101]. As A. Yakubovsky wrote, 'It seems that Janibek Khan had quite a few people in Azerbaijan who were loyal to him and who advocated for the Jochids' interests. His most active supporters were representatives of the ulama, namely sheikhs, qadis and others. True to form, while being oppressed by Valik Ashrefa, the famous qadi Mukhyi-ad-din Berdai moved to Sarai Berke and in one of his sermons began to appeal to Janibek Khan to launch a campaign against Tabriz [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 264].

In December 1357, Janibek defeated the army of Malik Ashraf and seized Tabriz, where he minted his own coins for some time, and executed him. Janibek then appointed his son Berdibek to take his place. Thus, for a certain period of time Azerbaijan was added to Jochid Ulus. On his way back to his ulus, Janibek Khan fell ill and died. According to other sources, he was killed by Berdibek's order. After hearing of this event, Berdibek hurried to the Golden Horde so as not to miss his chance to take the Khan's throne, and left the country he had just conquered. Subsequently, however, it was not in his destiny to add Azerbaijan to Jochid Ulus once and for all.

Tabriz was conquered once again during the lifetime of the Golden Horde Khan Tokhtamysh, but his constant struggle with Timur prevented him from retaining Azerbaijan.

§6. The Jochid Ulus and Mamluk Egypt: Political and Cultural Connections

Aleksandr Kadyrbayev

The emergence of Jochid Ulus and the Turkic Mamluk state on the world map coincided in time (the 1240–50s), which is not accidental, as one can see a distinct cause and effect relationship between these two events.

The 13th century witnessed a revival of the slave trade. After the terrible wars unleashed upon the world by the Mongol rulers, a great number of people were cut off from their homeland and made slaves who could

be bought and sold. The Mongol armies themselves were burdened with the masses of prisoners who were made slaves, and they attached little value to the slaves, as they were obtained cheaply during military campaigns and looting. When the wars began to subside, the prisoners turned into a source of profit, the objects of purchase contracts. A great number of slaves from the steppes of Dasht-I Kipchak were sold by Mongols, Muslim and

Italian merchants at the slave markets in Sarai, Kaffa (modern Feodosia), Soldaia (modern Sudak), Constantinople (modern Istanbul), Baghdad, Damascus, Alexandria, Samarkand and Bukhara to Europe, north-western Africa and India. But a considerable number of them were sold to Egypt and Syria. The Arab chronicler al-Ayni wrote: 'Those taken prisoner from these peoples (the Kipchaks) were brought to the Egyptian and Syrian lands ...' [Collected Materials on the History of the Golden Horde, 1883, p. 503].

Every Muslim ruler who respected himself had bodyguards. In India they were called *Gulyams*, in Egypt and Syria they were called *Mamluks*. These positions were filled by slaves bought when they were children or young men and then educated and brought up at the sovereign's palace. These soldiers were supposed to be loyal to their sovereign and independent of the state machine, government and its officials. The Mamluks obeyed only their master, the ruling monarch. Turkic slaves were considered the best *Gulyams* and Mamluks.

In the Egyptian–Syrian sultanate, where a lot of Turkic slaves were sold, as early as the middle of the 13th century the palace guard consisted mainly of Kipchaks. After the death of the last Sultan Malik as-Salih from the house of the Ayyubids, his wife Shadjarat ad-Durr, the daughter of a Turkic slave, occupied the throne in 1250 with the help of the Mamluks. After her short rule and death, the throne was then occupied by Kipchak Mamluks who created an army known for their excellent military skills, and who fought back not only the attacks of the West European crusaders, but also those of Mongol conquerors, which very few in reality managed to do. Among those rulers who defeated the Mongols were Mamluk Kipchak sultans Qutuz, Beibars, Qalawun and an-Nasir. While Qutuz was the first to have inflicted a crushing defeat to the Mongols, his successor Beibars, while fighting the Ilkhan Mongols, did not confine himself to mere military efforts. He also used the discord between the Hulaguids and the Jochids which, as stated above, caused the soldiers of Jochid Ulus who earlier fought under Hu-

lagu to join the Mamluks. In addition, in one of his letters sent in 1261 to Berke, the Khan of Jochid Ulus and a Muslim, he appealed to him as a brother in faith to set out against Christian Hulagu, which turned out to be an effective plea. Berke Khan's former troops quickly joined the Mamluks, and many of them became emirs and occupied high posts in the Mamluk hierarchy. In the midst of the wars waged from 1262 between Jochid Ulus and the Hulaguids, Beibars' first embassy sent to Berke Khan in 1263 initiated a number of analogous missions during the 13–14th centuries. They were composed of Sunni theologians who were supposed to facilitate the spread of Islam, officials, and Mamluk Kipchak emirs who communicated with the people of Jochid Ulus and with most courtiers without any translators. From that time on, Arab sources started to give relatively complete accounts of Jochid Ulus that remain valid today. The Byzantine Empire, which relied on the support of Jochid Ulus to counter the Ulus of the Hulaguids' aggressive efforts, acted as an intermediary between the two states. In the 1360s, a distinctive axis of Sarai–Constantinople–Cairo formed, which opposed the Hulaguids and their vassals in Cilician Armenia and Georgia, and in the distant Yuan Empire behind them, the Mongol state in China, as well as Latin West. Mediation among all these countries was conducted by Italians, namely by the Genoese for the first group, and by the Venetians for the other. The mediation Genoese rendered and the alliance with the Byzantine Empire helped the Mamluks to add more troops to their army by importing new slave-soldiers from Jochid Ulus and their khans' vassalage of Dasht-i Kipchak, preserving a relative homogeneity of the army's composition. The Kipchak Mamluks played a dominant role in the ruling elite of the Syrian–Egyptian sultanate from 1250 until 1382, though they were strangers in these lands. They were a separate caste in Egyptian–Syrian society, a type of privileged military, and though they were reinforced by slaves, actual slaves during the reign of the Kipchak Mamluks were the broad masses of the indigenous Arab population of these countries. Long-term

isolation from the local population would preserve the Turkic ethnic character of the Mamluk ruling elite, whose prestige was supplemented by a traditional image of Turks in the Islamic world as the supporting and striking force of Sunni Islam. Arab authors referred to the Mamluk state as Turkic, namely, *dawlat at-atrak* [Korayev, 2003, pp. 66–75]. The first famous Mamluk sultans who were mentioned above, except for an-Nasir, knew practically no Arabic, although they remain in Arab history as liberators from the threat of the crusaders and Mongols, as well as champions of jihad, meaning ‘holy war’. The language of communication among the Mamluks was Turkic. In the Syrian-Egyptian sultanate, Persian and Arab poetic works were translated into Kipchak. In this connection, the translation of Ferdowsi’s immortal work, ‘Shakh-name’, into Turkic by poet Sharif, who lived among the Kipchak Mamluks, is of particular interest. Egyptian and Syrian Kipchaks spoke their native tongue, which underwent considerable changes under the influence of other Turkic dialects, especially the Oghuz dialect. Quite a few literary works of diverse content had been written by the latter half of the 14th century in the Kipchak-Oghuz dialect, which had become the literary language in Egypt and Syria.

On its end, Jochid Ulus gave rise to written culture in the Turkic language, some works of which excited interest among the Turkic Mamluks; namely, the written sources of the 14th century called ‘Khosrov and Shirin’.

Dynastic marriages also contributed to the development of relations between the Golden Horde and the Mamluks. For example, a Khan of Jochid Ulus married his daughter to Beibars Sultan, of whom his first heir Said Khan Muhammad was born and named Nasr-ad-Din Berke Khan after his maternal grandfather. It is known that a Golden Horde princess named Tulunbi, who was from the Chinggisid family ruling in Jochid Ulus, was engaged to Sultan an-Nasir at the initiation of its rulers [Islamov, 2002, p. 10–11].

In Egypt and Syria, the Kipchak Mamluks introduced a lot of customs from public and private life that they brought with them from the steppes ruled by Jochid Ulus. The Mam-

luks had a dislike for Arab customs. They wanted to introduce their own rules, which were a peculiar combination of Kipchak rites and steppe law. Cairo’s people were surprised to see 300 horsemen together with musicians dressed in skullcaps and long caftans, in keeping with Kipchak fashion, who were sent by the Mamluk emir to precede him before his appearance from the palace. Traveling along the banks of the Nile, Mamluk emirs used the same bullock carts that the traveller Giovanni da Pian del Carpine had seen in the steppes of Jochid Ulus in the middle of the 13th century, and then described them. Here, in Arabic Egypt, when noble Mamluk emirs and sultans appeared in person, horses and sheep were slaughtered, and they would eat the meat of horses and sheep and drink koumiss (fermented mare’s milk) just as their Turkic ancestors used to feast in the steppe expanses of Dasht-I Kipchak. An-Nasir, seemingly one of the most Arabised Mamluk rulers, spent huge sums of money on horses, and he had 20 thousand sheep slaughtered for his son’s wedding party. Koumiss was served during audiences given by Beibars, which was ultimately the cause of his death. Beibars’ death was accidental and happened during a small drama which he himself had staged. He was planning to kill a Mamluk emir who was one of his rivals, and prepared a cup of poisoned koumiss for him. But just like in the Shakespearean drama, the latter managed to secretly change the cup and Beibars fell into his own trap—he drank the poison and died in terrible agony 13 days later. Among themselves, Kipchak Mamluks even ignored sharia and preferred to try people using common steppe law.

According to the Arab chroniclers Ibn Furat and al-Maqrizi, Sultan Qalawun, who had the honour of driving away the crusaders from the Middle East for good and winning great victories over the Hulaguids, and who spent his life mainly in military campaigns, is known for more than just his feats in this area. He allocated two thousand dinars to build a mosque on the land of Jochid Ulus in the Crimea (in Solkhat), and sent there his mason to carve his titles on its walls, which were seen by Ibn Battuta, a traveller from Morocco. Before that,

with the permission of Jochid Ulus' Khan, a mosque was built in Crimea upon the initiative of Beibars. Archaeological digs of Sarai prove the theory that during the Golden Horde period craftsmen from Egypt worked in that area. Bolgar structures of the Golden Horde period also show architecture similar to that of the Egyptian Mamluks

Although Egypt's Mamluk rulers were far from being orthodox Muslims, they still played a significant role in Sarai's official adoption of Islam, as at that time Cairo was considered a centre of Muslim civilisation with a history more than 300 years long. In 1261, a caliphate was established in the Egyptian-Syrian sultanate, that is it became the main state in the Muslim world. Therefore, the Mamluk sultans tried to stimulate the Jochid Ulus khans to adopt Islam. To a large extent the fruit of their efforts was the adoption by Berke Khan and his wife Jijek of Islam. It is known that the Khan of Jochid Ulus Tuda-Mengu (1280–1287) sent a letter to Egypt in 1283 with a Golden Horde embassy in which he asked to be given a Muslim name and sent the caliph's banners. In 1312, Öz Beg ascended the throne in the Golden Horde, and the following year he informed the Mamluk Sultan that he had exterminated the Golden Horde nobles who were against adopting Islam as the state religion in Jochid Ulus. In 1323, along with numerous presents from Sarai, the Mamluk embassy brought a letter to the sultan with the request to send books on Muslim law to the Jochid Ulus. Arab scholars' accounts state that among the expensive presents sent from Egypt to the Golden Horde khans there was also a Quran sent by Osman, one of the pious caliphs.

Nevertheless, as strange as it may seem at first glance, it was during the reign of Öz Beg Khan that the connections between Jochid Ulus and the Egyptian-Syrian sultanate became somewhat less intensive, which can be accounted for by the miserable marriage of Sultan an-Nasir to one of Öz Beg Khan's sisters, as well as by the Islamisation of Jochid Ulus, which banned the selling of Muslims, and as a result, the influx of slave-soldiers from Dasht-i-Kipchak to reinforce the Mamluk army in Egypt as well. The reasons

for the deterioration of ties between the Mamluks and the Golden Horde included the following: the weakening of the Byzantine Empire, their joint ally, caused by the pressure of the emirates of Seljuk Turks from Asia Minor, as the Hulaguids had lost control over them and it was passing to the hands of the Osman dynasty, who under the reign of Orkhan (1326–1362) assumed control of the Dardanelles, the fall of the state of the Hulaguids, their joint enemy, which ceased to exist in the 1340s, the protracted crises in both empires that ultimately resulted in the Turkic people's loss of power in Egypt and Syria, and the establishment in 1382 of Caucasian or 'Circassian' Mamluks, and in the Golden Horde it led to the 'great zamyatnya' in the 1350–1370s which caused the final disintegration of the Jochid Ulus [Landa, 1995, pp. 44–45].

But despite the paramount importance of relations between the Mamluks and the Golden Horde, they were not limited to the connections of Jochid Ulus with the Muslim world. For example, according to Chinggis Khan's will, the lands owned by Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor were to have passed to the Ulus of Jochi, and when the Hulaguids usurped this right, the war started between them and the Seljuk emirates fell under the authority of the Hulaguids. After the fall of the Hulaguids, the emirates of Anatolia, which were involved in establishing a new empire initiated by Osman, the ruler of the Konya Sultanate, under whose name it then existed for hundreds of years, resumed connections with Jochid Ulus. But very soon, at the turn of the 14–15th centuries, they became a unified political unit known as the Ottoman Empire. The diplomatic correspondence between the Golden Horde khans and the Ottoman padishahs is evidence of the connections between Jochi Ulus and the Ottoman Empire. This mainly concerns the letters sent by Khans Ulug-Muhammad and Mahmud to the Sultans Murad II and Mehmed Fatikh, respectively. As can be seen from this correspondence, before its disintegration the Khans of Jochid Ulus had recognised *de facto* that the Crimean Khanate, which used to be a constituent part of the Golden Horde, became a subject of the Ottoman Empire. It is inter-

esting to note that, albeit indirectly, the Ottomans considered themselves successors of Jochid Ulus and honoured the Jochids as the oldest line of Chinggis Khan's descendants, the dynasty which ruled the Golden Horde and its inherited Khanates, one of which (the Crimean yurt) became part of the Ottoman Empire. In the Ottoman Empire it was official law that the right to the Ottoman throne were reserved for the Chinggisids—the Girays, the rulers of Crimea, in case the Ottoman dynasty was cut off. By that time, the young Ottoman Empire, which was in the midst of a historic rise, and the Golden Horde, which had passed the peak of its power, and the Turkic empires of Eurasia had suffered a crushing defeat from the ruler of Samarkand, also a Turk, Timur or 'Tamerlane', the founder of the world empire extending from Asia Minor to China. But while the Ottoman Empire held out and outlived Timur's empire for many centuries, Jochid Ulus would never be restored and was from that point on relegated to history.

Jochid Ulus's connections with the Delhi Turkic sultanate in India can be proven by the fact that India's sultan Iltutmish, who rose to power in that country, was a native of the

Lower Volga Region and the Cis-Ural Region, who had once been sold into slavery by the Mongols and rose from a gulyam, a slave warrior, to a ruler. There were also Kipchaks from Jochid Ulus and the Crimean and Black Sea Steppes who served at the court of the Delhi sultans, for example, sheikh Rajab al-Burkui 'from the city of al-Qirim (Sary Krym), which is in the Kipchak steppe...' And for the cavalry, which was the striking force of the Delhi sultanate, they bought horses of 'Turkic breed' from 'Tataria', that is from Dasht-i Kipchak [Ibn-Battuta, 1929, p. p. 12–18].

Thus, Jochid Ulus had extensive links with the Muslim East, especially with Egypt and Syria, as well as with Anatolia represented by the Seljuk emirates, the Ottoman Empire and the Delhi Sultanate, borrowing not only religion but many other things as well, including crafts, architecture, baths, poems, ornamental décor, painted pottery, geometry and equipment, morals and tastes which were more sophisticated than those of the steppe soldiers of Jochid Ulus, and 'the Horde culture acquired a certain Muslim-Mediterranean shade', according to the famous orientalist C. Bosworth [Bosworth, 1971, p. 191].

Section V

The Civilisation of the Golden Horde



CHAPTER 1

The Cultural Legacy of the First Generations of the Jochids

Mark Kramarovsky

The line of events that led to the formation of the Ulus of Jochi, the main stages of its evolution, would appear to provide a framework for the clear chronological boundaries of our attention. But since the process in which the culture of the new state formation was established cannot be reduced to the stages of creating its military, administrative and political structures, the boundaries of the research are somewhat relative. Formally, these are defined by the period from 1207—when the Jochid Ulus was assigned through paternal inheritance—to 1242—the end of the European campaign by the Mongols.

Moreover, the lack of unity in the cultural genesis of the Mongol and Turkic-speaking tribes living to the north of the Great Wall of China at the initial stage of the formation of the single Mongolian state makes the chronology of the establishment of the Mongols' cultural relations with their neighbours relative too. This peculiarity is echoed in the Chinese written sources. The Chinese determined the level of culture of their northern neighbours by the degree of its proximity to the standards of their own civilisation. Hence, they perceived three groups of Mongols (Tartars): *white*, *black*, and *savage*.

This is reflected in all the information about them up to the end of the 12th century, which is mainly concerned with the cooperation between the Mongols and the Jurchen people of the Jin State. The Tatars, Jalairs, Keraites and Naimans are known by the Jurchens under the Khitan name, *Zubu*. The Mongol tribes are chiefly mentioned in the context of events in connection with important changes in bilateral relations. For example, around 1135 the Jin people, having invited the leader of the Mongols, Qabul Khan (an ancestor of Chinggis Khan), to the coronation of Xizong, tried to de-

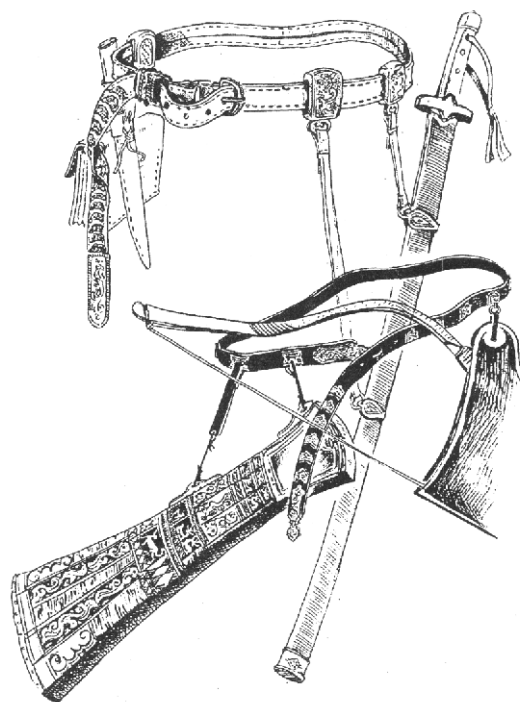
stroy him on his way back. This episode led to the murder of the Jin ambassadors in 1137 and a failed Jurchen expedition against the Mongols. The son of Qabul Khan, Hotula Khan, defeated the Jins, and peace was only established in 1147, to the advantage of the Mongols. The other neighbours of the Jins, the Tatars (whose nomad camps were located along the western border of the Jin possessions in Manchuria) delivered Mongol Khan Ambaghai to the Jurchens for execution at the beginning of the XII century. In 1161, they helped the Jurchens to defeat the Mongols near Lake Buir. But in 1198, the Tatars were defeated by the Mongols, Keraites and Jurchens. In 1202, the entire tribal union of the Tatars was destroyed by Temujin. The Keraites were in direct contact with the Jurchens. In 1198 their leader, Tooril Khan, was given the royal title of *Ong* (hence—Ong-Khan) for assisting the Jurchens in the fight against the Tartars and the Onguds. Temujin participated in the fighting on the River Uldza as a junior partner of the Keraites. To show their gratitude, the Jurchens awarded him the title of *Dzhauthuri* (Great Emir). Between 1206 and 1209 Chinggis Khan continued to be an associate of Ong-Khan—the Jin's vassal. Two years later he started a war with the Jurchens that ended in the collapse of the Jin State in 1235.

These are just a few examples of the early history of the Mongol-Tatars in Central Asia. But they give us some idea of the quality of the new wave of invaders, who made their way beyond the Urals to the European zone of the forest steppes and Desht-i Kipchak as early as the first raid of Subutai (analysis of information by Yuan about him, see: [Kychanov, 1998, p. 43–46]). It is clear that by the time of the Kurultai in 1235, when the decision was made to conquer Bulgaria, the countries of the Ases and Rus', the Mongols of Batu cannot be re-

garded outside the context of the culture of the last third of the 12th century with respect to either their experience or their equipment. This refers to the efforts of several preceding generations of Chinggis Khan's noyons, for whom the period of twinship and struggle between Temujin and Jamukha coincided with their own maturity and the beginning of their professional career.

According to estimates by V. Rossabi, the number of the troops in the western military campaign, who consisted of Mongols, Turks, Khitans, Chinese, Jurchens, Tanguts, Persians and others, did not exceed 150 thousand men [Rossabi, 1988, p. 10]. Undoubtedly, the assault force was made up of eastern and southern Siberian unit of the Jochids.

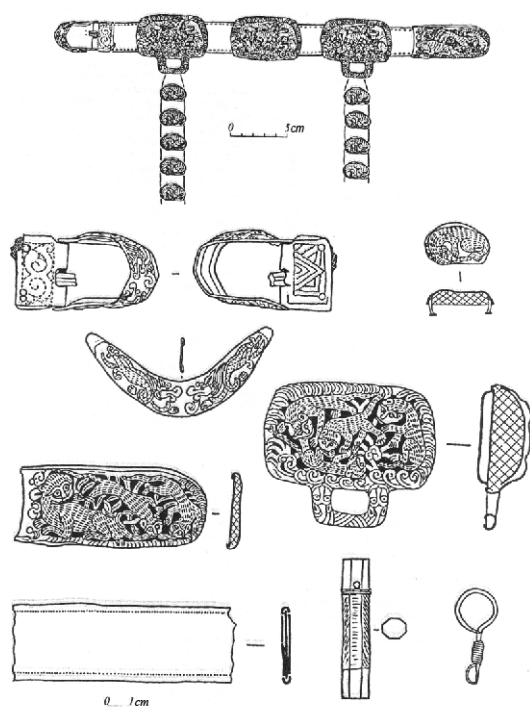
1207 was a successful year for Jochi. Chinggis Khan's satisfaction with the brilliant victory of his eldest son in the campaign against the 'forest peoples' was marked by the granting of a ulus of 9 thousand yurts [Kozin, 1941, p. 175–176]. But the peoples conquered by the forces of the right wing (the western tumen, adjacent to the Altai, under the overall command of Bo'orchu) remained in allegiance with Jochi. After Jochi had been walking in Tuva and was nearing the Khakass-Minusinsk hollow, he was approached by the Kyrgyz rulers Edin-al, Aldiyer, Olebekdigin, who had an expression of humility on their faces [ibid, p. 174; Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 1, p. 122–123, 150–151; I, 2, p. 151, 178, 253]. The entire territory of the Altai-Sayan Mountains, including Tuva, the Mountain Altai and the Khakass-Minusinsk depression, which before the arrival of the Mongols was ruled by the Yenisei Kyrgyz, had now become subordinate to Jochi [Kyzlasov, 1984, p. 87–88]. Thus, the new ulus was composed of the peoples of eastern and southern Siberia (Oirats, Buruts, Barhuns, Ursuts, Habkhanases, Khanhases, Tubases). After Chinggis Khan was introduced to the Kyrgyz generals of thousands and ten-thousands (tumens), and noyons of the forest peoples, the union of Chinggis Khan's home with the leading representatives of the local elite was secured by dynastic marriages [ibid., p. 175]; descendants of the Barga Mongols, Dzhedai-Noyon and Dzhurdzhagan, occupied a high position in the military sphere



Reconstruction of sabre and saydak belts
(according to M. Kramarovskiy and M. Gorelik)

[Zoriktuev, 1995, p. 90–95]. This localised example alone illustrates the conditions under which there was an opportunity to join the original narrow circle of the ruling nobility, which formed the elite of the Mongolian State. The rules were very simple: the personal accomplishments of the applicant were determined by their usefulness to the ruling house. Thus, the 'History of Yuan' lists among the notable members of the western campaign the names of the Tangut Sili Tsyambu, the Kankalis Aymyao, the Chinese Gao Min, the Uighur Hesy'mayli (Is-mail), and others [Kychanov, 2002a, p. 80–81].

The material aspects of the Jochids' military culture must now be judged mainly on the findings from the 14th century. In essence, there are still a lot of questions around the archaeology of the Golden Horde in the early part of the first half of the 13th century to the 1260s, owing to a lack of reliable attributions. But there are exceptions, of which two examples are given here. The Teleut Vvoz I burial site is a striking example of the monuments of the Forest-Steppe Altai [Tishkin, Gorbunov, Kazakov, 2002]. Our attention is drawn to the use of covered wooden



Belt set from the Olen'-Kolodez' burial site.
Second half of the 13th century
(according to K. Efimov)

sarcophagi (mounds 2, 8, 9) and those without a cover (mounds 1 and 6) in burial ceremonies at this burial mound. Researchers observe an analogy in the Altai Mountains; tomb 17 at the Kudy'rge monument, dating back to the time of the Mongols [*ibid.*, p. 137]. And, although the Altai colleagues do not consider burials in wooden sarcophagi (hollowed-out tree trunks) to be peculiar to the Mongols (in their opinion, Mongol burials involved boxes made from longitudinal or transverse boards), burials in sarcophagi in the western part of the steppes of Eurasia are often associated with those of the Early Mongol period and, to judge from the specific grave goods, in my view, can be identified with the elite of the Jochid, and probably the Mongolian, equites [Kramarovsky, 2001, p. 37–53]. In this regard, the Golden Horde burial in an oak sarcophagus from burial mound 7 of the Olen'-Kolodez' burial site on the left bank of the Don is worthy of mention [Efimov, 1999, p. 93–102]. Amongst the grave goods found here were a chain mail, a helmet with a barmica (camail), and a unique belt set of gilded silver

with a belt chalice, equipped with a handle in the form of a dragon's protoma. A dagger, a spear and a battle-axe were found amongst the objects of armaments. Of particular interest are a set of belts, clearly the craftwork of the Jurchens [Kramarovsky 2001, p. 39], and an iron axe with inlaid work of brass and silver. This type of axe is usually regarded as Northern European and dates back to the turn of the 12–13th centuries [Paulsen, 1956, p. 170–184, abb. 88–92]. There are fundamental analogies with occasional finds in Central Europe; Silesia and Moravia. The western unit of Batu, heading for Bohemia and Moravia, passed this way following victories in Silesia. It is perfectly conceivable that a nomadic burial near Voronezh was that of a veteran of the European campaign, which ended in 1242 with the Mongolian units returning to Desht-i Kipchak.

The expansion of the fund of archaeological sources associated with the first Mongolian wave challenges the popular perception of the time and circumstances of the emergence of a southern Siberian series of findings of objects in the cultures of the forest-steppe Volga Region, in certain ancient Russian towns, the Don River Region and in Hungary [Kyzlasov, 2000, p. 3–7]. Until recently, the paradox was that the so-called 'Askizsky' artefacts amongst the materials found in the strata and structures of the ancient Russian towns dated back earlier than the same artefacts, regarded in their home country as being from the Kamensky stage of the Askizsky archaeological culture (13–14th centuries). A revision of the chronology of the findings from the Old Russian monuments, which places these articles at a period more recent by several decades, has provided some degree of compromise. It cannot be overlooked that the new chronology of the mass finds of the Askizsky circle outside southern Siberia, including belt tips, stirrups with applique work in gold and silver, as well as some other categories of metal objects, including hooks for lacing plate shells such as 'Khatangu Degel', flints, various types of buckles, linings, etc., brings us closer to the initial stage of the Mongol expansion into Eastern Europe. The problem of the Early Jochid interpretation is elucidated with astounding clarity in an analysis of the

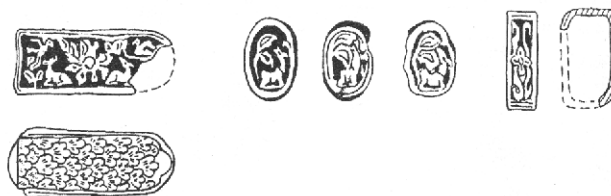
Belt linings from the Tash-Bashat burial site (Talas Valley). Second half of the 13th century (according to D. Vinnik)



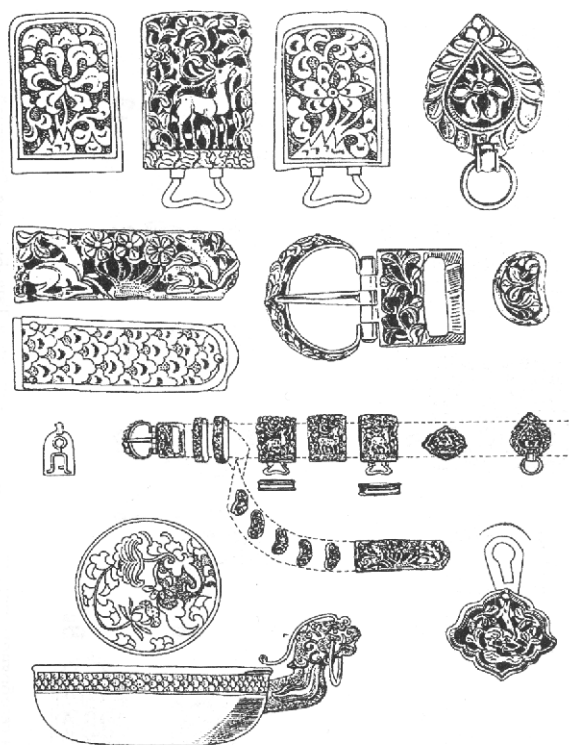
Askizsky complex of artefacts from the territory of the Zolotarevsky settlement in the Upper Sura, the right tributary of the Volga [Belyrbkin, 2001, p. 160–172].

In our opinion, the problem is that, first of all, the impeccable cultural and chronological attribution of the item complexes has become blurred through inversion by authors, where the remains of the Askizsky equipment of the Jochid military unit, killed during an assault on a Bulgarian town in the first three decades or so of the 13th century, are attributed to hired (?) defenders [ibid., p. 172, 181–182]. Secondly, the dates of the items dating back to the 12th century and to the 1220–1230s are sometimes perceived too literally as indicators of 'pre-Mongolian contacts' [Rudenko, 2000, p. 48–127; 2001]. Moreover, the military equipment: the metal parts of harnesses, horse saddle, items of protective armour and weapons, often expensive and highly valued by several generations of one equestrian family, did not exactly wear out as quickly as shoe shine during a parade. This is confirmed, incidentally, by the actual early dates of the individual items.

The issue of the origin of the metal the Chinggisids used for artistic work is one of the most fundamental questions concerning the cultural heritage of the early Jochids. J. Watt recently touched upon this theme in a section of the catalogue of the exhibition 'The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353' dedicated to the exchange of artistic experience in the Mongol Empire [Watt, 2003, pp. 63–73]. Of interest here is his observation of the combination of Chinese and Islamic motifs in the form, decor and Arabic graphic inscriptions on the collar of a bronze vessel from Karakoram [Evtyukhova, 1965, pp. 280–281, Table 143]. According to



J. Watt, the vessel was made before 1270 in an area of weaving workshops in North China and was sent to the Mongolian capital as a tribute [Watt, 2003, p. 67]. L. Evtyukhova believed that 'the place of the vessel's manufacture could be Karakoram' [Evtyukhova, 1965, p. 281]. However, much of his short essay, mainly on the workmanship of the fabrics, is open to dispute. J. Watt evidently insists, by analogy with weaving manufacture, that the best works of to-reutics in the Mongol Empire before 1270 were produced by Chinese craftsmen. However, the author is not in the least perturbed by the fact that some monuments of interest to him are genetically linked to the crafts of the Jurchen Jin State (1115–1234). The find in the district of Gashun Ust in the North Caucasus is not as straightforward [Watt, 2003, p. 66–67, Fig. 62, cat.143]. J. Watt believes that the golden belt set from Gashun Ust is either an original record of the Chin dynasty period in North China and the Mongols' spoils of war (that is, before 1234), or was made by a Chinese craftsman prisoner from the Jin State for a family member of Batu (that is, in the period between 1234 and 1270; cf. [Kramarovsky, 2001, p. 51]). We can only agree on one thesis: the belt set belonged to an oglan—that is, a prince of the 'House of Batu'. This is evidenced by the pendant with a tamga [Watt, 2003, p. 66–67, fig. 62]. Judging from the type of tamga, the find may date back to the 1270s. [Kramarovsky, 2001, p. 49]. The belt type from Gashun Ust is not Chinese [ibid, p. 35–60]. A non-Chinese belt set was found in the burial site of Tash-Bashat in the Talas



Details of belt garniture with a depiction of deer and fallow deer from the Gashun-Ust burial complex (Ciscaucasia).
Second half of the 13th century belt reconstruction
by M. Kramarovsky

valley in Kyrgyzstan [*ibid.*, p. 45–47, Fig. 20]. The main theme in the decor of the belt plates from Tash-Bashat is a fallow deer against a background of blossoming nature. The image of fallow deer can be seen in the decoration of belt linings in the collection of Nasser D. Halili [Alexander, 1992, p. 30–31; Watt, 2003, p. 67, Fig. 65, cat. 151], which are also non-Chinese. At the same time, each of the findings bears features of the art of the Far East. We shall attempt to establish which traditions of the Far East are reflected in our records.

Bronze and iron buckles from belt sets with decorative motifs of interest to us have been found in the strata of the 12th century up to the beginning of the 13th century in the ancient Jurchen town of Lazovskoye in Primorye [Shavkunov, 1990, p. 140, tab. 41: 1–4]. Bronze belt clips with depictions of fallow deer have been found in the ancient town of Shaigin; two other objects with a similar design have been

found in Ananyevo Gorodishche (a lead belt lining and a stone stamp) [*ibid.*, tab. 43: 3, 4, 18]. Clearly, the Lazovskoye finds (the two buckles and belt clips) were made by Khitan craftsmen skilled in toreutics [Khodzevich, 1988, p. 90]. The fairly widespread depiction of fallow deer in nephrite of the Liao and Jin dynasties indicates a connection between the Khitan and the Jurchen traditions. Examples of this are the sabre clips from the Beijing Forbidden City [Zhungo neyzy zuantszy, p. 104, 275] and a Jurchen plaquette with an autumnal hunting scene from the collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei [Watt, 1996, p. 60, pl. 23]. If it can be argued that the belt of Gashun Ust is somehow more closely associated with the tradition of the Jurchen crafts, then the events of 1233 should not be overlooked, when Subutai's Mongols seized the Jin capital Kaifeng, and the million or so inhabitants of the city, to which the population of all the surrounding provinces had fled, received mercy by virtue of their very concentration in Kaifeng.

Thus, my observations are very close to those of J. Watt. But there is a difference: the tradition of Jurchen craft, which in Russian research tends to be distinguished from Chinese, seems too obvious. The mechanism for passing on the traditions is difficult to explain without documentary evidence of the work of the Jurchen masters in the Golden Horde. Perhaps the answer is that the dimensional details of the belt set were completed by the use of templates. Bronze templates with the motif of a resting fallow deer are known to have been found in the ancient towns of the Golden Horde, for example, the finds from the area of the Volga Region or a matrix bought in Constantinople. A similar template has recently been found in the eastern Crimea near Golden Horde Solkhat. But let us return once again to the question of the date of the Gashun Ust find. The reverse of the clips are decorated with images of 'Arab' lotus flowers [Sokrovishha, 2000, p. 62, 67, two-page spread on p. 63–66; Kramarovsky, 2001, p. 48, Figure 21: 1, 3]. These stylised flowers are different from the lotuses of

the Tang belt or the linings resembling lotuses from the London collection of D. Khalili [Alexander, 1992, p. 48–51]. The closest comparison can be seen in the decoration of the glazed tiles of the Pir Husain mausoleum, dating back (according to their inscriptions) to around 1284 [Krachkovskaya, 1946, p. 101]. The fact that the date falls within the period 1270 to 1280 gives grounds to believe that the Gashun Ust discovery was one of Jochid *toreutics*, which preserved, as we have seen, the Jurchen tradition.

Clearly, the afore-mentioned belt set of gilded silver found in the Olen'-Kolodez' burial site is also associated with the crafts of the Jurchens.

Dare it be said that these monuments take us to the era of the formation of the culture of the Mongol Empire? It must be emphasised that the initial stage of the development of the Jochid Ulus, from 1207 until the end of the European campaign in 1242, coincides with the period of formation of the cultural identity of Chinggis Khan's empire as a whole, and the Great Khan command unit in particular. Of importance to us, therefore, are the discoveries of gold and silver associated with the first generation of the Chinggisids from both Central Asia and the regions of southern Siberia, or from the European zone of the steppes beyond the Urals. We are already familiar with one of these monuments (from the region of Voronezh). Remember that, along with the belt, a jug with a handle in the shape of a dragon's protoma was discovered in the Gashun-Ust district in the North Caucasus. Vessels of this type have been found in Siberia, on the Volga, near Voronezh, and the Dnieper [Sokrovishha, 2000, p. 56–58, 163, Figure 13, Cat. No.1214, 21]. A two-handled chalice for wine, similar to this group of vessels, was discovered during excavations in the ancient town of Tsarevo (town of Sarai-al-Maqrus) [ibid., p. 59, Cat. No.15]. The whole group of vessels dates back to the turn of the XIII-XIV centuries [Kramarovsky, 2001, pp. 61–72] and differs from the Yuan vessels of this type [Sokrovishha, 2000, p. 159, Figure 11].

We shall now consider a group of military belt sets with depictions of dragons. The emblems of the 'Emperor' and his 'Guard', with the image of a dragon, were formed in a narrow

space of time between 1204 and 1217. In 1221, they were viewed by Zhao Hun, who arrived in Yanjing, which had recently become the Jurchen capital. It is possible that this period of time was not quite as long. To date, the finds of military (Guard) belts with images of dragons are known only in the archaeological materials from the European steppe zone, where they were brought by the first generation of Jochid horsemen in the period of the 1220s to 1240s. The geographical area of the finds is delineated by the Dnieper and Don River Regions, the steppes of the Ciscaucasia, and the Middle and Lower Volga Regions.

There are three such finds in the Dnieper River Region: from the destroyed burial sites near the village of Kargi; a belt (probably silver) from the burial sites on the island of Berezan in the Dniepr lagoon; a belt from the burial mound in Novo-Podkryazh in the Middle Priorele area. Information about the burial ceremony has only been preserved in respect of the nomadic burials near Novo-Podkryazh [Kramarovsky, 2001, p. 35–45, Figure 14: 1–16].

A further three belt sets of interest to us originate from the Middle Don region and the steppes of the Ciscaucasia (from the inventory of the Vlasov burial site, from the burial mound near the village of Novoberezhanskaya in the Krasnodar kray (region) and from the burial site in the Stavropol Krai) [ibid., Figure 14: 17–19].

Amongst the finds in the Lower Volga Region is a belt set from the destroyed burial site in the ancient town of Krasny Yar [ibid., Figure 18]. A fragment of the belt has been preserved. Its mountings—silver gilt—consist of a buckle, a belt tip, gliding clasps, and two sabre clips with loops for hanging a sheath and 25 lunulas [Sokrovishha, 2000, p. 69, Cat. No. 19]. Although the belt, measuring 125–150 cm in length, has been preserved intact, there does not appear to be more than an estimated number of 65–70 items of belt mountings.

The decoration of the front plate consists of two dragons with fish tails facing each other. The back plate of the belt tip is covered from the reverse by a scaly pattern. The sabre clips are hollow and of rectangular shape with large loops. The face plate of the clips are produced by the technique of open-work casting. A de-

piction of a three-toed dragon covers most of the surface area. The bottom part contains the figure of a bird in flight; the large beak and powerful plumage suggest a falcon. The type of the sabre clip with the prominent loop and relief image of the three-toed dragon on the front side of the plate can be recognised from its Sung nephrite.

These belt sets belong to the same cultural tradition.

We have already noted that amongst the new Chinggisid elite the figure of the dragon gained importance as a heraldic symbol throughout the Empire. There is no five-toed dragon of imperial China in our materials. Only three-toed dragons, like the Khitan, are encountered. A dragon with three claws is depicted on eight gold plates from the burials of the Khitan princess Chengdzho, the niece of the Emperor Shenzong, who died in 1018. The plaque of nephrite with a magnificent dragon on the front side, which is very close to the interpretation of the dragons on the sabre clips of Krasny Yar, is exhibited in the Beijing National Palace Museum. Worthy of mention is the fact that, for the Chinese Ambassador to Mongolia (Zhao Hun), the material of which the object is made is more important than the details (the number of dragon claws) in his comparison of the symbols of the Great Khan and Wang.

The belts with dragon heraldry appeared in the Mongolian environment almost instantaneously. It was as if they were brought to life by the dramatic increase in nation-building after the reforms of 1206, when new unifying symbols were needed for the rapid growth of new branches of the nobility.

Thus, both groups of belts belong to the older generation of the Jochid command unit, who had made their way to the European steppe zone around the middle of the 13th century. The types and styles of these belts were developed in Central Asia before the Ulus of Jochi was formed. They clearly reveal the part of the 'Mongol legacy' that was brought to Desht-i Kipchak with the first generation of conquerors and here, on fresh territory, gave impetus to the growth of the cultural phenomenon which would later become known as the culture of the Golden Horde. This complex of artistic crafts

products of Central Asia makes it possible for the first time to consult records prior to the 1260s, which have not been disclosed in the mother country until the present time.

Based on the original archaeological finds from burial complexes belonging to the early Jochids, from the layers of certain villages and ancient settlements, we have been able to familiarise ourselves for the first time with a number of rare materials of the Great Mongolian State. Many of these monuments were moved from the areas of the River Irtysh and southern Siberia to Sura River Region and Volga-Kama basins and the Don River Region steppe zone by horsemen of Siberian units of Batu, who played an active role in the European campaign of 1237–1242.

The decline of the Turkic-Mongol equestrian cultural standards was already becoming apparent in the toreutic materials of the 14th century—during the period of the active Islamisation of the Golden Horde [Kramarovsky, 2001, p. 93–108]. In the treasure trove of Simferopol, one of the most representative complexes of the first half of the 14th century, owned by the Horde ruler of the Crimea [*ibid.*, p. 114–120], of the three sets of belts two belong to Italian masters [Sokrovishha, 2000, p. 106–107, Cat. No.517–526, 565–595], and only one to the Golden Horde. The features of the Early Jochid tradition, formed during the period of unity of the Mongol Empire, are completely absent in the parade shooting belt of the Simferopol treasure trove [*ibid.*, p. 83, Cat. No.527–564]. Still, it is a very curious fact that one of the most interesting records of the treasure trove is the decoration of women's caps [*ibid.*, p. 82, Cat. No.307–330]—these may be the remains of caps, but they still reveal the style and tradition of crafts that were more characteristic of Central Asia and China, and which date back to the Sui Dynasty (581–617) (cf. the decoration of the female headdress of gold and silver from the grave of Lee Dz-hingsun in the Shanxi province, China [Wei, Deydier, 2001, p. 112, # 274]). Women's dress here was plainly conservative. It should be noted that all items of this headdress were made in the Crimea, most probably in the jewellery workshops of Solkhat.

CHAPTER 2

The Culture of the Population of the Eastern Regions of the Jochid Ulus

Yuly Khudyakov

During the epoch of the developed Middle Ages the largest state formation in the western zone of the Eurasian steppe lands was the Jochid Ulus, whose territory stretched from the mouth of the Danube and the Carpathians to the upper reaches of the Irtysh and the Altai. The main focus of the study of the history and culture of the population of the Golden Horde was on an analysis of archaeological sites and historical sources relating to the state's political and cultural centre, located in the Volga Region, and records of the nomadic culture of the eastern Europe steppes and the southern Urals [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966, p. 229–241; 1981, p. 229–236; Mazhitov, 1977, p. 35–38, 112–118; 1981, p. 222–223; Ivanov, Krieger, 1988, p. 39–41, 66–68]. However, part of the Golden Horde included forest-steppe and steppe regions of western Siberia, the Altai and Kazakhstan, on the territory of which monuments of 'the Mongol age' of the 13–14th centuries have been discovered and studied [Gryaznov, 1956, p. 157; Mogilnikov, 1981, p. 194–200; Molodin, Sobolev, Solovyov, 1990, p. 186–189; Adamov, 2000, p. 83–84; Tishkin, Gorbunov, Kazakov, 2002, p. 141–143; Kadyrbaev, Burnasheva, 1970, p. 46–53; Arslanova, 1970, p. 58–59; Kadyrbaev, 1975, p. 132; Akishev, Baypakov, 1979, p. 100–102; Ismagilov, Khudyakov, 2001, p. 183–188]. These materials tend to relate to the culture of the Siberian Tatars and the Kipchaks, who made up the nomadic population of the eastern regions of the Golden Horde [Adamov, 2000, p. 84; Akishev, Baypakov, 1979, p. 102].

Desht-i Kipchak was not a single unified state. The different groups of the Kipchak tribes had independent unions led by khans [ibid., p. 203]. In the 12–early 13th centuries the possessions of the eastern Kipchaks were subordinated to the Muslim rulers of Khwarezm.

The troops of the Khwarezm-Shahs embarked on campaigns deep into the steppes. Under the blows of the Khwarezm troops, they were forced to migrate to the northern forest-steppe areas. The tribes of the eastern Kipchaks split into two unions. One of these kept their encampments on the Altai, Irtysh and Targabatai, the other in central Kazakhstan. The Kipchaks who lived in the steppes of central Kazakhstan were in vassalage to the Khwarezm-Shahs.

In addition to burial sites, memorial complexes have also been investigated on the territory inhabited by the Kipchaks. In central and eastern Kazakhstan there have been excavations of stone structures with statues in the centre, which served as sanctuaries for the nomadic Kipchaks [Ermolenko, Getsova, Kurmankulov, 1985, p. 149]. These monuments bear similarities with sanctuaries excavated in eastern Europe [Shvetsov, 1979, p. 207–209]. A series of Kipchak stone statues from central and eastern Kazakhstan and Zhetysay relate to the pre-Mongol period [Charikov, 1980, p. 223]. The area of distribution of the Kipchak sanctuaries and statues of the pre-Mongol period should correspond to the territory of settlement by the eastern Kipchaks.

Ancient towns and settlements have been studied in the lands of the Kipchak unification and vassal tribes in Kazakhstan and western Siberia, which bear witness to the process of the sedentarisation of the impoverished nomadic population, the transition to a sedentary lifestyle and the taking up of agriculture [Mogilnikov, 1981, p. 193; Adamov, 2000, p. 100–105].

By the beginning of the 13th century, when Mongolian troops led by Jochi entered the lands of the eastern Kipchaks, these were inhabited by numerous nomadic tribes who formed part of a tribal union, headed by the Kipchak khans. The vassalage of the Kipchak rulers was im-

posed on the settled population of the steppe and forest-steppe zones.

The foundation for the formation of the Jochid Ulus was laid by the all-Mongol Kurultai in 1206, at which Temujin was proclaimed Chinggis Khan, the ruler of all Mongols. In 1207 the eldest son of Chinggis Khan, Jochi, was instructed to conquer the 'forest peoples' of western Mongolia and the Altai-Sayan Region [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 112].

The Mongol noyon Horchi was appointed the governor of the 'Irtysh forest peoples'. Under his authority were not only Mongolian, but also Turkic tribes living in the Altai, who had not yet been conquered. 'Let Horchi have not only three thousand Baarintsy, 'commanded Chinggis Khan, 'but also the tumens of the Dargwas, Chinostsy, Toles and Telenguts, together, however, with the (thousands of the) Tohay and the Ashikh. Let him roam around all the nomad camps as far as the Pre-Erdyshsky forest peoples, let him also command over the tumens of the forest peoples' [Kozin, 1941, p. 207].

The duty of carrying out these intentions was given to Jochi, who 'was sent to forest peoples with the army of his second-in-command. The guide was Buha... Having subjugated the Oirats, Buryats, Barhunys, Ursutys, Khabhanasys, Khanhasys and the Tubas, Jochi turned to the Tumen-Kyrgyz. He was then approached by the Kyrgyz noyons, Edi Inal, Aldiyer and Olebek-digin. They expressed obedience and humbly presented petitions while making gifts of white gyrfalcons, white geldings and white sables. Jochi took all the forest peoples under Mongolian authority, namely the Shibir, Kesadin, Bait, Tuhas, Tenlek, Toeles, Tas and Bachzhigi, from east to west' [ibid., p. 123].

In 1208, the Mongols defeated the Merkit tribe near the Irtysh, who showed particularly fierce opposition to Chinggis Khan. Defeated, the Merkits fled to the west, 'to the country of the Kanliytsy and the Kypchauts' [ibid., p. 151]. This gave the Mongols a pretext for attacking the Kipchaks. At the time, however, the Mongols were occupied with wars against other opponents, and so the campaign against the Kipchaks was postponed for several years.

In 1217, the Tumat tribe rebelled against oppression by the Mongol chieftains in Tuva.

The Mongols defeated the rebels, but their resistance was not completely crushed. The following year, in 1218, 'in the Year of the Snow Leopard. When one of the Tumat tribes revolted, (the Mongols) sitting in Bargudzhin-Tocuma and Bayluk, demanded the army (charik) of the Kyrgyz, since they were in the vicinity of the Kyrgyz, in order to suppress the uprising; this was not given and the Kyrgyz rebelled' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 1, p. 151]. Jochi was obliged once more to subjugate the Kyrgyz and other tribes of the Altai-Sayan. The main army, commanded by Jochi, acted in the winter, when the Yenisey was ice-bound. They marched as far as the Minusinsk Hollow and the Mountain Altai and conquered not only the Kyrgyz but also the Urasut, Telengut and Kushtemi tribes, 'whose country was located on the other side of the Kirghiz, (at a distance of) about one month's travel'. Jochi 'captured these tribes too' [ibid., p. 123]. Obviously, Jochi's command during this period was in the North-Western Mongolia, from where he conducted a campaign along the Yenisey and returned to the Mongolian Altai. All the 'forest peoples' remained under the rule of Jochi Khan.

In 1219, troops led by Jochi occupied the lands of the eastern Kipchaks. Jochi's horde 'fell within the boundaries of the Irtysh' [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 78]. The sources do not provide any definitive information of how the conquest of the eastern Kipchaks came about and how they were united around Jochi. Apparently, a considerable number of the nomads who formed part of the union of the eastern Kipchaks succumbed without fierce resistance, as they were unable to withstand the onslaught of the victorious Mongol troops. Those who did not wish to surrender tried to leave, to migrate to the west, away from their dangerous neighbours, to the steppes of eastern Europe, occupied by the western Kipchaks, or the northern forest-steppe and taiga regions of western Siberia and the Urals. The Yenisei Kyrgyz people, after a devastating campaign by Jochi's troops, left the steppes of the Minusinsk Basin and headed north. Part of the Kyrgyz population settled in the forest-steppe and taiga areas in the valleys of the Rivers Chulym and Kiya

[Belikov, 1996, p. 139]. According to V. Mogilnikov, in the 13th century the Mongols penetrated into the Irtysh as far as Tara and Tobolsk [Mogilnikov, 1965, p. 281]. These campaigns of the Mongol troops pursued the goal of subjugating the Turkic-speaking nomadic tribes that made up the Kipchak confederation. The outflow of part of the nomadic population to the northern forest-steppe regions contributed to the Turkification of the Ugric and Samoyed peoples who lived on this territory.

After the conquest of the eastern Kipchaks, Jochi did not return to his previous location and moved his headquarters to central Kazakhstan. He was instructed by Chinggis Khan to conquer the 'northern countries', including the lands of the western Kipchaks. Jochi was, no doubt, intending to assemble more military forces for a new grandiose military campaign. However, in 1227 he suddenly died. According to various sources, Jochi's body was buried in the upper Irtysh area, or in a tomb which was erected in the valley of the River Sari-su in central Kazakhstan [Rashid al-Din, 1960, II, p. 185].

Following his death, Jochi's successor as the head of the ulus was not his eldest son Ordu, but his second son Batu, who was acknowledged by his commanders to be a most worthy heir. Chinggis Khan died six months after the death of Jochi. In accordance with his will, expressed at the all-Mongolian Kurultai, his third son, Ögedei, was elected the Great Khan. He seconded Chinggis Khan's order to Batu to lead an expedition to Europe and sent units, headed by Subutai-Baghatur and Kukdai, to join his army [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2000, p. 188]. After the death of Jochi the eastern lands, western Mongolia, and the Altai-Sayan Region were incorporated into the ulus of the Great Khan and placed under the control of Tolui, the younger brother of Ögedei. The ruler of the Jochid Ulus, Batu Khan, would have to compensate for these losses at the expense of his conquest of new lands in the west.

The decision on the large-scale conquest of the lands lying to the west of Batu's dominions was made at the all-Mongolian Kurultai in 1235. Researchers have different estimations of the numbers of troops that invaded eastern Europe under the command of Khan Khan.

When the ulus was assigned to Jochi, between 4 and 9 thousand soldiers were made available, according to various sources, [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 198–201.; The Secret History of the Mongols, 1990, p. 120]. After the conquest of the eastern Kipchaks and other Turkic-speaking nomadic tribes of Kazakhstan and western Siberia, the number of Jochi's troops would have grown significantly. According to their ethnic composition, these were predominantly Kipchaks. In preparation for campaigns in the Volga area, Batu's army was reinforced by a detachment of three thousand of Subutai's and Kukdai's men [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2000, p. 189].

During the course of several long and successful campaigns in the countries of eastern and central Europe the troops of Batu Khan succeeded in attaching vast territories, with large nomadic as well as sedentary and agricultural populations, to the Jochid Ulus. The western Kipchaks made up the greater proportion of the nomads.

The eastern areas of the ulus, with their entire populations, were ceded by Batu Khan to the rule of his elder brother Ordu, who was given 10 thousand soldiers. His headquarters were situated on the upper Irtysh and in the area of Lake Ala-Kul. Ordu's dominions were the left wing of the Jochid Ulus and had the same name as during the reign of Jochi - the Kok-Horde [ibid., p. 196–199]. It also included the dominions of Shiban, one of the younger brothers of Batu, which were situated in the steppes of western and central Kazakhstan.

By this time the Mongol Empire had finally disintegrated into separate states, which waged wars amongst themselves over land and spheres of influence.

It is possible that, with the transfer of the headquarters of the Kok-Horde's rulers to the valley of the River Syr Darya, parts of its eastern lands were temporarily lost.

The population of the eastern regions of the Ulus of Jochi in the 13–14th centuries consisted of ethnic groups of various origins. They differed in their culture and economic activities. In the northern forest-steppe regions of western Siberia there were tribes of Ugric and Samoyed origin, who had adopted elements

of the cultures of the Turks, the Kirghiz and the Kipchaks. Apart from cattle breeding, they practised subsistence farming, hunting and fishing. In the 13th century, the influx of Turkic-speaking nomads, seeking to escape from Mongol troops, increased. In the Steppe Altai, in northern and eastern Kazakhstan, lived tribes of nomadic cattle farmers, who were part of the unification of the eastern Kipchaks. After the Mongol conquest, some of these, forming part of the troops of Batu, were moved to the western regions of Desht-i Kipchak, while others migrated to the northern forest-steppe lands. Military units, consisting of Kipchaks, were obliged to fight alongside Mongol troops on the territory of Mongolia and in the Sayano-Altai region.

The Mongol-speaking nomadic population was relocated during the Mongolian conquest of the lands of the Jochid Ulus. These were military units making up the armies of the first rulers of the ulus. After several generations they were assimilated amongst the Turkic-speaking tribes.

All the nomadic populations of the eastern regions of the Golden Horde were called 'Tatars' and spoke a Turkic language probably as early as the second half of the 13th century.

The archaeological materials studied in the territory of the forest-steppe zone of western Siberia have allowed researchers to identify the main economic activities of the population.

Typical of the burial complexes, which, according to V. Molodin, V. Sobolev and A. Solovyov, were characteristic of the ethnic ancestors of the Baraba Tatars, were burial sites under earthen burial mounds in rectangular grave pits. Burials were conducted according to the rite of solitary inhumation. The bodies of the dead were placed in ground pits, birch bark containers or on wooden blocks. They lay on their backs, in an extended position, with the head aligned towards the west, south-west or south. There were instances of burials at the ancient horizon level and of dismemberment of corpses. In one of the mounds a horse was buried in a separate pit. Amongst the accompanying grave goods were beads and ceramic vessels with burial food and items of weaponry. Traces of commemorative funeral feasts,

fire pits and fragments of pottery and bones of domestic animals have been found in the mounds [Molodin, Sobolev, Solovyov, 1990, p. 168–169]. The Baraba forest-steppes were also inhabited by the Ugric people, who intermingled with the Turkic-speaking population [ibid., p. 169–170].

Ancient towns with a complex fortification system, comprising several rows of earthen ramparts and ditches, have been studied in this area, as well as long-standing settlements with remnants of residential and farm buildings. The dwellings were sunk into the ground, had a rectangular or circular layout and a hearth in the centre [Trinity, Molodin, Sobolev, 1980, p. 167].

Round-bottomed or egg-shaped moulded pottery was typical for the complex of artefacts of the Turkic-speaking population of the Baraba forest-steppes. Most vessels were ornamented with round or triangular depressions and oblique notches. Imported glazed pottery, produced in the handicraft centres of the Golden Horde in the Volga Region and in Central Asia, has been discovered in the ancient towns [Molodin, Sobolev, Solovyov, 1990, p. 16–34].

Among the armaments found in the monuments of the Baraba forest-steppes in the 13–14th centuries were bone linings for bows, flat iron and bone arrowheads, spears and armour plates [ibid., p. 50–55, 73, 77].

The principal activity of the Turkic-speaking population of the Baraba forest-steppes was nomadic cattle breeding. Researchers believe it played an increasingly important role in the economy during the 13–14th centuries as a result of the migration of the 'the hordes of nomads' from the steppes of Kazakhstan [ibid., p. 197]. They bred horses, sheep and, to a lesser extent, cattle. Migrations with herds were seasonal and in a meridional direction.

At the same time, the proportion of the population that lived a settled life in fortified and open settlements practised subsidiary farming. Hunting for wild hoofed and fur-bearing animals was an important part of the economy. The taiga Ugric tribes traded in furs. Furs were the main objects of trade with merchants who came from the Volga Region and Middle Asia, and were supplied

as tributes to the nomadic nobility. The finds of imported crockery and items of weaponry, which were purchased by the Ugric people from visiting merchants for religious purposes, give an indication of the intensity of this trade [Borisenko, Khudyakov, 2001 p. 91–93]. In the 13–14th centuries the main trade route by which these products, produced in countries of the Middle East, Byzantium, western and eastern Europe, were imported into the taiga areas of western Siberia, passed from the Middle Volga Region through the Ural Mountains in the Irtysh area. A certain proportion of the goods were transported through the Baraba forest-steppes to the Altai steppes and the upper reaches of the Irtysh.

A large number of monuments of the 13–14th centuries have been studied in the Novosibirsk Ob' area. After analysing these materials, A. Adamov concluded that the funeral rites of the Turkic-speaking population of this region did not change significantly in comparison with the previous, pre-Mongol period [Adamov, 2000, p. 22].

The complex of artefacts of the Ob' nomads is quite diverse. The armaments found include bows with middle and end bone plates, arrows with flat and round iron arrowheads, and bone arrowheads of different shapes. Amongst the military equipment were birch bark quivers of a closed type. Horsemen's gear included belt sets with bronze belt buckles, plaques and arrowheads with iron rings with hooks, which were used for fastening the uppers of leather boots. The horses' harness included iron reins, stirrups, straps, buckles of saddle belts, and whips with bone handles. Earrings, pendants, beads, and mirrors were found in women's graves.

Amongst the items of ceramic tableware were round-bottomed pots and bowls, decorated with strips of stamped ornamentation on the rim and the upper part of the body [Troitskaya, Molodin, Sobolev, 1980, p. 32, 38–39, 41, 43, 46–47, 55, 57, 59–61].

The population living in the Novosibirsk Ob' region during the Mongol period practised different types of economic activity. An important part of the economy was the breeding of horses, sheep and cattle. For the inhabitants of long-term, permanent settlements cattle

rearing was transhumant, with seasonal change of pastures. The population also engaged in subsistence farming, the hunting of wild ungulates and fur-bearing animals and fishing.

Furs were objects of exchange and probably served as the payment of tributes to the rulers of the Kok-Horde. One of the trade routes to Middle Asia, by which fur was exported and jewellery and luxury goods were imported, ran along the Ob'.

With regard to the ethnic affiliation of the population of the Ob River Region during the Mongol period, there have been suggestions that these were Turkish-speaking, Kipchak tribes. On this basis, the ethnic group of the Tomsk Tatars was formed during the late Middle Ages [Adamov 2000, p. 84].

Various constructions of burial complexes have been examined in the forest-steppes of the Altai.

In the Upper Ob River Region a burial mound has been studied with a circular earthen mound in the centre of which was a burnt log construction at horizon level, which was used for burials according to the rite of inhumation. Around the construction were weapons and household tools. M. Gryaznov believed that the log construction in the centre of the mound was characteristic of the pastoral and hunting nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes of the forest-steppe zone of western Siberia. Buildings of a similar structure were characteristic of the Chatsk and Eushtinsk Tatars during the period of ethnographic modernity [Gryaznov, 1956, p. 157].

The burial mounds in the sites of the forest-steppes of the Altai contained rounded and oval earth mounds above one or more oval burial pits, sometimes with a wooden fence, covered with poles, logs or boards. The dead were buried in the graves in wooden sarcophagi or tombs made of boards, sometimes with an under-layer and overlays of bark. The dead were interred in accordance with the rite of solitary inhumation, in an extended position, on the back, the head aligned with the west, with a variety of implements [Tishkin, Gorbunov, Kazakov, 2002, p. 135–138].

Archaeological sites of the Mongolian period have been examined in the forest-steppes

of the Altai. The cultural layer contained bones of wild and domestic animals and fish, household items and decorations [Gryaznov, 1956, p. 153–154].

The complex of artefacts of the population of the Altai forest-steppes displays a variety of items of armament. Weapons of remote battle include bows with medial front plates, end plates and inserts, arrows with flat and three-edged iron heads, and trihedral, rhombic and hexagonal bone arrowheads. Arrows were kept in birch bark quivers decorated with ornamental ivory plates. A set of close-combat weapons included spears and swords [Khudiyakov 1997, p. 60–71]. Finds of iron plates of lamellar armour and a sphero-conical helmet relate to the Mongol period [Gorbunov, Isupov 2002, p. 136; Tishkin, 2002, p. 144]. Saddlery includes iron reins with ringed iron cheek-pieces, stirrups with a flattened loop and an opening in the bow for the stirrup strap, iron and bone clasps, buckles, straps and decorative headpieces for horses [Efremov, 1998, p. 158–169; Tishkin, Gorbunov, Kazakov 2002, p. 65–85].

Belt buckles and badges, earrings, necklaces and rings have been found amongst the monuments of the Altai nomads. Of particular interest are the cylindrical tops of hats made from birch bark, which researchers have associated with women's 'Bocca' hats worn by the Mongols [Tishkin, Gorbunov, Kazakov, 2002, p. 95]. The monuments of the Mongolian Steppe Altai period included a coin belonging to the Golden Horde and a bronze mirror with a side loop and ornament in the form of a rosette bordered by a strip of semi-circles, similar to the mirrors of the Kipchak burial sites in the Cis-Ural Region [Ivanov, 1999, p. 149–151]. Pottery was found in the settlements.

The nomads of the steppes and forest steppe zones of the Altai in the Mongol period were livestock breeders. They bred mainly horses, sheep and, to a lesser extent, cattle. Judging by the finds of bones of wild animals and fish, hunting and fishing played an important role in the economy [Gryaznov, 1956, p. 153].

Researchers have linked the monuments of the Mongol period in the forest-steppes and Altai steppes to the Kipchaks [Savinov,

1994, p. 70]. Some researchers also distinguish among them complexes of the local Turkified and Tatar population [Efremov, 2002, p. 104, 108]. The male graves of the Teleut Vzvoz-I burial site are believed to be those of the soldiers of the army of the Jochid Ulus, who ruled over the local nomadic Teleut tribes [Tishkin, Gorbunov, Kazakov, 2002, p. 142].

Burial sites of the Mongol period have been studied in the steppes of northern, eastern and central Kazakhstan, which made up the main lands of the Kok-Horde, the eastern wing of the Golden Horde.

The nomads buried their dead relatives according to the rite of solitary inhumation in rectangular grave pits covered with rounded sloping stone-earthen mounds or an oval covering. The deceased were placed in ground pits, in wooden tombs held together by iron clamps and covered with boards or bark. The bodies of dead relatives were placed in the tomb on their backs in an extended position, with the head facing the north or north-west, or very rarely the east. Men were buried with weapons and military and horse attire, and women with ornaments, toiletries and horse trappings.

Specific features of the position of the deceased and the composition of the items buried with them can be traced in some monuments. In the Tasmola monument in central Kazakhstan a body was found lying on the back, with the arms and legs placed to the sides and the head turned to the left. Apart from clothing accessories, weapons, harnesses and household items, the deceased had an earring in the left ear, and two silver coins in the mouth and left hand [Kadyrbaev, Burnasheva, 1970, p. 44–46]. These had been minted in the 14th century in the Golden Horde during the time of Toqta and Öz Beg [ibid., p. 49]. A silver cup and a bag with three silver coins were found in a male burial in the Zhartas burial site, in addition to arms and a harness, remnants of clothing and footwear [Akishev, Baypakov, 1979, p. 101].

In women's graves in the Zhdanov burial site and a destroyed burial site in the Pavlodar Irtysh River Region in northern Kazakhstan parts of headgear were found, such as Mongolian Bocchi, and also sewn silver jewellery

and a bronze mirror with silver rings and bone discs [Arslanova 1968, p. 54–57].

The funeral rites of the nomadic population of Kazakhstan were characterised by the complete eradication of the old traditions of the ancient Turkic and Kimak periods. The ritual of burial with a horse or with a horse's skin was only preserved by the western Kipchaks (Cumans) and on the northern periphery of the Kok-Horde, in the Upper Ob River Region and Novosibirsk, where it has been discovered in those monuments in which the burial rite of solitary inhumation prevails.

The influence of the culture of the local nomadic Mongolian cultural traditions and the adoption of Islam by part of the population, which strictly regulated the funeral rites of Muslim believers, is more clearly apparent in the Kazakh steppes than in western Siberia and the Altai.

Muslim burial rites included that of inhumation in ground graves with the deceased lying on their back in an extended position, in a north–west alignment, with their face turned towards the south–west, in the direction of Mecca. There were no accompanying items in these graves, examined in the Zhartas burial site in central Kazakhstan [Mogilnikov, 1981, p. 99].

With the spread of Islam, the dead were buried increasingly in graves with niches inside the grave structures, built of mud bricks, and in Gumbaz mausoleums [ibid., p. 200].

It is possible that, under the influence of the ministers of the Islamic religion, who actively fought against 'idolatry', the population of the eastern regions of the Kok-Horde ceased to build sanctuaries with stone statues in honour of their ancestors' veneration.

The complex of artefacts of the culture of the nomads in Kazakhstan in the 13–14th centuries is quite diverse.

Amongst items of weapons were bows with front or lateral medial plates, arrows with flat, lenticular, rectangular and tetrahedral iron and bone rhombic arrowheads [Khudyakov, 1997, p. 107–112]. Arrows were kept in quivers with a birch bark receptacle decorated with ivory plates with geometric and zoomorphic ornamentation [ibid., p. 112–113]. In close and hand-to-hand combat, horsemen attacked the

enemy with swords with slightly curved blades and navicular cross guards. Such a sword has been found in the Korolivka monument in Kazakhstan [Mogilnikov 1981, Fig. 72, 53]. For their protection, the soldiers used a cuirass of iron plates held together by a strap in a lamellate manner, and sphero-conical helmets with finials and plate-like barmicas (camails).

Harnesses are represented by two-pronged iron bridle bits with ringed cheek-pieces and stirrups with flat footrests, an arched aperture and flattened bow with a hole for the stirrup leather, iron buckles, plaques and saddle hasps with rings for securing straps [ibid., p. 196–197].

Waist belts were decorated with silver plates with hanging rings or jade plaques. A floral decoration and Kufic-style Arabic inscriptions were used for the ornamentation of the silver belt plates [Akishev, Baypakov, 1979, p. 97].

Metal earrings in the form of an open ring or with pins and pendants were used for female and, occasionally, male ornamentation. Silver plaques, pendants and beads served as jewellery.

Remains of trousers made of sheepskin and boots of rawhide were found in the Zhartas burial site. In the Korolivka monument, the tops of the boots were embroidered in a floral pattern of bronze thread.

Women's headdress consisted of a silver cylindrical tube with a conical piece decorated with embossed stripes in the form of a woven seam [Arslanova 1968, p. 54–57]. These 'Bocchi' hats were characteristic of Mongolian noble women.

A bronze disc-shaped mirror had a spherical hinge in the centre, which was threaded with a chain of two silver rings with bone discs. Animals are depicted in the ornamental field in two rows [ibid.]. These mirrors were cast in China. Copies of the Chinese mirrors were made in imitation of these in the nomadic cultures.

Various fragments and a stucco pot without ornaments were found in the monuments of the nomads of Kazakhstan of the 13–14th centuries [Mogilnikov, 1981, p. 197].

The production of ceramics by the eastern Kipchaks probably decreased as a result of the acquisition of pottery handicrafts produced in

the urban centres of Middle Asia and the widespread practice of not beating metal utensils.

The main focus of the economic activity of the nomads inhabiting the arid steppes of Kazakhstan was nomadic herding. They bred horses, sheep, camels and cattle. The Kipchaks were considered a people that had 'an abundance of horses'. Their nomadic life style was determined by the availability 'of grass and water' and the seasons. S. Akhinzhanov noted that they typically took migratory routes over long distances from the Irtysh to the Syr Darya [Akhinzhanov, 1989, p. 240–242].

Battue hunting of wild steppe herd ungulates was of great importance in their economy. The nomads were hot-tempered and hardy hunters; they could tirelessly chase gazelles and wild asses, and shoot straight from the bow at full gallop. Hunting also played a role in military training.

At the same time, part of the local nomadic population set down roots on the land, settled in cities, and took up agriculture and handicrafts [ibid., p. 250, 255–256].

The eastern areas of the Golden Horde carried out an important function in the transit caravan trade. One of the most important trade routes, which served as the meridional branch of the trans-continental trade route that ran from China through the Tien Shan Mountains in Middle Asia, passed through the Kazakh steppes from Semirechye to the Irtysh River Region, to the Altai and western Siberia. Records of the culture of the nomads during the 13–14th centuries in the steppes of Kazakhstan are traditionally described by all researchers as Kypchak [Kadyrbaev, Burnasheva, 1970, p. 53; Arslanova 1968, p. 58; Akishev, Baypakov, 1979, p. 102], although it would be more accurate to regard them as those of the Golden Horde.

An analysis of the archaeological materials of the monuments of the nomads inhabiting the eastern part of the Golden Horde, which covered vast steppe and forest-steppe areas of western Siberia, the Altai and Kazakhstan, has made it possible to trace certain changes in the culture of the various ethnic groups during the era of the Middle Ages.

Imperial, supra-ethnic cultural elements, common to all Mongol uluses, became wide-

spread amongst the nomads who joined the Kok-Horde, the eastern wing of the Golden Horde, during the 13–14th centuries. This is vividly displayed in one complex of artefacts. The soldiers were armed with Mongolian-type bows, arrows with faceted and flat iron arrowheads, quivers ornamented with plates, spears, sabres, swords, armour and helmets. Many similarities can be seen in the armaments of the soldiers and the horses' harnesses. The fashion for women's jewellery characteristic of the Mongol period became widespread. The unification of the main elements of the culture of the militia in the nomadic world is connected not only with the desire to emulate the dominant ethnic group of nomads, but also with the development of optimal forms of weaponry and horse harnesses for this period.

The direction of cultural relations at the time when western Siberia, the Altai and Kazakhstan were incorporated into the Golden Horde reflected the state ownership of these lands. The monuments of the nomads in these areas include coins belonging to the Golden Horde, jewellery and pottery imported from the urban centres of the Volga Region and Middle Asia.

There are significantly fewer items that can be considered to have been brought from China, which was part of the Mongolian Yuan Empire. Contrary to popular opinion, no decline in culture is observed in the monuments of the nomads of western Siberia, the Altai and Kazakhstan in the 13–14th centuries. The intensity of trading and cultural contacts between the nomads and the urban centres of handicrafts increased compared with the previous period.

The period of the joining of these territories to the Golden Horde coincided with considerable migrations of Turkic-speaking nomads. During the Mongol invasions a significant proportion of the Kipchaks migrated to Eastern Europe, to the steppe regions of the Altai and western Siberia, settled in the oases of Semirechye, the Syr Darya and the Aral Sea Region, which accelerated the processes of the acculturation and Turkification of the population of these lands.

The period of the Golden Horde was a time of the propagation of the Islamic religion, traditions, rituals and culture amongst the Turkic-speaking nomads of the Kok-Horde.

CHAPTER 3

The Phenomenon of the Ulus of Jochi Civilisation

§ 1. The City and Urban Life in the Golden Horde

Mark Kramarovsky

The myth of cultures of 'pure nomads', while not yet obsolete, has been losing its appeal more and more in recent decades [Kyzlasov, 1998, p. 47–64]. According to the calculations, in the Asian Hun Empire (209 BCE–48 AD) the settled population of about twenty fortified settlements of Mongolia and Transbaikalia (not counting villages without walls) were meant to provide agricultural and handicraft products for about 350, 000–800, 000 nomads [Kradin, 2002, p. 79]. The tradition of settling nomads, often forced, in the villages and in the cities, where a large place was occupied by a layer of non-free population, was developed among the medieval Uighurs, Khitans, Jurchens, and finally, Mongols and Tatars. According to observations in Europe, the city with its attributes was perceived by yesterday's nomads as a necessary evil, and city walls—unusual for Chinggisids—as a sign of weakness. The following dialogue between the two key merchants—a Venetian Giosafat Barbaro, who lived in the Golden Horde 16 years from 1436 to 1452, and a steppe Tatar—illustrates this. The conversation took place at the city gate of Tana, where the architecture of the gate tower attracted the attention of the interlocutors:

'This is a wonderful thing, isn't it?' Barbaro asked his casual acquaintance.

'Bah! He who is frightened builds a tower!' the Turk replied, grinning' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 148].

The psychological rejection of a stationary life, rooted in the environment of Turkic-Mongol nomads up until the modern era, is expressively characterised by the saying: 'Let you as a Christian stay in one place and smell your own stink' [Miechowita, 1936, p. 213, fn. 46].

There is a need to identify a few preliminary issues of methodological significance for our topic. The Golden Horde, from the point of view of civilization, was an independent nomadic empire. The power of the state and the unity of the Jochid Empire was based, as in the case of a single state of Chinggis Khan, on the military power of the nomads. At the same time, the Golden Horde by the middle of the 14th century differed from the 'Great Ale' of ancient Turks or Mongols during the lifetime of the founder of the empire—that is, up to 1227, by massive construction of new towns in the steppe zone and growth of the old ones in the forest-steppe zone (after a short period of wartime ruin in the mid-1230s to early 1240s). The maxim on the impossibility of governing in the saddle, expressed by the Minister Khitan Yelü Chucai to the Great Khan, to some extent explains the need for the appearance of capitals—Karakorum or Sarai. But the same idea does little to elucidate the causes of mass construction of regional cities in the steppe Volga, Dnieper, Don River Regions, Ciscaucasia, etc. With cities and monetary circulation, new forms of division of labor come into the Dasht-i Kipchak and its farming periphery, based on the economic nature of the concentration, redistribution and sale of the surplus products coming from the steppe, the agricultural areas of the empire, as well as the result of trade relations, from abroad. During the stable existence of the Empire, cities become centres of international commerce centres in the craft of its own periphery and near trade centres of spiritual life, the various forms of intellectual activity and multi-ethnic culture. The specifics of this is the fact that the energy of these cities, the rhythm of their lives were subordinated to the steppe empire. The collapse

of the power of the steppe khans automatically leads to the collapse of steppe cities.

From seasonal rates to existing towns and cities: the tradition of Central and West Asia in the 13th century. The tradition of stationary settlements of the Chinggisid Mongols is usually associated with four major horde residences of the wives of Chinggis Khan. Hordes existed in parallel with his personal headquarters, referred to as 'the Great', but also 'Shira Ordo' [Minert, 1990, p. 90]. The exact location of the main hordes of Chinggis Khan's wives is unknown, although in this respect, there are many convincing hypotheses. It is assumed that the first residence of Temujin was located on the bank of the Tola, in the Dark Bor, indicated in 'The Secret History of the Mongols' as Hara-tun [Kozin, 1941, p. 189]. After the transfer of the main headquarters on the river Orkhon, L. Minert suggested considering it the Northern Horde. The main Southern Horde, apparently, was *Yu err Li*, which the mail road led to [Xi You Ji, 1866, p. 398]. The Eastern Horde apparently was in the lower reaches of Kerulen [Kafarov, 1866, p. 181]. Western Great Horde of Chinggis Khan, the researchers placed in the upper reaches of the Selenga. Subsequently, it may have been moved to the southern slopes of the Mongolian Altai in valley of the river Bulugun where there was a princely headquarters of the Naimans before their defeat.

One of the witnesses is a Taoist monk, Chu Cheng, who was invited to the court of Chinggis Khan and visited Yu err Li in 1227, and testified to the site of the headquarters as 'a village, whose inhabitants are mostly engaged in arable farming and fishing' [Xi You Ji, 186, p. 285]. Consequently, the headquarters of the Great Khan turned into a stationary settlement. Even in the pre-settlement period, there were apparently facilities, from which after dismantling, at best, remain the foundations of stone and brick, as one of the seasonal camps of Chinggis Khan, recently discovered in Mongolia [Shiraishi, 2001 p. 79–98]. We know, at least a few summer headquarters of the great Chinggisid Khans—Ögedei (1229–1241) and Guyuk (1246–1248).

The enthronement of Ögedei on Kurultai in 1228 occurred in the Kerulen Valley in the

'Chinggis yurt'—that is, in the former residence of Chinggis Khan on the site of its main Eastern Horde.

Juwayni reports important details that characterise the nature of the seasonal movements of the Great Khan's court, using stationary palaces and summer headquarters in the calendar regime [Juwayni, 2004, p. 163–165]. Before the enthronement Ögedei lived in a residence not far from Emile, after 1229 it was given to his son (Crown Prince Guyuk). After coming into power, twice a year, but mainly in the winter and early spring, Ögedei lived in a 'Chinese palace' in the park near Ordubalyq-Karakorum, where he was surrounded by the homes of brothers, sons and guards. The Great Khan spent some spring days in a small palace on a hill three miles from the city. The beginning of summer (the first forty days of summer) the Khan spent in the courtyard area of Karshi-Suri in the palace, which was built by Muslim craftsmen. The palace in Karshi-Suri boasted rich hunting grounds with lakes and waterfowl. The hot summer days were spent in the mountains in a 'Chinese' tent of white felt with the fabric top woven with gold. This place was called the Shire-Orda' [Ibid., p. 164]. There the Khan's court remained until the first snow. The pattern repeated. The Juwayni text follows that in the second third of the 13th century, building innovations, based on the architectural traditions of the Far and Middle East, adapted to the needs of early Chingissids were introduced into the routine practice of the ruling house, severely squeezing steppe line. It seems that the paradigm during Ögedei's time must be adequately taken into account in the analysis of the circumstances surrounding the appearance of the capital of the Golden Horde, Sarai, given that there are no traces in Selitrennoe ancient town of a city in the middle to second half of the 13th century.

However, the position of the nomadic yurt remained fairly robust. Based on the observations of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, a witness of the enthronement of Guyuk, overriding structures of summer headquarters were huge woven tents for receptions. In the headquarters of Guyuk's mother Turakina, Ögedei's widow, who ruled an empire on the rights of a regent

for about five years, it was the tent of the 'white purple' with a capacity of more than 2,000 men [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 74]. The tent was enclosed by a wooden fence with 'different images'. Turakina's headquarters was called 'Syr-Orda'; here the inaugural meeting of participants of Kurultai was held [Ibid., p. 75]. At the same time over the hip fence for four weeks there was far more than 4,000 distinguished persons from non-Mongols, ambassadors and vicegerents of the conquered lands, and, among them, the papal nuncio. Actually the enthronement took place in another tent, called 'Golden Horde', although, perhaps, more correctly it should be called 'the golden tent'. The tent was located in the valley between the mountains near the stream in the tract Angisume-Toli in three or four levkas (transitions) from Turakina's headquarters—that is, at a distance of 90–120 km from the Syr-Orda. 'The tent... was raised on poles, covered with gold leaf and nailed to a tree with golden nails, and the top and inside the walls, it was covered indoors with baldakin, and outside there was other material' [Ibid., p. 76]. The 'golden tent', where Giovanni da Pian del Carpine was allowed, among others, was held a ceremony of ambassadorial gifts. In the third pavilion of the 'flame-red purple' was used for a feast. At the same time the Great Khan was sitting on a throne placed on a high platform. Besides the three ceremonial tents—white for assembly (Kurultai), gold for the enthronement and red for the banquet, were in the rates of white felt yurts belonging to Khan's wives. Thus, the structure of the temporary architecture 'modules' in the seasonal camps—stakes side by side with permanent light installations. Later this combined system, but on the basis of tradition, rooted in the practice of the younger Chinggisid generation's khan quarters. These buildings are known as East and West Asia. Shangdu, the summer capital of the Yuan Dynasty in the western part of the city (West Outer Space) contained the palace for the pleasure called 'Bai-Orda' ('Luxury Horde'), at least five permanent buildings. There were debates with the participation of theologians, ambassadorial receptions, award ceremonies and receptions. The northern part of the capital (North Garden) contains a botanical garden, a zoo

and pleasure pavilion under a familiar name 'Syr-Orda'. It is possible that 'Bamboo Palace' Kublai Khan in Shangdu, described by Marco Polo as a collapsible was Syr-Orda—a temporary building secured with two hundred crepe silk ropes. The interiors of the palace could not but create a striking contrast with its tent 'walls', possibly made from palm fibre, and removable varnished pillars with ivory, decorated with dragons, on whose gilded heads rested the light bamboo roof of the pavilion [Kniga Marko Polo, 1956, p. 96, Note 3, Chapter 76, p. 279].

In 1255, on the orders of the Central Asian ruler Masood Beg in Samarkand, a tent of nasidzh fabric (a kind of brocade with gold thread) covered with white felt was built, where for forty days there were feasts in honor of Hulagu. Rashid al-Din mentions the royal pavilion built by the ruler of Khorasan in 1256, which called for a thousand golden nails. Ibn Battuta (1333) describes a convivial golden tent of Khan Öz Beg, not inferior to the luxury tents of Iran and Central Asia [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 298, 301, 311]. Based on the striking riches of the finishes, these temporary buildings share one important trait—their function of khan winery—'house of wine' or (Persian) *sharab-khan*, going back to the 'Great Winery' of 'The Secret History of the Mongols' [Kozin, 1941, p. 173]. The Karakoram 'vineyard' with silver fountain for koumiss and wine, arranged in the form of a pear tree in 1254, was built as a stationary palace for congresses. The importance of the social institution of 'Great Winery' as part of the elite pleasures, which included hunting and, at the earliest Mongolian proverb suggests, based, apparently, on Iase, the division of spheres of activity of the four sons of Chinggis Khan. According to the will of the founder of the empire, the eldest son was entrusted to the care of the organisation of celebrations, meetings and duties, but also intelligence affairs (*oyun*), negotiation and entertainment [Togan, 2002, p. 175]. Consequently, the preparation of the feast after the campaign in 1224–1225 to Khwarezm, ending with a sporting competition, and installation of the famous stele of Khirkhira ancient town, known as the 'Chinggis Stone', was in charge of Jochi. Often it was seasonal



Belt plate. Bronze. Bulgar. 13th century.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan

camps in summer and winter where the largest part of the lives of the members of the ruling house was spent, including princes, Khatun and senior officials, grew into the city, or at least urban-type settlement. At the early stage of existence 'of the Great Mongolian State' when nomadic traditions prevailed, the official life of the Chinggisid generation was focused mainly in the summer residences, which hosted kurultais, enthronements, feasts, hearings, receptions of embassies, appointments of military officials, and approval of the decision to hold seasonal hunts. However, after the death of the founder of the state in 1227, the great Khans in the east of the still united empire (formally until the end of the 1260s) ruled from the capital Karakorum and later cities such as Dadu, Kublai or Shangdu.

Batu Khan originally settled in Bolgar, where the stamping of the first Jochid coins began in the 1240s. For the second half of the 13th century, life in the city became so normalised that by the end of the century Bolgar grows be-

yond the old border of the pre-Mongol period. The centre of the city became a Friday mosque. In the 1330s, the city was decorated with a paved area in front of the Friday mosque and several large mausoleums. By the middle of the 14th century, the city had gained a whole group of monumental stone buildings, water supply pools and water pipes.

In the early 1250s, construction began in Dasht-i Kipchak of the capital Sarai, identified with the ruins at Selitrennoe and a 1282 coin is minted with the Arab name of the city, 'Sarai-al-Maqrus'—'Palace Protected by God'. Judging by the fact that 230 km from Sarai on the left bank of the Akhtuba in the last years of Öz Beg Khan (1312–1342) was the quarters of Khanbikov Tayduly, the future of the city on Tsarevo ancient town, you can think, the summer pasture preceded elder Khatuni titled 'Gulistan' (*Persian* for 'flower garden', 'garden of roses'). After the death of Öz Beg, in this place grew the city, which actively developed from the late 1350s. In a document dated to early March 1359, he is known as *Gulistan-Saray* [Grigoriev 2004, p. 225]. Previously, the city was identified as 'Sarai al-Jadid'—'New Palace' [Fedorov-Davydov 1964, pp. 270–271; Egorov, 1985, pp. 112–113]. The localisation of Gulistan was established by I. Evstratov [Evstratov 1997, pp. 88–118]. It is possible that the double title of Gulistan-Saray reflected the pre-city stage corresponding to the time spent in these seasonal quarters. Kiosks (*kushks*) were wooden tower gazebos far from the huge summer tent for the royal reception of emirs, mobile mosques and tents for the Qadi, khatibs, sheriffs and sheikhs feasting separately was noted in the area of Sarai by Ibn Battuta, who described the celebration and feast with the participation of Öz Beg on Friday 2 June 1334 [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordj', 1884, p. 298, 301, 311]. Not present in the Golden Horde were stationary systems such as those seen in Rashidiya, which was built as a religious city. It seemingly remained the sacred city of the Horde. In this role, more than any other suitable settlement of Lapas on the left bank of the Akhtuba, 40 km below Sarai [Egorov, 1985, pp. 117–118]. There are ruins of four monumental mausoleums, which research-

ers presume are the tomb of the four Muslim Khans—Berke, Öz Beg, Jani Beg and Berdi Beg [Ibid.]. In the vicinity of the settlement there are more than a dozen mausoleums. Judging by the coin finds, the life of the settlement continued into the 1390s, but peaked in the first third of the 14th century. [Pigarev et al., 2005, p. 150, Table 3].

With an increasing trend towards integration of tent modules with complexes of stationary summer camps, which contained Chinggisid 'pleasure palaces', formed a new style of architecture of the empire. In the construction, the alignment of the building cultures of Central and Eastern Asia became ever more marked. In Iran, the son of Argun Uldzhaytu (1304–1316) built his new capital Soltanieh on the site of the summer pasture in Iranian Azerbaijan. According to Hafiz-Abru (d. 1430), the Uldzhaytu palace contained an indoor courtyard paved with marble. A huge vaulted ayvan opened to the yard, and could, like a ceremonial tent, contain up to 2, 000 people; around the yard there were 12 small rooms. The architectural structure, based on a combination of the closed space of the yard, surrounded by *ayvans* and small rooms, reflected the traditional plan of the Persian palace in the pre-Mongol period. In the first half of the 13th century all buildings known in Mongolian archaeology were built this way, including the palace of the Great Khan in Karakorum.

The planning structures of the new Central Asian cities of the Chinggisids fully reflected the traditions of the 'old' peoples of the young empire. Examining the roots of Mongol urbanism in the 13th century in Central Asian traditions and, in particular, in the urban planning culture of the Uighurs and the Khitan, the researchers concluded that Karakoram was an agglomeration across the valley of the river Orkhon [Minert, 1990, p. 94]. But it was a metropolitan area, based on the observation of certain principles. Across large parts of the territory, the residences (palaces) of the settled nobility sat side by side with buildings intended for craftsmen and traders. The settlements of the nobility and ordinary citizens were interspersed with military camps of nomadic yurts, land for grazing and fenced cropland that gave the area a sparse and spa-

cious character. Following this theory, the centre of the 'big' city was the receiving Palace of Ögedei, built in 1238 [Kiselev, 1965, pp. 138–166]. During the construction of the palace, the Mongolian version of spatial solutions were implemented on the basis of Chinese building techniques. In 1253, William of Rubruck noted in Karakorum two quarters—the Muslim merchant quarter and the Chinese craft quarter (this was also discovered by S. Kiselev's expedition). Palaces were outside these neighborhoods, and the city was surrounded by a *clay wall with four gates*, each of which became the focus of a specialized trade: grain—east, small cattle—west, bulls and cart—south, and horses—north. Outside urban areas were the 12 'idols' of various peoples, including two mosques and a Christian church on the edge of town. By the time of a visit by a Franciscan missionary to the city of Karakorum, founded by Chinggis Khan in 1220, the city has existed for at least thirty years. If a city had arisen, as is assumed, on the site the Great Khan's headquarters, it is unlikely that is boasted with ramparts and walls. It seems that the planning of Karakorum reflected the idea of empire model. Experience in planning and construction of the palace in the Karakorum influenced the construction of regional centres in the nascent empire. For example, a town on the river Hirhira in the Transbaikalia, where construction work began in the late 1230s. This town belonged to the brother of Chinggis Khan Jochi Hasar, and later his son Isunke, and was the centre of their holdings or yurt. The main settlement was located in the fortified palace of the ruler ('Citadel'). Around the Khan's residence—to the west, north and east—was a complex of separate developments. The space to the south of the palace remained open and free from any development, which indicates the Mongolian tradition to the planning structure [Minert, 1990]. In the territory there were more than 30 estates around the Khan's palace and more than 100 separate buildings [Artemyev, 2001, p. 254].

One of the characteristic details of the meagre urban landscape of the Chinggisid metropolis was specialised craft villages, towns such as Jin Cheng high on the river Aluhuan (possibly on the Orkhon, a tributary of the Selenga). Ac-

cording to the 'Yuanshi', this town was founded by Chinggis Khan as a settlement of weavers. More than 300 weaver families were relocated from Turkestan, seemingly after the capture of Bukhara and Samarkand in 1220, and the same number of wool weavers came from China, probably shortly after 1220, when the Muqali Mongols conquered Shaanxi province [Xi You Ji, 1866, p. 404]. Also in 1220, Chinggis Khan founded Karakoram, possibly on the site of one of the headquarters of the Great Khan [Minert, 1990, p. 94]. Earlier, after 1211, the Mongols in the Eastern Altai had established a colony of ten thousand prisoners of Chinese craftsmen and artists of both sexes. The prisoners built the city, which was named Chingali-Balgas, as one of the younger associates of Chinggis Khan, Ker Chingali, a future minister of Ögedei Khan, was put in charge of the colony [Maydar, 1981, p. 61]. It can be assumed that the number of Chinggisid special settlements directly depended on the total amount of military trophies, including in the form of captured craftsmen of various specialties. It is still necessary to distinguish between the construction of special settlements and the construction of cities. On the territory of Dasht-i Kipchak, special settlements of the Chingali-Balgas type have not been identified archaeologically, although in both cases mostly forced labor was used.

The trend toward building on uninhabited areas is a characteristic feature of the urban development of the Jochids [Fedorov-Davydov, 1978, p. 27; 1983, p. 216]. The massive Jochid urban construction manifested as a not yet fully recognised historical phenomenon of conscious retreat from the Chinggis Khan commandment that his descendants, along with the Mongolian nobility, should live in the conditions of a nomadic life forever, enjoying the benefits of free life of the steppes, but not cities [Vladimirtsov, 2002, p. 198]. It is obvious that in the formation of the new consciousness of the younger Chinggisid generation (the grandchildren's generation), a new pragmatism took hold, based on an understanding of the role of trade in the altered historical circumstances, which came toward the end of the 13th century, but especially later [Fedorov-Davydov, 1983, p. 215]. This is eloquently illustrated by the phenomenon of

urtachestvo—the equity of Jochid nobility in merchant transactions [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 154–155]. A not insignificant role was seemingly played by the awareness of accessibility to the inexhaustible resources of international trade routes of the steppe branch of the Silk Road, which had been active since the beginning of the 1260s to the time of the fall of the Latin Empire and the return of Constantinople by the Greeks. This coincidence with the period during the reign of Khans Batu and Berke (who belonged to the same generation) of minting coinage, the renewal of the transcontinental trade route and mass urban construction in the desert shows, in our opinion, evidence of the conscious choice by the ruling house of new paths to state formation.

On the Golden Horde town system. We have touched on the question of a paradigm leading the Jochids to embark on large-scale urban construction. Of course, it is based on a universal principle that is expressed in the fact that the city of the village features a developed market. However, the city of the Golden Horde was not just a large market place. It was also a place of concentration of power, money, craft building and, finally, the habitual residence of the spiritual elite. And the market in the city differed from the multi-purpose markets in a number of ways, such as in nomadic camps. The main feature of the city market is its specialisation; its function is to be a link with nearby artisan settlements, rural districts and the surrounding nomadic steppe. Among the most important social functions of the market is communication, which is particularly important in terms of establishing inter-ethnic and inter-religious links.

Cities in Dasht-i Kipchak sprang up everywhere as centres of new power [Fedorov-Davydov, 1983, p. 218; Egorov, 2000, p. 267]. It is clear that the presence of winter roads played an important role in the selection of sites. It is assumed Sarai grew along these lines, the first eyewitness account of which (by the brother of Rubruk) dates to 1254 [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 185]. The question of whether the new cities of the Jochids appeared independently of the Khans' will and the support of labour and military aristocracy, is not even worth discussing:

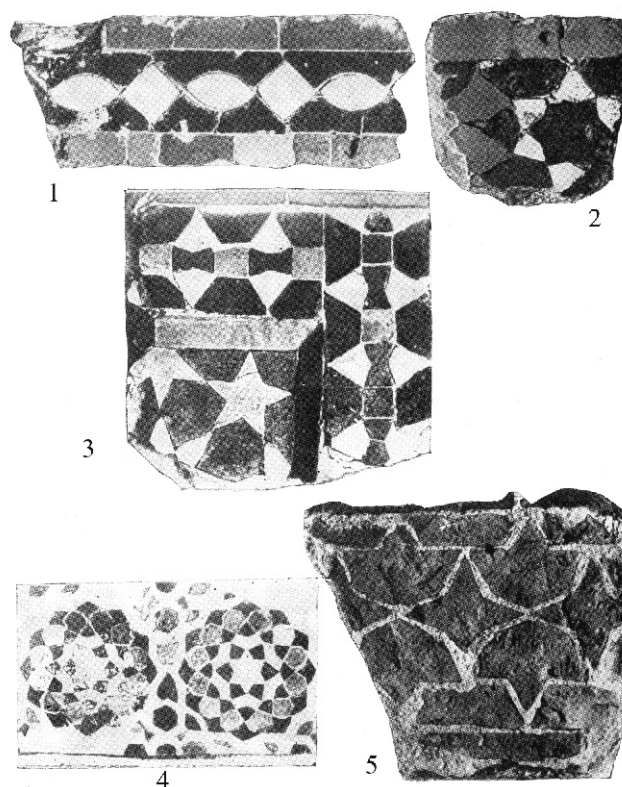
Mosaics with geometric ornamental patterns (according to L. Noskova)

- 1, 5: Selitrennoe archaeological site,
2: Tsarevskoe archaeological site,
3: Mechetnoye ancient town,
4: Uvek archaeological site

in the Golden Horde, especially in the 13th century, there was no other social force capable of changing the stereotype of nomadic farming in favour of sedentarisation.

To some extent the service weight of the 'old' and 'new' urban centres was reflected in the geographical description of the Golden Horde in the pages of the 14-century encyclopedia of al-Kalkashandi [Grigoriev, Frolova, 2002, p. 261–302]. The encyclopedia emphasises the two-part nature of the Ulus of Jochi, which was divided into two historic regions—Khwarezm and Kipchak. Urgench, where the headquarters of the left hand (wing) of the Golden Horde was located, was described by al-Kalkashandi as the second capital city of the region, after ancient Kyat [Ibid., p. 282–283]. Of the urban centres of Khwarezm, also named are Maly Urgench (Khiva), Zamakhshari, Khazarasp, Dargan and Farabr. The location of the headquarters of head of the right hand (wing) was the city of Solkhat (Sulgat). It was the capital of the district of Crimea (al-Kirim), including, according to the encyclopedia, 'about forty settlements'. If we understand the numeral 'forty' as 'many', one might think that we are talking about rural and artisan villages, the markets closed this small regional centre. Forty Solkhat settlements should not be confused with the 'As country' in Golden Horde Crimea that belonged to another administrative district of the capital Kirk-Er—Kirkir—the Turkic etymology which Kalkashandi interpreted as the 'forty men' [Ibid., p. 286, 290].

The description of the Crimean capital, situated at the junction zone of the steppes and foothills, in the encyclopedia takes into account the links of Solkhat with two port centres—Kaffa and Sudak—each defended by Solkhat at a dis-



tance of a day's travel [Ibid., p. 287]. Only from al-Kalkashandi do we learn that in the Khan's domain, there are cities, 'attributed' to Solkhat and among them, Ukek (Uvek), located about halfway between Sarai and Bulgaria [Ibid., p. 286]. This appears to be evidence of some kind of taxes in favour of Solkhat. At the same time, small Kerch (al-Karsh), located in Eastern Crimea, was 'isolated' on Azak, located fifteen days' march from Crimea [Ibid., p. 287–288]. From the text of the Egyptian author it follows that the organization of the structural subordination of the right wing of the cities was built upon a system, not based on the principles of regionalisation, but on administrative and economic feasibility.

The capital Sarai with its magnificent harbour is described in greatest detail in the encyclopedia. Al-Kalkashandi, based on the testimony of eyewitnesses and written tradition, characterises Sarai as a large city. Among the sights of the city he includes not only the Khan's residence, where the ruler and his emirs lived in the winter, but the city pond (water for industrial purposes). Sarai is described as a city where

there are markets, baths, charitable institutions, and warehouses. Modern researchers have determined the area of urban neighborhoods in Sarai to 10 sq. km [Egorov, 1985, p. 115]. However, not everything is clear in the identification of early Sarai. Until now, the Selitrennoe ancient settlement archaeologists have not found the remains of the 13-century city. Some historians attribute this to the regime of the Caspian Sea transgression at the turn of the 13–14th centuries, believing that the cultural layer of the settlement of the second half of the 13th century was washed away during strong spring floods [Lebedev 2005, p. 19]. Others believe that the core of the early Sarai (including, apparently, the palace of Batu) could be located 100 km to the south, at the place of confluence of the rivers Akhtuba and Buzan and in the settlement of Krasny Yar, where the coins of the second half of the 13–beginning of the 14th century have been found. [Goncharov, 2005, pp. 97–98].

On the rooting of urban life on Selitrennoe and several other settlements of the Middle and Lower Volga Regions, the Khan's domain was transformed into 'a nation of towns' in the Volga Region. In the 14th century alone, there were 47 towns and villages, representing 33.5% of the total number of recorded (140 known and identified based on mapping) of the municipal type. At the same time it should be noted that the territory of the former Volga Bulgaria, with its villages and towns in the 13–14th centuries was an area of continuous settlement [Fakhruddinov, 1975, p. 50–78]. From the perspective of modern archeology, the panorama of geographically and politically central districts of the Golden Horde in the 14th century were a landscape area, densely settled. During this period the 'Coast of Volga, ' said V. Egorov, 'was almost entirely built up with cities, towns and villages. Along the left bank of the river Akhtuba (from the source to its Sarai al-Jadid and more) there is a continuous settled strip consisting of small towns, villages and castles of the aristocracy, surrounded by cultivated fields. As similarly significant area occurs in the area where the Volga and the Don draws closest' [Egorov, 1985, p. 77].

A Golden Horde town is difficult to distinguish from a village, except by external met-

rics: its size, the number of inhabitants, the abundance of markets, public buildings, the splendor of noble houses and the concentration of countless crafts. Contrary to popular belief, the city is not always the issuer: often coinage is carried out in conditions of nomadic (military) headquarters. But copper coins are usually minted in urban mints. In contrast to European cities, those of the Golden Horde from the time of birth are not constrained by walls, and there was never anything like cathedrals or a fortified kremlin. There was no citadel, no *shakhristan* or *rabad*, like in the cities of Middle Asia and the Middle East. Difficulties in identifying the formal signs of the Golden Horde towns, I believe, lie in the features of the genesis of steppe urban planning. To elucidate the specifics of this, let us turn to historiography.

The extremity, according to which the origin of steppe cities due to a combination of two constants, military camp (fortress) and transit trade [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 77–79], did not pass the test of time. The archaeological study of the Golden Horde towns in the east and Shehr al-Jadid to the west provides a whole range of evidence of that in urban areas the indigenous Ulus Jochi method used was the forced concentration of artisans, but not in the form of fortified settlements. In the steppes, the Jochids had nothing and no one to fear. Most likely, the foundation was laid on the principle of combining commercial factors freely, with settlements without walls, which housed both owners and craftsmen gathered in the conquered territories. Tracing the evolution of the settlements into full cities, highlighting at the same stage of *pre-town*, happens very rarely. Unfortunately, the blurring of formal characteristics of the steppe town (in the absence of written evidence and statistical data) only complicates the issue.

The system of towns and settlements in Dasht-i Kipchak was created artificially by the Khan's house, without relying on tradition. In the prevailing conditions of the nomadic lifestyle of the bulk of the Turkic population, these new and updated 'old' cities, as we have noted, were designed to meet the needs of the ruling dynasty. But only to the extent to which the Khan's headquarters managed to suppress the resistance of the steppe aristocracy.

Now in Golden Horde urbanistics, the concept of two paths of urban development prevails. The first is the 'steppe' type common to the Lower Volga Region, the plains of the North Caucasus and the steppe zone of Prut-Dniester interfluvium (its main feature is the absence of pre-Mongol urban traditions). The second is 'autochthonous', which is characteristic of the marginal areas of the state where the Jochids used the 'old' city of the local population with their own urban planning and land use traditions [Byrnya, 1984, p. 32–35]. For the settlement regions this typological scheme does not take into account the growth of new cities, whose formation is not associated with the local urban planning traditions of the pre-Mongol period, but whose functions correspond to the idea of serving the interests of the Tatar nomadic elite and wealthy merchants of the Golden Horde. In the western regions—the right hand (wing) of the state—to those can be attributed Solkhat-Crimea and Kaffa in Tauris, Tang in the Azov Sea Region, Moncastro, Chilia and those living in the lower reaches of the Dniester and the Danube.

A number of authors seeking the genesis of some towns in the western parts of the Golden Horde turn, on the one hand, to the overcriticised factor of the Genoese trade colonization in East Crimea, and, on the other hand, to the criticised role that state power had in town building policy towards the Dniester River Region in the middle and the third quarter of the 14th century. Thus, some historians view the development of Kaffa as 'initiated' not by the Latin settlers' onward constructive activity, but by the Franciscan and Dominican missionaries building temples that supposedly were some kind of 'Cult forums' and 'places of regular barter' [Emanov, 1997, p. 17–24].

Historic Moldova, where the stage of pre-town was also missing, encounters even more controversial explanations of its urban origins. N. Russev, who literally equals the circulation of the Golden Horde's coinage to the movement of people (we should highlight that the replacement wasn't authorised by the Khan), talking about new towns emerging in the Prut-Dniester Region, suggested that two peaks of Jochid coinage seen by Old Orhei,

Costești and Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi in the middle of the 14th century and the late 1360s may be explained by the mass uncontrolled migration of the capital citizens from Sarai al-Jadid [Russev, 1999, p. 35, 46–58]. According to the scholar, there were two reasons for this: attempts to avoid the plague pandemic, and the state oppression from which part of the trade and artisan population of the Volga Region fled. Both suggestions are wide open to criticism, for baths and mosques of Stary Orhei prove that people who came from the Volga Region continued to enjoy the goods of Islamic civilization.

In the 1230s, the army brought national Mongol novelties as well as foreign ones to Dasht-i Kipchak. It is sometimes difficult to separate them. The laws, military structure, tax and duty system, wrapping clothes from the right to the left, typical headwear, coiffures, dishes, common festivals, the cult of Tengri are all original Mongol marks which don't exclude borrowings as a result of cultural contact with neighbours. But we should enumerate some innovations adopted in the times of the united Mongol state: international trade; kans in house building; iron, bronze, ceramic and a number of other constantly updating productions. We should point out that, according to paleopedological data, the 13th and the 14th centuries were characterised by a climax of atmospheric overhumidity and 'considerable humidisation of the whole Eurasian steppe' [Demkin and others, 2005, p. 117–118].

Golden Horde culture was characterised by two coexisting lifestyles: nomadic (in the steppes) and settled (in rural and urban areas). After the first state capital, Sarai, emerged in the 1250s, the nomadic (that is military) elite settled down in towns. Moreover, 'old towns', ransacked in wars, began to be restored in that period. In a century, that tendency, together with the building of new towns, led to the establishment of a more or less balanced system controlled by nomadic leaders. We may call it an alliance between the steppe and towns, united in order to gain transit trade benefits and probably due to the growth of local production based in towns.

110 towns have been already marked on the modern archaeological map of the Golden

Horde; 30 towns known in the Middle Ages still have no location [Egorov, 1985, p. 139]. Archaeological observations are close to the data from 'Book of Travels' by Evlia Çelebi (17th century) who wrote about 170 towns in the 'Heihat steppe' [Çelebi, 1979, p. 143]. The importance of towns as economic centres from the very beginning determined their role as administrative centres that often had key positions in developing far trade and creating a chain of inns for caravans along trade roads. Large towns, such as Sarai, Khwarezm (Urgench), Gulistan, Bulgar, Bilär, Ordu-Bazar, Beq-Bazar, Ukek, Moksha, Saray-Jük, Hajji Tarkhan, Majar, Azak, Kaffa, Solkhat-Qirim, Shehr al-Jadid, basically redivided, to different extents, far imported goods (various fabrics including cloth, silks, brocade; expensive glass, jewellery, and so on) and local goods produced by blacksmiths, armourers, potters, saddlers, and glassblowers. There, goods were also made of raw materials supplied by the steppe (horses, cattle, skins, and wool) and of agricultural products from near and far areas, as well as local gardens, for many towns remained semi-rural centres. Meanwhile, the right-hand ('wing') economy was centred in Crimea (Solkhat) and Bulgar, the left-hand ('wing') economy—in Khwarezmian Urgench. Money was needed to establish fruitful exchange, the main urban economic function. So the right to issue coins (to have mints) was given in different periods at least to 17 towns that temporarily played the role of *administrative* centres. The phenomenon of issuing money in nomadic camps again highlights that *political authority* in the Golden Horde had *always* belonged to the nomadic elite, regardless of its loyalty to nomadism, including periods when it was associated with an urban lifestyle.

It was obviously early to talk of the urban system as a mark of state and administrative evolution in the Ulus of Jochi. At the same time, considering on coin-issuing towns and provinces, taking into account the activity of particular mints changed with time, we can see, from the second half of the 13th century [Goncharov, 2005, pp. 97–102], the following dynamic of leadership among the most important settlements and urban-centred provinces.

In the first period (from 1240–1250s to 1290s) coining was centred in Bulgar, Sarai, Crimea and Khwarezm. Bulgar and Sarai were parts of the Khan dominion, while Qirim and Khwarezm were polar areas on latitudinal ways of the steppe part of the international road to China that was only being established. We can't but mention that dirham coining in Qirim of that period had been disputable till recently [Baypakov, Nastich, 1981, p. 46, Fig. 12, No. 13]. Nowadays, a group of silver coins of two types is defined. The first type consisting of four coins, three of which read '*the Amir of Qirim*', dates back to the period between 1257 and 1280. The second type counts with five coins of the 1/4 of jarmak value. Two of them read as follows. Obverse: '*By order (?) of Temir Buqi (Tuqi?) the jarmak (of?) Qirim*'; reverse: '*Be happy. Twelve of these coins are one sultani*'. They were supposedly issued between 1257 and 1267 [Khromov, 2004, p. 15–17]. The inscriptions thus show that the latter were issued on behalf of Tuq Timur, the alleged owner of the Crimean Ulus up to 1270.

The second period (1290–1341) started with a 30-year break in the khan's coining in Bolghar. Mints in Sarai, the Crimea, and Khwarezm went on working. Since the late 1290s, Nogai's (1280–1299) coins had been issued in Isaccea. Meanwhile, Nogai, as well as Mengu-Timur, was a legitimate right-wing ruler of the Golden Horde (more data on Nogai's Empire: [Vernadsky, 1997, pp. 181–195]). His coin with the Greek inscription 'To the prosperous Nogai' issued somewhere on the Danube is known (for its drawing, see [Lebedev, 1999, p. 4]). Isaccea was a medieval town in Eski Kalle, on the right bank of the Danube ([Russev, 1999, pp. 29, 90–98, 110–115]; on disputable questions of Nogai's capital identification, see [Haywood, 2002, pp. 133–134]).

We may suggest that Nogai, who also issued coins with the inscription 'Just Nukhai Khan' in Crimea (one of them is known, without the year, but it supposedly dates back to 697 AH (1297/98 CE) or 698 AH (1298/99 CE), see [Severova, 2002, pp. 76–79]), was mainly focused on changing the right-wing Golden Horde into an independent state with the centre in Sakdzha-Isaccea. We should mention Toq-

ta's dirhams found in Isaccea and anonymous coins issued by the mint of Crimea [E. and I. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, 1981, pp. 89–109; E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, 1987, pp. 245–258; Russev, 1999, pp. 130–131]. In such a situation, Crimea should have become an eastern province submissive to the Danube capital of the Nogais [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, pp. 117, 161].

Under Toqta Khan (1290–1312), the mint of Majar in the North Caucasus started to work, and coining in Sarai-al-Maqrus was resumed.

Under Öz Beg Khan silver coins were issued by the mints of Crimea, Sarai, Khwarezm, Mokhshi and Bulgar (?) from 711 AH (1311/12) to the 730 AH (1329/30); in the period up to the 730 AH, they were joined by the mints of Azak and Sygnak; from 730 to 741 AH (1340/41), the coining was carried on by Sarai, Bulgar, and Khwarezm. It's crucial that silver coinage, excluding Sarai and Azak, was issued by mints in provinces (uluses). I believe the ambiguous phenomenon (a town was called '*beled*' meaning 'district, province') of coining probably proves that towns, being the centres of the actual provincial economy, were submissive to the nomadic elite, which still was alien to urban lifestyle. At the same time, the mere town on that stage was viewed by the Golden Horde's nomadic elite as a vital instrument of social existence.

The third period stretched from Jani Beg to Tokhtamysh (1341/42–1380/81). The indisputable leaders were the Sarai al-Jadid and Khwarezm mints, the main coin issuers under Jani Beg since the 740s AH. From 752 AH (1351/52) to 768 AH (1366/67) dangs were actively coined in Gulistan and its province. According to researchers, coining in Beljamen and Ak-Sarai belongs to the new capital district [Goncharov, 2005, p. 98]. In the mentioned ten years, pulis were issued in Mokhsha and Hajji Tarkhan (since 767 AH = 1365/66); in 763 AH (1361/62) copper was coined in Saray-Jük, where Murid had processed Khizr's pulis.

In 762 AH (1360/61) Khwarezm became independent; in 768 AH (1366/67) Gulistan mint ceased working. Obviously, along with the establishment of Mamai's 'emirate' in the middle of 1360s, mints of Shehr al-Jadid in the Dnieper River Region, Orda (al-Mu'azzam) in

the Dnieper area, Azak in the Don River Region flourished. In the late 1360s, the leader was the mint in Orda where all the issuing of the 'emirate' silver coins was concentrated. This potential was kept by Orda up to September 1380, which proved fatal for Mamai.

In the east of the Golden Horde, in Khwarezm, copper inseparably prevailed over silver in 1360s and 1370s, but during all the period of Khwarezm's aloofness from the Volga area, gold dinars were issued there.

The fourth period began under Tokhtamysh (1380–1398) and finished under Jalal ad-Din (1411–1412). In that period all the regional centres became coining towns. And the mint of Orda nomadic camp, moved by Tokhtamysh from the Azov Sea Region to the Lower Volga Region, went on working.

The urban markets' potential was so high that the struggle between Tokhtamysh and Tamerlane had not influenced the geography of coining towns drastically up to 1395. On the eve of 1395, silver was coined in Khwarezm, Saray-Jük, Hajji Tarkhan, Orda al-Makhru-sa, Ordu al-Mu'azzam, Sarai (al-Jadid), Majar, Azak (al-Jadid), Orda (al-Jadid), Qrim (al-Jadid). Copper was coined in Bolghar and by a new mint in Edil (794 AH, 1391/92). After 1395, there was a steep, though brief, fall in coining, along with generally reduced quantity of mints. In the Volga Region, mints of Sarai al-Jadid, Hajji Tarkhan, and Ordu were fading; in the western territories the same was true for Qrim, Orda al-Jadid, Ulus al-Jadid. However, a few years later, under Shadi Beg (1399–1407), all the mints known under Tokhtamysh resumed their working. The list of coin issuers continues with Kaffa mint, the capacities of which were overwhelming as a result of the town's trade volume in the first quarter of the 15th century.

In the period when Tamerlane struggled with Edigu, the list of old mints grew shorter. The first town to come under the Timurids was Khwarezm.

Thus, the dynamic of mint establishment in provinces and coining towns between 1250s and 1430s [Goncharov, 2005] proves not only the complicated model of coining development but is also useful in defining the speed of the Golden Horde's urbanisation.

There, in the centres of a settled lifestyle in economically crucial provinces, but mainly in the leading coining towns that soon grew into regional capitals, the new culture of the Golden Horde was born. It cannot be defined as a 'state one' neither from our point of view nor from the medieval point of view. The Jochids had no 'state policy' towards culture (at least, the material culture). But, at the same time, the culture was not Mongol nor Bulgar any more, much neither Kipchak nor Sarai, Khwarezm, Qrim (nor mono-ethnic—Italian, Greek, Armenian in Crimea, and, more widely, in the Northern Black Sea Region). That empire culture was the culture of the *Golden Horde* (the given essay does not cover its regional aspects). Since the times of Berke Khan (1257–1267), it—the material culture of the Golden Horde—had been repeatedly influenced by Islam which was reflected in the urban look, types of public buildings, behavioural stereotypes, such as the burial ceremony for the citizens of the Golden Horde and a considerable part of the nomads. The Golden Horde towns inherited not only outer traits of the Middle East and Central Asia but also the principle of urban social 'splitness'. I suppose, Desht-i Kipchak can be well characterised by the urban not opposing the rural exactly. Based on our archaeological studies of the data coming from settlements in Solkhat steppe and mountain area, we share the opinion of I. Lapidus, who wrote about the homogeneity of the urban and the rural, which leveled the difference between the town and the country as it was customary in the Middle East [Lapidus, 1967, p. 95]. The outer similarity could not but level basic contrasts in the existence of rural provinces and the Golden Horde's towns. Still, the mechanism of the social organisation remained unchanged.

The interaction of three elements—the nomadic steppe, the town, and the rural settlements in the urban area, as it was, for instance, in Solkhat—was vital to Desht-i Kipchak. The town needed what the country produced, and the country needed the town even more, with its markets where artisan and agricultural produce of suburb settlements could be sold. An example of a settlement of the first type was

Bokatash 2, where 25 pottery kilns functioned. The produce of the furnaces was to be sold in the urban market [Kramarovsky, Gukin, 2004]. Krynychky in Solkhat area was a rural settlement of the second type. No artisan production was found there, but according to the coin material, household pits and urban ceramics, agricultural goods (unfortunately, we do not know which exactly) were changed in Solkhat for goods typical of urban way of life [Kramarovsky, Gukin, 2002]. Talking about the Crimea, the described situation characterised it mainly in the 14th century. That is why we can scarcely agree with V. Egorov, who has recently insisted that the country was completely missing in the Golden Horde [Egorov, 2000, p. 269], which, incidentally, contradicts his previous observations.

The dependence on the revenues from transit trade made interests of nomadic and urban elites closer. Growing standards of urban living could not but influence the demand for artisan produce. The development of the steppe towns' artisan potential, together with their distributive function, finally became one of the key factors in progressive evolution of Desht-i Kipchak towns by the end of the 13th century. However, the main part of the nomads and, to a lesser extent, the country still remained out of reach of the civilizational achievements of the town. The contrast between them grew dramatically, especially by the end of the 14th century.

Islamic cultural tradition in the new towns of Desht-i Kipchak and Crimea. The archaeological studies of recent decades have evidently proved the Islamic appearance of the Volga towns and regional capitals of the Golden Horde from Saray-Jük on the right bank of the Ural River, in West Kazakhstan region, to Solkhat-Qrim in East Crimea. That is why they differed drastically from the Mongol towns of Central and Eastern Asia. In eastern building, an original planning programme, which returned to the nomads in a modified, 'Chinese version', prevailed [Minert, 1990, pp. 90–91]. At the same time, building and ornamental techniques used in the Mongol towns of Central Asia went back to the tradition of the late Tang (618–907) and Liao (907–1125) dynasties [Steinhardt, 1983, pp. 137–158].

It would be logical to suggest that, from the planimetric point of view, new towns of the Golden Horde should have correlated to new Mongol towns in the east as well as in the west, including Ilkhanate Iran. But it was not so. Other traits have been found in Desht-i Kipchak urbanisation. The new Golden Horde towns, where Islamic outer forms and types of public buildings prevailed, had nothing in common with *planning structures* either of Central Asian towns or of the Middle Eastern ones. In the Ulus of Jochi, there were no towns with a separate *citadel*, the residence of the ruler; a *shahristan*, the town of the elite and the officials; and a *rabad*, the trade and artisan posad with markets—so that each part had its walls. Such planning was typical for the only old town of the Golden Horde, the pre-Mongol Derbent in the Caucasus.

Perhaps, as a tribute to the Islamic urban classification according to which provincial centres were equal to fortresses, the first stage of Solkhat-Qrim development is sometimes linked with a war camp. According to the bookish tradition, it was also promoted by the meaning of the Persian '*kerman*', 'the fortress'. In 'Codex Cumanicus', a Cuman dictionary created in the Crimea in the first half of the 14th century [Kuun, 1880], the word '*kerman*' was reasonably translated as 'Castum, Caste' meaning 'fortress, citadel, camp'. Deriving from these etymological arguments, it is a mistake to think that the majority of the Golden Horde towns built under the Mongols appeared at the places of former war camps [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 79]. Nevertheless, of five towns mentioned by him, Qirim (Sary Krym), Akkerman (Moncastro), Xankirmān (Kasimov), Kermenchuk (on the Vyatka River), Kremenchuk (on the Dnieper River), only the first two deal with the history of the Ulus of Jochi. More fruitful was the idea of the caravan trade role in the Golden Horde urban development: 'It is sufficient to have a look on the location of the Golden Horde towns such as Solkhat, Azak (Tana), Majar, Sarai, Saray-Jük on the caravan trade routes, or such towns on the Volga as Astrakhan, Ukek, Beljamen, Bezdež. All of them developed due to the caravan trade which, under

Mongols, became international for that time' [Ibid., pp. 79–80].

As studies have shown, the Golden Horde towns on the Volga developed on the basis of the Mongol elites' homestead building and without urban walls [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, pp. 14–15]. However, we are talking about the homestead principle of the Golden Horde urban planning that went back to the Mongol towns of the 13th century but not about the Karakorum model of agglomeration. We have almost no data on the steppe towns planimetric features. The homestead planning differs the Golden Horde towns of the Volga Region from the towns of Central Asia and South Kazakhstan, for example Otrar and the western towns, including Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy as well as the Crimean towns, where building progressed quarter by quarter. We must point it out once again: the Jochids, as well as all the early Chinggisids of the united empire's times, built their towns, on the first stage, as centres of regional power. But, unlike the metropolis, the Golden Horde supposedly had no artisan-specialised urban settlements.

We believe it is too early to talk about the typical traits of the planning structures applied to the Golden Horde steppe towns. Nevertheless, some important details have been clarified. No traits of the ancient 13th century town were found at Selitrennoe archaeological site [Ibid., p. 26]. This means that the town was built on virgin lands. Perhaps in the 14th century, taking into account the topographic traits of the cultural stratus outside the compactly built urban area, we may talk of agglomeration features and urban dwellings alternating with agricultural and cattle fields. In the area between Krasny Bugor and Kuchugury compact building was found, with irrigation channels (aryks) along the streets. In the western part of the town, there had been a district of aristocratic homesteads up to 1370. In 1380s–1390s, the district was partly inhabited by common citizens and filled with burial sites pressing the microdistrict from the west as well as from the east. To the north-west of the town's main core, we can now see the ruins of mausoleums. The scales of the town's square are estimated at 10 sq. km by V. Egorov [1985, p. 115] to 36 sq. km by F. Ballod [1923b, p. 31],



Architectural detail. Crimea. 13–14th century

which, together with the population quantity, in my opinion, suggests rather agglomerational building than a town without walls in the common understanding.

Ibn Battuta, enumerating peoples of Sarai, names, apart from the Mongols, the Ases (Alans), Kipchaks, Circassians, Russians, and Byzantines [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 306]. His estimation of Sarai seems reliable: 'The town of Sarai is one of the most beautiful towns, hugely enormous, on the flat land full of people, with beautiful markets and wide streets... it is all a compact row of houses, without either empty places or gardens' [Ibid.].

Unlike other towns of the Volga Region and other regions of the Golden Horde, Sarai was not destroyed by Tamerlane's army in 1395. We do not know the date of its final abandoning, but it was still notable as a centre of international trade in the first half of the 15th century [Zakhoder, 1967, pp. 166–167]. The Golden Horde capital was a large artisan centre which, as we know, had quarters of blacksmiths and potters, where jewellers' and bone carvers' workshops have been excavated.

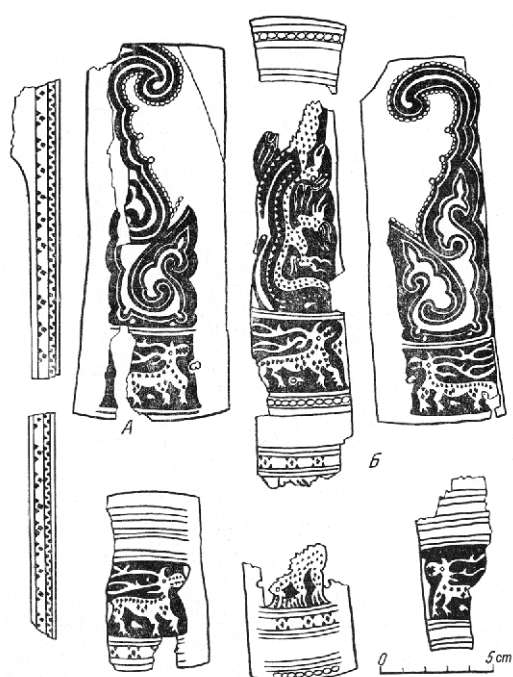
Tsarevskoe archaeological site has been defined as the second Golden Horde capital until recently. Now it is identified with Guliston [Evstratov, 1997, pp. 88–118]; only the most common topographic traits have been defined [Fedorov-Davydov, 1984, pp. 21–23]. It seems that, like building on the big radius of Selitrennoe archaeological site, Tsarevskoe can be viewed as agglomeration where urban buildings, large homesteads or their accumulation alternated with agricultural and cattle fields zone by zone. To the west of the town, there was a large

lake, the banks of which held dwellings in the middle of the 14th century, and, at the end of the mentioned century, there was a burial site there. In the centre of Guliston, a huge square was found. It was circled in the south and in the east by remarkably large buildings. Streets leading from the centre to outskirts had

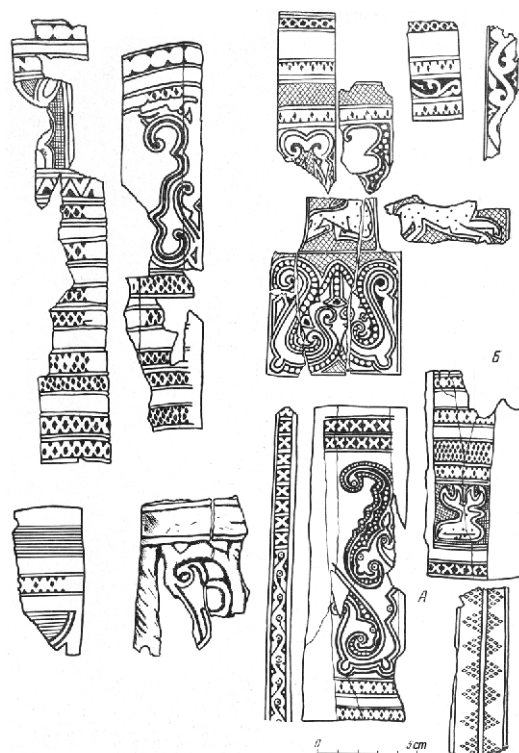
aryks, along which we can sometimes trace pedestrian roads. In the eastern part of the town, basing on its microrelief, we can trace one more square, of an almost square form; in this sector of the archaeological site, probably four artificial pools were also located.

Tsarevskoe archaeological site lies on the bottomland of the Akhtuba River, and in old times, the town neared the mere bank of the river. Archaeological studies have proved the existence not only of the urban water supply but also of complicated hydroengineering systems regulating the level of water in the pools. The initial core of the town consisted of a few large aristocratic homesteads [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, pp. 85–87; Egorov, 1985, p. 114]. Unlike Sarai, Gulistan-Saray was destroyed by Tamerlane in 1395.

Apart from Selitrennoe and Tsarevskoe archaeological sites in the Volga Region, in addition to the Bulgar area, over 30 ancient towns and settlements have been found. They are middle-sized and small towns, but the list counts with such famous ones as Mokhsa, Ukek, Beljamen, Hajji Tarkhan [Egorov, 1985, pp. 106–120]. The quantity of notable towns only is astonishing. In reality, such centres were brought to life by the need to organise the state structure and trade interchange. Even a brief list of ancient towns we are confining to gives us an insight into the steep urban growth in the 14th century. Here are some of the towns and large settlements in the right-wing borders only. In Ciscaucasia, Majar, Malye Majari, Upper Majary; in Dagestan, Derbent; in Northern Ossetia, Verkhny Julat; in Karachay-Cherkessia, Nijne-Arkhyzskoe archaeological site, settle-



Quiver coverings. Bone. 13–14th century
(according to N. Malinovskaya)



Quiver coverings from ancient towns
of the Volga Region of the 13–14th century
(according to N. Malinovskaya)

ments between the Terek and Sulak Rivers; in Kabardino-Balkaria, Terskoe archaeological site and Nijny Julat; in the Azov Sea Region, Azov Gorodishche (the town of Azak) and a number of settlements; in the Taman, Matrega. Among new Golden Horde towns in the Crimea only Solkhat (Qrim) is known. At the same time, the Golden Horde capital of the Crimea had close military, political, and commercial links with other towns of the peninsula: Vosporo on the eastern coast, Soldaia and Kaffa on the sou-eastern one, Çembalo on the southern coast, Qirq-Yer in the mountains. The list should be continued by small towns and fortresses of Gotia: Mangup, Eski Kermen, Baklu Tepe-Kermen, Lustu Partenit. There were up to 32 small and middle-sized settlements, villages and castles in the Genoese narrow zone from Kaffa to Çembalo in the 14th century [Bertie-Delagard, 1915, pp. 229–256; Bocharov, 2004, pp. 186–204]. In the west of the region, we should note the fading, but still notable within the peninsula, Kherson [Aybabin, 2003, pp. 277–306].

Solkhat is not categorised as a steppe town, although it is situated on the border between the steppe zone and the Crimean Foothills, in the Second Ring area. The town of the 13–14th centuries emerged on the trade route from Soldaia to Kaffa. This is evidenced by the location of the town's mosques, five of which form a line along the road from the sou-west to the nor-east. The main town-defining road cuts through the compact building area of the 15–18th centuries for 2.2 km from the west to the east, dividing the medieval town into two unequal parts. It is doubtless that the 'entrance' and the 'exit' of the road was accompanied by urban gates. Perhaps we should look for other gates in the sou-eastern sector of the town, near the exit to former Bokataş village where, in the second half of the 13th century and in the 14th century, a Christian medieval settlement of the same name emerged, with a large pottery works [Kramarovskiy, Gukin, 2004]. According to the plan dating back to approximately 1783, the total area of the medieval town by the mid-15th century was about 2.2 sq. km. Solkhat was not

built very compactly. Perhaps, it dealt with the semi-agricultural features of a town full of gardens. A merchant from Sevilla, Pero Tafur, noted that there were yurts within the town walls, and that is the detail that also characterises the urban life of Gulistan-Saray and, perhaps, the capital Sarai [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 59]. Dwellings of the yurt type have been found in Azak and some towns of the North Caucasus. Images of yurts can be seen in the ink-on-stucco drawing at the Golden Horde's Beljamen archaeological site. The yurts are set up in the square in front of the facade of a madrasah with two minarets. Such yurts, evidently used as mosques in war campaigns (the wands mounting them have distinct pommels with the word 'allah'), were drawn in a miniature of Tabriz school from Berlin collection [Dschingis Khan, 2005, S. 266, No.294]. Taking into account the Middle East towns and the basic figure of 50 persons for 1 hectare, we shall estimate the population of Solkhat at 10, 000–11, 000 of people, which may be even too large a quantity if we also take into account the inconveniences that prevented a complete building of the town. The Arab sources vastly overestimate the population of Solkhat in the 14th century talking about 85, 000 plague victims in 1346–1347. That figure is hyperbolic even for the whole peninsula. Still, Solkhat was a large town for Taurica. To draw a comparison, I shall mention the approximate population of Kherson in the 13–14th century which was 3, 600–5, 000 people [Romanchuk, 1986, p. 185]. Archaeologists have found 109 quarters in Kherson of the 12–13th centuries, but after the massacre in the last third of the 13th century, the town was ruined, and its life mainly focused on the port area. In the 1360s, contesting the threat of Mamai's army, the town built walls. Their length, according to the 1783 plan, was up to 6.2 km; the walls were fortified with 28 towers. The trade road divided the town into two unequal parts. Christian sites were grouped in the nor–western sector of the town, while the Jewish *kenesa* was in the sou–eastern sector. Muslim quarters situated along the road filled all the central part of the town, pressing a little against the Christian and Jewish quarters. It is remarkable that two of six Christian churches supposedly belonging to the

Armenian community found themselves out of the town walls after 1360s. Many of the five hundred stone houses 'with lower and upper grounds' looked abandoned by 1660s (the time when Evlia Çelebi travelled). A two-ground building with a roof timber and tiled covering mentioned by the traveller with reference to Solkhat correlates with archaeological observations of the homestead building in other Crimean towns. In the middle of the 17th century Eski Qirim had five mosques (two of them were Friday ones; and three, Quarter ones), two madrasahs, a basic school, an old (obviously meaning 'antique') bath, a tavern and a market with 20 potter's shops, and the same quantity of other market shops.

Solkhat, like Sarai, survived the catastrophe of 1395, although it was heavily damaged. During the entire period of its existence, from the 1260s to the era of Catherine the Great, Solkhat lived and faded as a Muslim town. Thus, it makes sense to start the review of the architectural dominants with one of the most representative architectural complexes: Solkhat madrasah and mosque (first third of the 14th century–second half of the 15th century). Our studies have proved that the building of the complex started with the madrasah. The layout of the madrasah is based on a rectangle with a side of approximately 28 m [Kramarovskiy, 2005, p. 113]. A visitor, having ascended three stairs of the main portal to the entrance hole in the eastern wall of the madrasah, found himself in an inner yard paved with stucco blocks. The yard was circled by an arcade, only the stone basement of which has survived to our days. In the centre of the yard (with the area up to 240 sq. m), nearing the western rooms, we would see a small fountain streaming water into a well. Further, there were three closed compartments (Nos.14–16) aimed at the *Taliban* winter trainings. Their summer trainings took place under the vaults of two open *iwans*, the southern and the northern ones (both up to 7.35 metres high), decorated with a profile of Seljuk chain. In the evening and at night iwans were lit by glass lamps fixed with chains (the iron fixing rings have survived to the present). One such lamp decorated with coloured enamels, dominated by blue, was found during the mosque

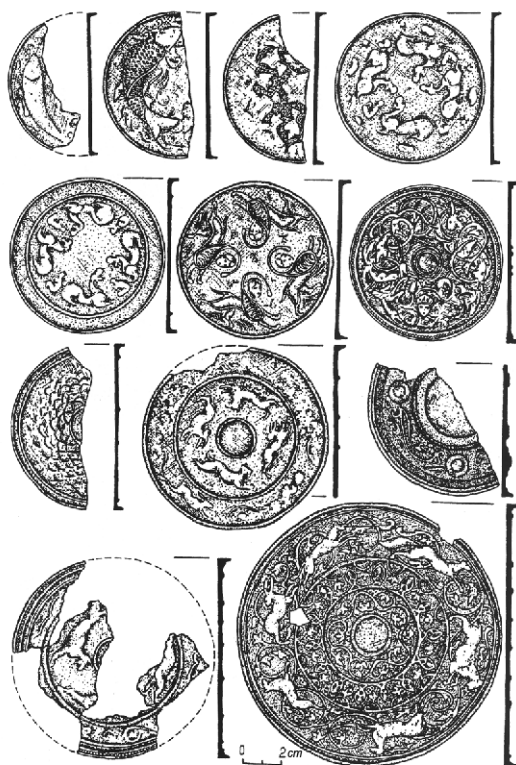
interior excavation. There were 14 rooms for disciples in total. A narrow corridor led to the *hujras* of the sou-eastern wing. Light came there through a window in the southern wall. So, excluding the yard, the madrasah consisted of 26 living, studying, and additional rooms, including those which had niches for writing-materials and books, as well as a *mihrab* niche. Evlia Çelebi reported a building inscription that stated the madrasah had been built thanks to the funding from the wife of Solkhat ruler in 1332–1333 [Grigoriev, 1974, p. 27]. Strati-graphic data proves the lost building inscription. In 1925, a marble gravestone dating 776 AH (1371) was found there; it belonged to Injibeq Khatun, the founder of the madrasah [Borozdin, 1926, Fig. 13]. To bury her, a nor-western room of the madrasah was rebuilt into a *durbe*. The madrasah's plan almost completely copies the planning structure of Borisiya madrasah in the Anatolian Sivas (1271–1272). The building marks on the facade-covering blocks of the madrasah are also comparable to the Anatolian ones. In the beginning of the 15th century, or, perhaps, not later than its first quarter, the madrasah perished, which is proved by the treasure of 608 silver coins (1310–1378) found in one of the *hujras* that was a watching room by Injibeq Khatun's tomb [Severova, 2000, p. 77; Kramarovsky, 2003, p. 515]. The madrasah portal has not survived to our times (only its southern pylon with almost classic breaks has not been destroyed). The found architectural details with flat and deep three-dimension carving [Kramarovsky, 2005, pp. 114, 116, Cat. Nos. 206, 212–214] confirm our observations of the building artel work in Anatolia.

The mosque appeared at the second stage of the complex construction. This entailed the removal of the 'old' 1314 Öz Beg mosque to the new location by the northern wall of the madrasah at the turn of the 15th and the 16th centuries. The name of the Golden Horde Khan and the date of the initial mosque construction are derived from the portal inscription. The three-nave mosque belongs to the basilical type. Initially, the arcade of the central nave with three pairs of columns (the main pair with richly decorated basements was near the *mihrab* niche) was to support the wooden trussing



Glass lamp in blue, red, green,
and white: enamel painting
Middle East. After 1329

system of the high skylight in the roof with two sloping surfaces. After replacing, the mosque's construction became plainer as there was no longer a skylight. In the nor-eastern corner of the mosque, a fragment of the repeatedly restored minaret's body has been preserved. The size of the mosque is 13.5x17.5 m. Its portal is 'leaned' against the northern wall without bonds and has been restored on the resedimented layer; the western and the eastern walls have no bonds to the northern wall of the madrasah either. The portal and the *mihrab* are the true decoration of the mosque [Ibid., pp. 114–115]. The portal is a 4.01x6.03 m rectangle with a subtriangle niche filled with *ganch* stalactites (*muqarnas*). It is framed by a carved frieze and a pair of semi-columns with two-tier capitals [Ibid.] and lamp-shaped basements. The Arab inscription on the strip above the entrance semi-arch reads: 'Praise Allah for his gifts and may Allah bless Muhammad and his governors. (It was?) ordered to build this majestic mosque in the days of the Greatest Khan Mohammed Öz



Mirrors. Bronze. Ukek. 13–14th century
(according to L. Nedashkovsky)

Beg's ruling—may God extend his reign—to?) the powerless, needing and hoping for God's grace and forgiveness slave Abdul-Aziz, son of Ibrahim al-Irbili, in lunar year 714' [Aqçoqraqlı, 1927, p. 14]. The date, 714 AH (1314), shows that the town's Muslim community was soon to uphold the new policy of Sarai Khan who had come to power after the bloody coup in 1312. The name of Ibrahim al-Irbili, the probable builder (architect?) of the new Friday mosque, sends us to ancient Irbil (Arbel) lands. Still, as it is shown by measuring and graphical analysis of the portal and mihrab, both genuine elements of the initial 1314 mosque's construction belong to the Anatolian type. The analysis of their decoration leads us to the origins of the architectural tradition typical of the northern part of Central Anatolia in the period of the Seljuk Emirates. Almost the same can be said of the architecture of Solkhat madrasah.

The mosque's mihrab (2.60x4.83 m) copies the structure of the portal but is decorated even more richly [Kramarovskiy, 2005, p. 115].

The epigraphic frieze contains a Quranic verse: *'There is no god but God; Muhammad is the messenger of God. God bears witness that there is no god but He, as do the angels, and those endowed with knowledge—upholding justice. There is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise. Religion with God is Islam.'* [Aqçoqraqlı, 1927, p. 14]. Twisted semi-columns with double capitals and lamp-shaped basements, double lancet niches with stalactites and rosettes with geometrised octagons are used in the carving decoration of the mihrab. The prevailing motif is reflected in 'Byzantine' styled grape leaves on spiral stalks organically twisted with the fluid italicised *Naskh* script that forms the Quranic inscription of the frame. The ornamental style is characterised by compositional and painting richness, which literally leaves not an empty inch. There is no doubt that the painter arranging the mihrab's drawing knew the main principle of Islamic ornamentation that corresponds the principle of *mil al-farag* ('filling of emptiness').

Unfortunately, the initial location of Öz Beg's mosque has not been found. Seemingly suitable for the role are the ruins of the nearby basilical mosque, the arcade of which had the same column spacing as in Öz Beg's mosque. Especially if we take into account that not a single carved stone from the portal was found during the excavation by the mosque's northern wall. But according to numismatic data, the mosque dates back to the beginning of Tokhtamysh's rule (1380–1398). It is difficult to say if the basilical type prevailed among Solkhat mosques (as it was among the majority of the Golden Horde urban mosques), but ruins of a domical mosque situated in the nor-eastern sector of the town have survived to our times. We are talking about Kurshun-Jami (meaning 'lead') mosque. The rectangle building (12.5x17.7 m) is made of ragged stone in lime solution. Wooden lags are inserted into walls probably to make them more earthquake-resistant. Pylons of the portal frame the entrance to the mosque in the north. The building is divided into two unequal parts. The rectangle northern hall (10.5x4.5 m) was covered by three duct vaults; the southern hall (10.5x10.6 m), with a mihrab in the southern wall, was covered by a sailed dome. In the nor-

western corner of the northern hall, the minaret basement has been preserved. The thrust of the heavy dome was balanced by two pairs of counterforts by the western and the eastern walls. Another counterfort by the mihrab niche in the southern wall was located along the long axle of the building. According to Evlia Çelebi, Kurshun-Jami was built in 1396 as a dervish abode (*tekke*) thanks to the charity of Bay Bugly Khatun, the granddaughter of Temür Qutlugh, the ruler of the town. Obviously, after the massacre by Tamerlane in 1395, this deed had a huge social impact on the life of Solkhat Muslim community. In 1398 the *tekke* building was turned into a quarter mosque [Grigoryev, 1974, p. 27], and its mihrab niche got new covering. In addition to mosques, mausoleums, baths, coaching inns, minarets, and other publicly significant edifices were built in Qirim, as in other Muslim communities of the Golden Horde.

The scale of religious construction in lower Volga cities can be estimated by the information given by Ibn Battuta, who registered 13 Friday mosques in Sarai only; according to him, he visited Friday mosques in Majar and Kaffa [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, pp. 280, 287, 306]. The mosques excavated at Vodyanskoe and Selitrennoe ancient cities date to the 14th century. Vodyanskoe mosque dates to the latter half of the 14th century [Zilivinskaya, 1998, pp. 20–22]. A similar mosque was discovered in Dnieper River Region, in a settlement of Kuchugur, near Zaporozhye [Dovzhenok, 1961]. The congregational mosque of Sarai—with nine naves, two iwans, a massive portal and nine wooden columns—was constructed with an open yard and a circular pond inside the mosque, by the entrance. The mosque was built of burnt bricks [Zilivinskaya, 1998, pp. 22–24]. A 14-century mosque, to which the Tatartup minaret belongs, was excavated at the Verknii (Upper) Julat ancient city in Northern Ossetia [Miloradovich, 1963].

A typical detail of the townscape were baths (from *Arabic* 'hammām'). Nowadays, more than 20 baths have been identified on Golden Horde territory. Public baths were widespread in all main Golden Horde cities, which can be confirmed, for instance, by a bathhouse which is



Architectural detail. Crimea.
First quarter of the 14th century

yet to be fully excavated in Majar, in the North Caucasus [Zilivinskaya, 2003, pp. 58–59].

Several dozen mausoleums have been preserved in ruins to our time and excavated in Desht-i Kipchak, as well as in Crimea, the North Caucasus, and the Southern Urals.

Thus, highly professional building crews, and probably architects and decorators, who attended to requests of Islamic communities or individual aristocratic customers, worked in particular areas of the Eastern and Western parts of the Golden Horde. It is highly probable that after 1395 a major part of the Golden Horde's rural potential was used by Tamerlane during construction in Transoxania.

In general, the history of city-planning in the Golden Horde passed through several stages. During all the latter half of the 13th century, old cities dominated, with their renovation dating to the 1240s. During the first half of the 1250s, new cities began to be built. In the 1250–1270s, the active building of new cities continued, but the coinage in Sarai and Ukek in the 1280–1290s remained weak [Fe-

dorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 16]. At the end of the 13th century, the mints of Bolghar and Crimea surpass the rebuilt Khwarezm in work intensity. But while the steppe cities of the Volga Region lagged behind the Bulgarian ones in the 13th century, in the 14th century, under Khan Toqta's rule, rapid growth of lower Volga cities began. In 1310 Sarai coinage began to force Bulgar coins out of all markets [Ibid.]. The rise of Golden Horde cities took place during the era of Khans Öz Beg and Jani Beg (1313–1357), during the rule of whom the best creations of Islamic architecture of the Golden Horde were created in Khwarezm, the Crimea, and the North Caucasus. In 1360 the first signs of decline to a lingering crisis appear, that ends in a military-political catastrophe of 1395, after which the outlined local architectural conquests disappear along with the customers.

The scale of the empire and the variety of landscapes, historical peculiarities, and civilizational peculiarities of the previous eras could not but influence the formation of differences in the external appearance of certain cities and the cultural provinces that appeared around them. In this sense, the absence of unity in the urban culture of the Golden Horde is an understandable and wholly expected trait. Among the local variants of urban cultures, the Volga Region and Bulgar stand out on one side, and the capitol Sarai, Gulistan-Saray, Ukek, and Beljamen on the other side. The Dniester River Region, the Crimea, the Azov Sea Region, and the North Caucasus, not mentioning the East of the empire from Saray-Jük to Khwarezm, represent regions whose urban cultures differed in a lot of aspects, or were not even fully comparable with the urban cultures developed in the khan domain.

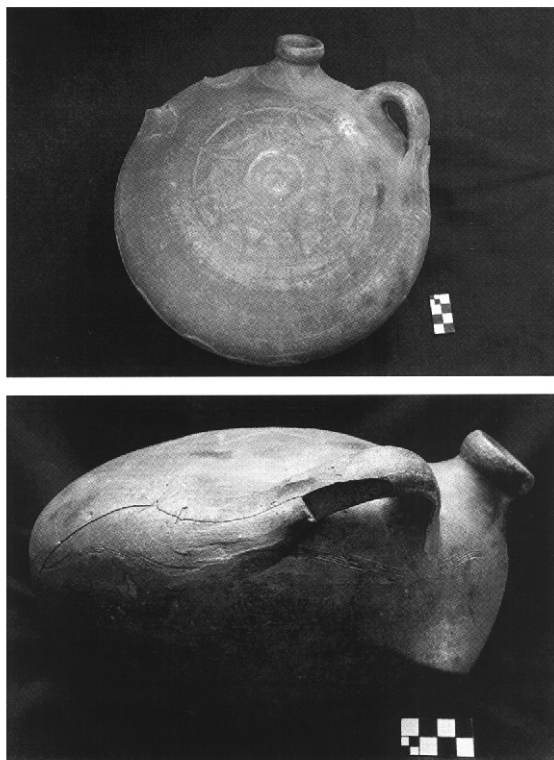
Non-Muslim communities in a Golden Horde city: daily life and culture. The street in large and small Golden Horde cities was not exclusively Muslim. In the thick of the capital Sarai, Ibn Battuta, who preferred to spend his free time outside the Muslim community of Sarai, distinguished the non-Muslims, and amongst them were Kipchaks, Circassians, Russians, and Byzantines (presumably, Greeks) [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 306]. The Jewish

and the Greek quarters were well-known to Azak—Tana (Hanafites were more tolerant to Jews and Christians than other Madhhabs) [Kovalevsky, 1905, 2, pp. 121–122]. Quarter-by-quarter building on ethno-confessional basis was not a specific trait of Golden Horde cities: it was a generally accepted practice in the time of the progressive Middle Ages. John Kitr, a Byzantine (12–13th century), while answering the question of whether Armenians could freely build their churches in settlement areas on the territory of Roman empire, said the following: 'In Christian regions and cities it is initially permitted for people of other religions and languages to live—Jews, Armenians, Ismailis (i.e. Muslims), Hagarians (i.e. Turks)—but only in separate quarters' [Dagron, 1999, p. 190].

Congregations consisting of quarters grouped around a mosque, a church or a kenesa not only eased living conditions for citizens in the age of ethnic diversity and religious pluralism of the Golden Horde. They provided a chance for survival by plying the trade one is used to, boosted the process of structuring intra-urban social life and overcoming ethnic insularity and linguistic muteness. The uniting role of religious congregations is underexplored. Especially in the context of their contribution to the development of urban subcultures and preservation (or loss) of ancestral authenticity of certain ethnoses living in a given quarter. Let us examine this using two examples from history of the Armenian-Gregorian and the Islamic communities of Solkhat (in addition to them, a Christian community of Greek doctrine, a Latin Catholic, and a Hebrew community functioned in the city; the latter united Talmudists and Karaites). The role of inter-ethnic communication is especially great inside related congregations. An example can be given when difference in beliefs did not hamper the forging of professional links. Thus, one of the early Solkhat-Armenian manuscripts—the Gospel, 1332—during the assembly of Armenian congregation of Mechitarists in Vienna was, first of all, decorated with Greek-inspired illustrations and, secondly, four Greek artists participated in decorating it. This is proven by inscriptions in Greek denoting the plot chosen for a given page of the

manuscript. Two Armenian miniaturists (one of them named Papapun) worked along with the Greeks [Buschhausen, 1976]. Any similar, or at least resembling, cases in the Muslim community are unknown to us. Still, it is worth mentioning the existence of an Armenian potter or a workshop keeper in Sarai al-Jadid, whose personal stamp had his Armenian name—Ananyd, son of Sarkis [Kramarovsky, 2005, p. 119, Cat. Nos. 164, 575–576]—written in Arabic. A Solkhat onomastician reports that the number of Turkic names increased only by the 15th century, and among them general Muslim names prevailed: *Urus*, *Beyram*, *Kutlu*, *Budzhuk*, *Lachin* [Kramarovsky, 1989, pp. 141–159]. Nisbas like *al-Sivasi*, *al-Kastamuni*, *al-Tokati*, *al-Kunevi* connect a certain part of male population of Islamic Solkhat to Asia Minor. In turn, nisbas like *al-Akhlati*, *al-Tebrizi*, *al-Luri*, *al-Dzhendi*, *al-Khalabi*, indicate presence of settlers from the Middle East and Iran. Nisbas of two builders (architects)—*al-Irbili*—bring us to the soil of Jazeera (ancient Arabella, a city in Mesopotamia). There is another phenomenon which is specific not only to the Crimea. Non-transparency of ecclesiastical names drastically decreases the chances of ethnic identification. A rare exception is names from synodical additions to the Greek Synaxarion of Sugdak—*Soldaia*—*Sudak* (1278). V. Smirnov [1887] studied Turkic names with epithets denoting a connection with ecclesiastical clergy—priestess *Suyunchuk*, wife of Antipa-iconom, the minister, monk *Alachi*, hieromonk *Sultan*. They were given names indicating that Turkic citizens of Sudak belong to a circle of local Byzantine bureaucrats: Baraks, daughters of *sebastos* Pul, Toktemir, son of *sebastos* Stephane, etc. Remarkable are Turkic names of people whose parents had ecclesiastical names: Sonkur, the son of Makary, Ikugach, the daughter of Dmitry Chogak, etc. Our example proves once more the idea that confessional belonging was often more important than ethno-ancestral authenticity. Undoubtedly, the situation in Christian quarters of Solkhat and part of its rural outskirts (in Bokataş settlement, for example) could not be crucially different. An important idea derives from this: the graveyard of an orthodox church is a place for eternal rest of a Greek, as well as

a Turk, or a Slav. Ethnic identity gives way to the confessional one. The same pattern, but from Muslim paradigm's point of view, repeats itself in Islamic community of Solkhat. Ibn Battuta, who generously enlisted the names of qadis, khatibs, legal scholars, names a sheikh of Greek descent Muzaffar ad-Din. There are no Mongolian names in any of the cases. Among the nisbas that preserved the name of their cities there is evidence of, at least, a second generation of citizens; 'al-Qirim' prevails. According to epigraphic data, 'as-Solkhati' alias does not exist, even though it is known to be according to a written source, and is part of the name of Sayf ad-Dina Solkhati, who completed the hajj in 1340. Sayf ad-Din belonged to one of the wealthiest families in the city, being a nephew of Muslim emir Temür Qutlugh, an ethnic Mongol. In Egypt Sayf ad-Din Solkhati was known as a musician and the leader of court orchestra in Cairo. One can assume that within confessional communities different ethnic communities prevailed, but generally ethnic diversity co-existed with preserving confessional freedom. A tombstone with Arabic epigram [Kramarovsky, 2005, p. 72, Cat. No. 210], where there is a lamp depicted on one side and a cross on the other, allows to assume that a Christian-Syrian stayed in the city. There are known immigrants from Syria in neighbouring Kaffa as well. Though Ibn Battuta writes about existence of a Christian monastery outside the city, we do not know which confession it belonged to. There is information, thought, about a Catholic monastery appearing in Solkhat at the cusp of the 13–14th century [Fedalto, 1973, p. 408]. There is an opinion that the majority of Solkhat residents were Armenians [Khachikyan, 1982, p. 340; Babayan, Korkhmazyán, 2000, p. 11]. Is that true? In memorable entries of the Lctionary, created by the famous Nater in Solkhat scriptorium between 1345 and 1349, 92 people are mentioned to have paid for the work of a codex scribe [Pamyatny'e zapisi, 1950, pp. 359–367]. If only the heads of presumed families are taken in consideration (the list contains elders and widows), then at five members of family per one member of the pious action we get no more than 350 people—a number that makes us think of a parish containing one or two quarters.



Ceramic flask. Ukek. 13–14th century
(according to L. Nedashkovsky)

But even if this number is increased by two or three times, it would not give enough basis to conclude that Armenian community was predominate in Solkhat. In the 14th century, an Armenian colony presumably occupied several quarters, one of which was called 'Verin (upper) okhetner' [Mikaelyan, 1974, p. 18]. The upper quarters belonged to that very nor-western part of the ancient town where in 1982 we discovered a tombstone of an Armenian boy, who died in 1362, with inscriptions on the sides of the stone [Kramarovsky, 2005, p. 120, Cat. No.218]. Another Armenian tombstone from 1349 was discovered at the site. The tombstone is in the shape of inverted V, decorated with an image of a male figure by a fire altar (?) on one of the sides; the other side has a date of Armenian chronology 'year 798'. With Nater's family moving, the city becomes one of noticeable centres of the Armenian manuscript in the Crimea. 12 manuscripts of the first half of the 14th century, which were made by Nater mainly in Solkhat, are preserved in Matenadaran. Four of his sons worked here as well—they were

scribes and talented miniaturists [Korkhmazyan, 1978, p. 27]. Amongst the Armenians of Solkhat there were famous blacksmiths, knife manufacturing specialists, tailors (?). Not far away from the city Armenians-Grigorians founded two Armenian monasteries [Babayan, Korkhmazyan, 2000]. Probably, the largest Armenian colony was based in Kaffa, where in the 14th century Armenian builders erected two churches of architectural importance—John the Baptist's and Saint Archangel's churches [Jakobson, 1956]. A group of 14–15-century khachkars bearing dates were discovered in Kaffa: 1356, 1362, 1386, 1403, 1424, 1425, 1427, 1429, 1439, 1451, 1453, 1456, 1471, and 1496 [Aybabina, 2001, pp. 62–72]. Armenian colonies in Golden Horde cities were known in Bulgar, Ak-Mechet, in Majar, and Azak [Smirnov, 1958, pp. 330–359; Volkov, 1995; Kramarovsky, 1978, p. 102; Fomichev, 1994, p. 13]. Armenian churches were built in Azak and Majar, just as in Bulgar, where the Armenian community had its own church, baths, and other buildings that had straight analogy with architecture of Armenia [Volkova, 1972, p. 58]. Armenian khachkars were found in Taman and Majar [Volkov, 1995].

Among other cultural fringes in Golden Horde cities, the least studied are the Jewish communities. Jewish quarters are known to be in Azak-Tana [Kovalevsky, 1905, pp. 121–122], in cities of Eastern Crimea—Kaffa and Solkhat, and, of course, Chufut-Kale. Ibn Battuta met a Jew from Andalucia in Majar [Complete Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 287], but it is unknown whether there was a Jewish community in the city. There is almost no information about the Jewish population of Solkhat. On a map from 1785, the south-eastern sector of Solkhat is marked as ruins of a 'Jewish school'. The argument between representatives of Karaim community and Talmudists about the origin of kenesa synagogue (archaeological studies were not conducted here) has still not been resolved. Amongst historical figures of the middle of the 15th century, we can distinguish Abraham the Crimean, born in Solkhat, famous in Jewish world as an exegete-rationalist. In Solkhat he wrote an extensive 'Commentary' to the Penta-

teuch (available in the collection of the National Library of Russia). The preface to the 'Commentary' says that Abraham's teacher was Shemarya b. Ilia Ikriti from Negropont [Tsinberg, 1924, pp. 93–100; Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1971–1972, 10, p. 1046]. As a Tatar prisoner, Moses b. Jacob Ga-Gole (exile) found himself in Eski Qirim in 1506. Moses b. Jacob studied in Constantinople, where he succeeded in astrology, maths, and philology; in 1514–1515 he finished the commentary to 'Orar nechaned' by Ibn Ezra. The monuments of Jewish epigraphy from medieval Solkhat contain names of Turkic-Mongol origin [Firkovich, 1872, p. 210]. However the data in 'Sapher abne-zikkaron' ('The Book of Stones'), collected by Abraham Firkovich, are questioned [Kunik, 1876]. But in 1979 a fragment of a stele with a Jewish inscription was found [Aqçoqraqlı, 1927, p. 7, No.296]. The inscription on the front part of the stele says: *'The burial monument of an elder, son of Joseph, bless his memory, Abraham son's, bless his memory. (Joseph's son) Died on the third day on the 23rd of Adar of the first year 5311 from the creation of the world. May his soul be braided in the wreath of*

life' (Russian translation by E. Mescherskaya). Thus, the date on the tombstone of Joseph's son, as the inscription says, is 1511 [Kramarovsky, 2005, p. 126]. A silver seal from the 15–16th century, that was found in the archaeological material in south-western area of the outskirts of modern Sary Krym [Ibid., Cat. No.172], has an Arab-Karaim inscription in two languages: *'Moshe ben kvodratı Malika / Moses, son of honorable teacher Malik, may God save him'* (the Karaim text remains unread).

According to a mid-18th century source, four Muslim quarters, one Jewish and five Christian ones, where the Greeks and the Armenians lived, remained in the city [Evliya çelebi, 1314/1896, 7, p. 662]. One can argue that Solkhat, after all, gives some idea of a more or less typical picture of inter-confessional co-existence of certain communities in the period of establishment and prosperity of urban life in the Ulus of Jochi. The materials available to us, including archaeological ones, indicate absence of racial or religious segregation in Golden Horde cities, which is, in a certain sense, typical of the empire's culture.

§2. High Islamic Culture of the Golden Horde

Uli Schamiloglu

Researchers of Islamic culture like noting that the modern word denoting the concept 'civilization' (*madaniya*) in the languages of many Islamic peoples is related to the Arabic word meaning 'city' (*madina*). Both these meanings were solidly interconnected in the Golden Horde, where a new great culture was created in the new cities in original river oases of the steppe area. Subsequently, at least before the collapse of the Golden Horde, they would coexist with traditional centres of the great culture in Khwarezm, the Crimea, and the Volga-Kama region. To create the high culture in new cities such as Saray and Sarai al-Jadid, it was necessary to fulfill a whole range of important conditions. First of all, significant investments from any sources were required to create infrastructure and offer patronage which were necessary for the support of development

of the high culture. Secondly, as the ruling Mongolian elite did not inherit its own significant high culture and was quickly assimilated by the majority of Turkic-speaking population, it had to develop it, while the Turkic high culture in Western Eurasia or the Middle East had not yet developed completely. Finally, taking into consideration the fact that knowledge in general was equated with the religious knowledge in this part of the medieval world, there was a need to create a new high culture on the basis of one of the great world religions with its own tradition. It could be carried out only by engaging scholars who were well versed in this tradition. Although Islam was not the only religion which was professed on the territory of the Golden Horde, in the early 14th century it got the status of state religion. The Islamic Turkic high culture, which was slowly develop-

ing in the 13th to 14th centuries, really started flourishing in the middle of the 14th century; it reflects successful combination of several different facts: wealth, urbanisation, turkification, and Islamisation (I explored these issues in detail in my work 'The Golden Horde: Economy, Society, and Civilization in Western Eurasia, Thirteenth–Fourteenth Centuries'.—Madison: Turkic-Tatar Press).

Any consideration of the religious history of the Golden Horde (which was highly complex) should begin with the traditional belief system of the local Turkic population (see [DeWeese, 1994, p. 27 et seq.; Golden, 1998, pp. 180–227]; criticism: [Schamiloglu, 2002, pp. 200–215, especially, p. 215]), the newly arrived Mongols, the further multiple world religions, which competed to get official support, and finally, the domination of Islam as the state religion of the Golden Horde. The traditional system of faith of the Tatars and the Mongols can be described as animistic, compatible with other traditional religions of Eurasia, where shamans served as intermediaries for raising spirits of natural phenomena. Some aspects of the Mongol religion, such as the purifying nature of fire, can be seen in descriptions of Latin travellers of the 13th century and in other written sources. There is no evidence of any significant influence of Nestorian Christian Mongols in the time that preceded the conquest, on the religious system of Mongols of the Golden Horde, even taking into account that the European powers were first mistakenly convinced that the great Christian tsar, 'presbyter Ioann', could be their ally in the East. Khans quickly adopted various world religions in the Golden Horde and other states—'fragments' of the Great Mongol Empire; this phenomenon is most evident in Iranian ilkhans (see a report by Benedict the Pole: [Mission to Asia, 1955/1980, p. 80; Heissig, 1980, pp. 6–23]).

The Golden Horde, like all the whole empire, regarded the diversity of organised confessions with tolerance. There was no policy directed against the Christians even when Islam became a state religion under Öz Beg Khan. Various sources of the 13–14th centuries, including translations of yarliqs of the rulers of the Golden Horde and Russian chronicles (it goes with-

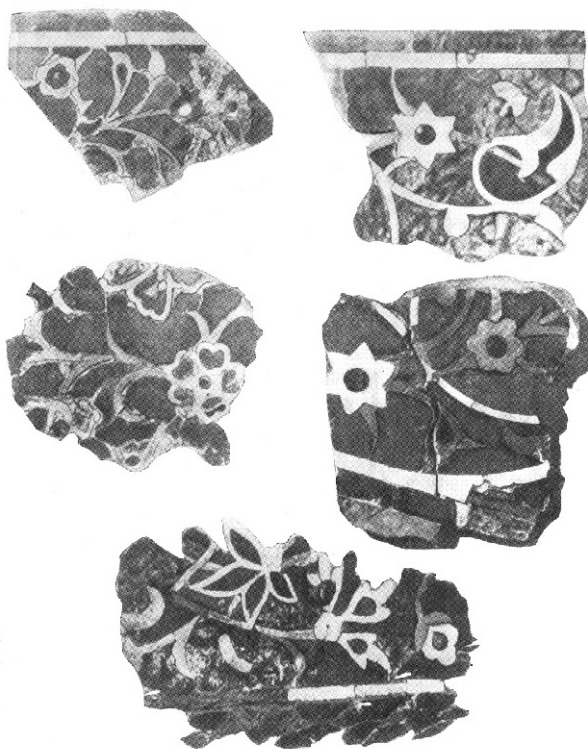
out saying that they were composed by religious figures), say that the orthodox church was exempted from taxation [Priselkov, 1916; Grigor of Akanc', 1949, pp. 269–399, especially, p. 315; Gandzaketsi, 1976, p. 222; Meyendorff, 1989, p. 45; Allsen, 1987, pp. 121–122]. As it can be seen later, there are reasonable grounds to assume that the first members of the ruling elite of Golden Horde and their family were under the influence of Christianity. Below the ruling elite was a considerable Christian population in cities of the Golden Horde, including local and Christian clergy, as well as foreign merchants. Kipchaks in southern steppes were also partly Christian in this period [Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 1958–1971, 2, p. 470]. Ibn Battuta claims that besides Muslims and As (Alans), the population of Sarai included the Christians: Kipchaks, Circassians, Russians, and Greeks (Rūm) [Ibid., pp. 515–517; Poluboyarinova, 1978]. On the other hand, there is only fragmented evidence concerning the Jews on territories of the Golden Horde [Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 1958–1971, 2, p. 480]. As for Buddhism, the Mongols in the East became Buddhists too late to have a decisive influence on the West. For this reason, there are only traces of Buddhist relics on the territories inherited by Batu [Poppe, 1941].

The Orthodox, Catholic, Armenian, Nestorian, and other Christian traditions were present in this territory and competed for believers from the same cities and towns. Christian missionary activity originating from the Crimea can partly be seen thanks to the famous *Codex Cumanicus*, composed by Italian and German missionaries in the Crimea, which is a reference-book in Cuman Turkic (including translations of religious material) for use in the pursuit of converts [Codex Cumanicus, 1880/1981; Ligeti, 1981, pp. 1–54; Kuun, 1880; Golden, 1992, pp. 33–63]. The significance and success of Christianity on the territories of the Golden Horde are evident based on a number of official Christian institutions founded there. The orthodox eparchy of Sarai was created in the 1260s and continued to exist until the late 15th century, although seemingly the bishop did not always live in the Sarai residence throughout this period. This institution can be studied in details because Russian sources provide exten-

sive information about the bishops of Sarai (on the orthodox bishops in Sarai, see: [Spuler, 1965, S. 231; Meyendorff, 1989]). In the latter half of the 13th century, the Franciscans also received privileges and protection for their activity in the territory of the Golden Horde. By the end of the 14th century, Franciscan cloisters and residences emerged everywhere merchants travelled, including the cities of Soldaia, Kaffa, Solkhat (Krym) and Qırq Yer in the Crimea (later they appeared in Cembalo/Balaklava and Karasu), coastal cities on the Kuban river and in Abkhazia. The Franciscans had been in Sarai itself by 1286; in Ukek and Bulgar by 1320. Other places of Franciscan activity involved Astrakhan, Ak-Sarai, Urgench, and the posts in the east on the way to China. The Dominicans were active in Kaffa, Tana, and other places [Richard, 1977, pp. 86–97].

The Catholic administration organised numerous eparchies in Vosporo, Sarai, and Matrega with an archbishopric in Sarai. In many cases, the purpose of these eparchies was first and foremost to promote missionary work and meet the needs of travelling merchants rather than to serve the needs of large communities of the faithful [Ibid., pp. 230–255].

Apparently, the first high-ranking member of Chinggisid establishment of the Golden Horde interested in an organised world religion was Sartaq as he was considered to be a Christian. This fact was considered as an excuse to kill the first and probably the only Christian Khan of the Golden Horde as Islam would achieve the status of dominant religion in this state [Gandzaketsi, 1976, pp. 219, 226; Richard, 1977, p. 77 et seq.] Compare it with the report of William of Rubruck [Mission to Asia, 1955/1980, pp. 123, 149–150]. According to it, Sartaq was a Christian. Berke was the first future ruler of the Ulus of Jochi to convert to Islam. Many scholars have already described the role played by the sheikh of Central Asian Kubraviya Sufi order Saif ad-Din Bakharzi [Richard, 1967, pp. 173–184; Vásáry, 1990, pp. 230–252; Waley, 1992, pp. 289–310; DeWeese, 1994, p. 83]. No doubt, that was not an initial stage in Islam spreading over the ter-



Mosaics with floral ornamental patterns. Tsarevskoe archaeological site (according to L. Noskova)

ritory of the Golden Horde as Volga Bulgaria had already adopted it by the early 10th century, and it goes without saying that Khwarezm, which was an integral part of the territory of the state, was one more important bastion of Islam in the pre-Mongol period.

Meanwhile, the eminence of Islam as political power and a source of cultural inspiration in the Golden Horde treaded a very thorny path. A number of sources depict some khans of the Golden Horde after Berke as decidedly unsympathetic to Islam, while it is the opposite with Christian sources. Although there are contradictions in sources of the latter half of the 13th century, it is clear that Islam reached the status of a state religion only under Öz Beg Khan. Although Öz Beg conducted a campaign against animist or Buddhist priests, there is no evidence allowing us to assume that he practiced some oppression towards 'people of the book' as the Muslims regarded the Jews and Christians. Actually, the history of richness of religious life in the Golden Horde in the time of Öz Beg Khan is a history of integration of

the Ulus of Jochi with Islamic religious culture both in the sense of theological thought and at the level of popular Islam. We know a lot about it thanks to unique detailed information presented by the great traveler Ibn Battuta.

Approximately in January 1333, during his journeys through the territory of the Golden Horde, Ibn Battuta found mosques, religious judges, and Sufi hospice (*zawiye*) everywhere. He found a mosque in Kaffa; he stayed at a hospice in Qirim where there was the chief religious judge (*qadi*) of the Hanafi madhhab, as well as a religious judge of the Shafi'i madhhab. Ibn Battuta also met a lot of scholars, including a lawyer and a professor who was an As (Alan) and a preacher (*khatib*) simultaneously, who preached the sermon, and on Fridays he read the blessing for the caliph in a cathedral mosque. Ibn Battuta mentions a mosque built in the Crimea in 1288 with the help of Egyptian ruler Baibars, but we also know about two other mosques, including the cathedral mosque of Qirim built by Öz Beg in 1314 [Ibn Battūta, 1958–1971, 2, pp. 470–473; Jakobson, 1964, pp. 106–108 (on a mosque and madrasah in Solkhat (Qirim and later Eski Qirim), plan of its foundation and inscriptions of builders)]. In Azaq Ibn Battuta found a religious judge and students, witnessed recitations of the Quran with the subsequent sermon and blessings. There were also other kinds of religious singing in Arabic which were later translated into the Persian and Turkic languages. In Majar the traveller stayed at the hospice of a pious sheikh from Iraq. He also visited a mosque with a preacher from Bukhara [Ibn Battūta, 1958–1971, 2, pp. 475–481]. In Saraichuq he saw a hospice which belonged to a pious elderly Turk called Ata; he also met a religious judge there. Later he met one more religious judge in Kath, as well as the pious and devout sheikh Mahmud al-Khivaqi [Ibid., pp. 539, 549–550].

According to the traveller, Sarai was an exceptional town in terms of its religious life. There were 13 cathedral mosques for Friday prayers, including one for Shafi'i madhhab, and there were many other smaller mosques. Ibn Battuta met Shafi'ite scholar Sadr ad-din Suleiman al-Lakzi Maliki, scholar Shams ad-Din al-Misri, and Egyptian and judge of Sarai

Badr ad-Din al-A'raki, who was considered one of the best in his field, and other religious scholars. Every Friday, the Islamic day of rest, Öz Beg

Öz Beg Khan visited the guest house of scholar and preacher (*imam*) Nu'man ad-Din al-Khwarizmi, 'one of the most outstanding sheikhs, a great man with generous soul, extremely humble but severe towards the wealthy of this world.' Although this sheikh was meek before his poor brothers, the poor and pilgrims, his treatment of Öz Beg was the opposite. On the other hand, we can note that the same man gave Ibn Battuta a Turkic slave-boy [Ibid., pp. 515–517].

The great traveller discovered an outstanding centre of Islamic religion and knowledge in Khwarezm, with which neither Sarai nor Sarai al-Jadid founded later could compete. Here Ibn Battuta visited a cathedral mosque and a madrasah; this madrasah was kept by the great emir of Öz Beg called Temür Qutlugh, and the mosque was built by his wife, pious Turabek-hanim. Ibn Battuta and his travel partners stayed in another reconstructed madrasah. He describes his meeting with a number of scholars of the Sunni-leaning mutazilit school. As Öz Beg Khan and the great emir Temür Qutlugh were adherents of orthodox Sunni Islam, these scholars did not clearly show their commitment to the Mu'tazilite school. Ibn Battuta also describes a unique custom of warning the inhabitants about the approach of praying hour in Khwarezm. There was a whip in every mosque to flog anyone who did not visit collective prayers, and that person also owed 5 dinars, which were used to keep the mosque and feed the poor. It was considered to be an ancient custom with a continuous tradition. Ibn Battuta also described a hospice built above the grave of sheikh Najm ad-Dina Kubra, who was killed during the Mongol conquests and honoured by the Kubraviya Sufi order. All the travellers were supplied there with food, and sheikh Saif ad-Dean ibn Asab was a teacher in the madrasah and one of the main citizens of Khwarezm. There was one more place of receipt whose sheikh Jalal ad-Din al-Samarqandi spent one year or even more in holy lands of Mecca and

Medina. The grave of the learned imam Abu l-Qasim Mahmud Ibn Umar al-Zamakhshari was located four miles away from the city.

Ibn Battuta described various details of his meeting with religious judge Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Bakri, known by the title *sadr*, and his assistants. This judge was a personality who possessed fabulous wealth and landed property, and his sister-in-law was married to Temür Qutlugh. His house was decorated with expensive carpets, cloth hanging on walls, and vessels made of silver, gilt and Iraqi glass in numerous niches built in the walls. He also mentions that there were a lot of admonitory preachers in the city and the preacher (*khatib*) at Friday service of Mavlana Zain ad-Din al-Maqdisi was one of four greatest preachers he has ever heard of. Ibn Battuta narrates that a religious judge visits the emir's audience everyday, and this constitutes his regular practice. One of the great emirs, accompanied by eight great emirs and sheikhs of Turkic descent called *yarguchi* sits there. The religious judge settles conflicts between people within the jurisdiction of religious law, and the emirs settle other kinds of disputes ([Ibid., pp. 541–550]. Concerning the title of *sadr*, see [Bulliet, 1972, pp. 53–67]).

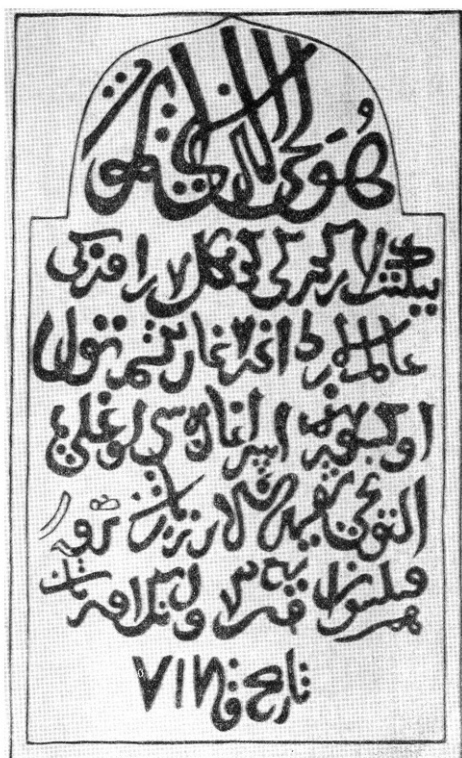
One can come to very important conclusions on the basis of information provided by Ibn Battuta. In Khwarezm and Bulgar (apparently the latter was not visited by Ibn Battuta), the devotion to Islam continued without a large break since pre-Mongol times. It is difficult to determine the age of Islamic infrastructure in the centres which the great traveller visited in the coastal area of the North Caucasus and the Crimea. However, the rapid growth of orthodox Islamic institutes in Sarai over decades was really spectacular. The full participation of high-ranking strata of the ruling elite in religious life, including the humiliating of Khan Öz Beg by the ascetic religious leader, by the time of the visit of Ibn Battuta was also very spectacular. At the same time we should not underestimate the role of Sufi orders in propaganda of Islam among masses in all religious Golden Horde borderlands. Just as Sufi sheikhs must have participated in missionary activity of the broader public at large when khans Berke and Öz Beg adopted Islam, they did so in oth-

er periods as well. Probably, one can speak of missionary Islam popularised by Sufi orders on the territory of the Golden Horde at the time of Berke Khan. By the time of Öz Beg, such missionary Islam had undoubtedly existed because hospices, described by Ibn Battuta, must have served as footholds in an Islamic religion and missionary network on all the territory of Batu's possessions.

Öz Beg Khan, Temür Qutlugh, and other leading officials and their families invested enormous sums of money in the foundation of mosques, madrasahs, and complexes related to them. Apparently, they or some other people made contribution to religious funds (Arabic *vaqf*, plural form *avqaf*). Their income, which was often controlled by the members of a donator's family for their own purposes, kept and supported these Islamic institutions on a regular basis as in any other place of Islamic world (on Central Asia in latter period [McChesney, 1991; Subtenley, 1991, pp. 38–61]. In Khwarezm the participation in religious life extended to conjugal units between the ruling Chinggisid establishment and the religious one, which could be considered as a new form of legitimacy completing the claim of the Chinggisids to supreme power.

It is also evident that there was a significant migration of religious figures to staff mosques and madrasahs of new towns. The great number of religious scholars mentioned by Ibn Battuta migrated to the Jochid Ulus from other centres of Islamic civilizations in the Middle East and other places as their names show (for example, *Misri* indicates an Egyptian origin). As a matter of fact, the Golden Horde was a home of Sunnis and Shiites, and all four Orthodox madhhabs, representing Islamic legal practice all over the world. That reflects close relations between the capitals of the Golden Horde and large centres of traditional Islamic doctrine in the Islamic world of that time, as well as the fact that representatives of all these different groups arrived in the Ulus of Jochi. This is more evidence of the fact that the wealth of the establishment of the Golden Horde could become incredible within a short period of time.

However, not all scholars were foreigners. Some of religious scholars were from local eth-



Headstone with an epitaph. Bulgar. 1317.

nic groups, such as As (Alans), or originated from traditional pre-Mongol Islamic centres of the Golden Horde, first of all, from Khwarezm. Although the capitals of the Ulus of Jochi—Sarai and Sarai al-Jadid—did not use to have institutions training Islamic priesthood by all appearance; by the time of Ibn Battuta's visit in 1333 some of religious scholars of the Golden Horde had been able to study in Sarai, no matter if the sources mention separate religious madrasahs or not. In the end, madrasahs as centres of religious life headed by scholars could also be useful for that. No doubt, they were also trained in some other southern centres of the Crimea or the seaside of the North Caucasus he had visited. Thus, rulers not only founded towns with their increasing wealth but also made contributions to erect buildings for religious practice and trainings and filled them with Islamic scholars. Even new town centres of the Golden Horde, including the capitals, could now claim to become the cosmopolitan centres of Islamic science able to preserve and teach Islamic knowledge to reproduce the class

of religious scholars, as well as to spread this knowledge among the newly converted, a process which could require several generations [Bulliet, 1979].

What did this massive investment in cities, Islamic religious infrastructure, and human capital give world civilization and what part of this contribution, if any, can be called typical of the Golden Horde? Actually, the destructions and a massacre that accompanied Mongol conquests caused serious disruption of intellectual life, in some sections probably forever. At the same time, very unfortunate ideas darkened the general notion of the high culture of the Golden Horde. The fact that the Golden Horde made a significant contribution to the continuation of the traditions of the civilization which had already existed on its territories, to the knowledge flow between its own centres and centres beyond its borders, to the development of new traditions of the civilization is the only satisfactory answer for the period until the late 14th century. But it all can be correctly understood if one goes deeper into sources on the civilisation of the Golden Horde and the place of this state within the corresponding context of cultural development both in time and space.

We have already noted that in this period knowledge in general was equated with religious knowledge, and we must turn to the religious centres that created all kinds of works that were related to high culture. It is likely that the majority if not all the centres of settled Muslim civilization in Crimea, the coastal area of the North Caucasus, the confluence of the Volga and Kama, and in Khwarezm, described above, continued playing the role which they had been fulfilling some time before the Mongol conquests. It is difficult to say how active the centres of the North Caucasus were in the period that preceded the Mongol conquests in comparison with the active religious and cultural life in the 14th century. According to reports from a number of sources, Volga Bulgaria lived an active intellectual life in the 10–12th centuries, but it probably suffered badly from cultural regression as a result of the Mongol conquests, whereas Khwarezm continued to be an important centre of Islamic learning, probably, with a short interruption.

Until the 13th century Arabic was the basic language of Islamic civilisation (see [Gibb, 1963]). The Persian high literature was developed properly only in the 11–12th centuries [Rypka, 1968], while Arabic was used as a literary language in the north, in Bulgar until the 13th century. (See, for example, [Tatar *ādābiyatı tarixi*, 1984, 1, 84–96 b.; Róna-Tas, Fodor, 1973, pp. 38–40], Persian was more important in southern areas of the territory of the future Golden Horde. As becomes evident from various sources, in the 13–14th centuries, they continued creating important theological and literary works in Arabic and Persian on the territory of the Ulus of Jochi. Unlike these languages, by the 14th century the Islamic Turkic literary tradition was only emerging. The first literary work was written in Turkic under the Karakhanids in the 1060s, continuing pre-Islamic traditions of Turkic-speaking Uighurs of the same region. There were only several works written in Turkic with the use of Arabic script in the 12th century in other places of Eurasia. The collection of wisdom of the Sufi Central Asian poet Ahmad Isavī known under the *Divan-i Hikmet* goes back ultimately to the 12th century, as perhaps do some other works.

The main group of Chinggisid ruling elite that arrived at the Volga spoke a language which we call Mongolian although that means the simplification of a difficult linguistic situation in Central Asia in the 12th century and interaction between those ones who spoke languages belonging to Mongolian, Turkic, and other families of languages. There are very few examples of the written Mongolian language among the descendants of Batu in the 13–14th centuries. There are references to documents written in Mongolian in Arabic sources, but there is also a discussion about whether it indicated the documents written in Mongolian or documents written in any other language with Mongolian script (such as Uighur, from which the Mongolian script was borrowed). All the edicts and diplomatic correspondence known under the collective title *yarliqs* have been preserved in the original Turkic version only from the late 14th century (1398) (see the translations into Russian [Priselkov, 1916; Pamyatniki russkogo prava, 1955, pp. 463–491]; see

the references to Turkic originals [Bennigsen, 1978, pp. 405–409; Usmanov, 1979, pp. 299–316; Vásáry, 1982, pp. 289–300; Muhamedyarov, Vásáry, 1987, pp. 181–216]). It is more noteworthy that, most likely, the translated documents of the 13–14th centuries were based on the Turkic original. Other references in sources suppose that the ruling elite of the Ulus of Jochi probably went through the process of turkification quickly enough because it was surrounded by the Turks.

However, the fact that other written works except for *yarliqs* were composed in the lands of the Golden Horde in the 13–14th centuries is less known. First, we would like to say a couple of words about the language of the Volga Bulgars, an unusual written language known only from epitaphs written with Arabic script and found near the juncture of the Volga and the Kama rivers (on these inscriptions, see [Róna-Tas, Fodor, 1973; Khakimzyanov, 1978; 1987]). Although Arabic was used on coins minted in Volga Bulgaria in the 10th century, the earliest epitaphs in the language of the Volga Bulgars are dated back only to the 13th century. The earliest gravestone in Bulgar dates to 1271, whereas the latest ones date to 1356 [Mukhametshin, Khakimzyanov, 1987, p. 120]. After this date there is no later epitaph nor any other dated written record in the language of the Volga Bulgars. Several Turkic headstone epitaphs found in the Middle Volga Region after 1357/58 were written in common Turkic [Khakimzyanov, 1987, Nos. 18, 19]. There were also headstone inscriptions in the common Turkic dialect, which can be considered an ancestor of the language of the modern Kazan Tatars in the same region except for the language of the Volga Bulgars [Róna-Tas, Fodor, 1973, pp. 38–40; Khakimzyanov, 1978, pp. 5–24; Róna-Tas, 1978, pp. 13–123] (see [Khakimzyanov, 1987, pp. 5–15]; see the map of distribution of both kinds of inscriptions [Ibid., p. 21]). F. Khakimzyanov supposes that the language of the Volga Bulgars, which ceased to be written after 1358, could have fulfilled the function of a sacred language which was probably no longer spoken by that time [Mukhametshin, Khakimzyanov, 1987, pp. 120–126; Khakimzyanov, 1987, pp. 5–15].

Having examined all possible arguments, we assumed that the language of the Volga Bulgars suddenly ceased to exist as a result of pandemics—the Black Death [Schamiloglu, 1991, pp. 157–163; 1993, pp. 447–457]. But the use of the unified Islamic Turkic language documented in Volga Bulgaria in 1271 and the introduction of the second language in the next century is an important point. These epitaphs reflect the great wealth from trade, probably great technical mastery, and cultural ties of Bulgaria with the rest of the Arabic-speaking Islamic world because the part of these inscriptions was written in Arabic. This is one more innovation which arose in the Ulus of Jochi in the sphere of Turkic written languages.

In terms of the development of high culture, the creation of a number of religious and art works in the Turkic written language (or languages, as some linguists insist) in the territory of the Golden Horde is more essential [Bombaci, 1968; Togan, 1963, pp. 229–249; Eckmann, 1964, pp. 275–296]. These works allow us to talk about the literature of the Golden Horde, produced in the local Turkic dialect(s), a language representing the development of earlier traditions. Turkologists described this language in different ways: as the 'language of the Golden Horde', 'Khwarezmian', or by other terms. Works from the early 14th century include the collection of stories by Rabguzi, 'Qisas al-Anbiya' ('Stories of the Prophets') [Rabguzi, 1995; Kışaşı'l-Enbiyā, 1997]. The later works of this age include romantic poems 'Khosrow-u-Shirin' (see the publication of the facsimile and the text in [Zajaczkowski, 1958; Eckmann, 1964, pp. 280–285]), Khwarezmi's 'Mukhabbat-name' (see a published text of this work in [Shcherbak, 1959; Gandjei, 1957, pp. 131–161; 1958, pp. 135–166; Nadjip, 1961; and Eckmann, 1964, pp. 285–287]) and the religious treatise 'Nahj ul-faradis' (see a published text of this work in [Nehcü'l-ferādīs, 1995; Eckmann, 1964, pp. 287–291]).

Some of these works, as well as others written in other languages, are evidence of the literary patronage of the Golden Horde's ruling elite, as we believe that dedication can be equated with patronage. Eventually, this process played a significant role in the writers' lit-

erary activities. 'Qisas ul-Anbiya' by Rabguzi is a collection of stories about prophets before Muhammad and other early Muslim figures. It was composed in about 1310 in Ribat-i Oguz, Turkestan, for the local bey, Nasir ad-Din Tokbugi. 'Muin al-murid' is a short religious work composed in Urgench in 1313.

The content of this work (due to its special emphasis on mystic Islam) shows that it was intended for the candidates for a Sufi order.

The earliest work related to the Golden Horde was 'Khosrow and Shirin' by Qutb, dedicated to Tini Beg Khan (1341–1342) and his wife Melika Khatun [Qutb/Hacıeminoğlu, 1968, pp. 191–195]. Apparently, this work was composed for the ruler of Sarai al-Jadid. 'Muhabbet-name' ('The Book of Love') by Khwarizmi was written on the banks of the Syr Darya (or Azov) in 1353 and dedicated to a Muhammad Khodjabek [Nadjip, 1961, text p. 35, translation p. 77, see also pp. 15–16]. The circumstances under which the religious treatise 'Nahj ul-faradis' was created, entitled as 'The Clear Way to Paradise' in Turkic, were more difficult. It was not dedicated to anyone, partly because it was a devout religious work.

The romantic poem 'Khosrow and Shirin' is a rework of the famous romantic poem 'Khosrow and Shirin' (1180) of one of the five great 'treasures' of the Persian poet Nizami (c. 1139 to c. 1174–1222). The reworking of earlier epic works was one of the common tests of an author's mastery. Nizami reworked earlier plots, and as Qutb's version was not meant to be a literal translation nor a literary experience, it should not be looked at negatively. Qutb himself noted that the goal of his work had been translating this work from the Persian language in the name of his khan [Qutb/Hacıeminoğlu, 1968, p. 195]. His version elevated Turkic to the literary standard following the spelling traditions established for the first time in the 11th century under the influence of the Uighur literary language (although with certain linguistic changes). It also relied on metric forms, which were used for the first time in the literature of the Karakhanids [Bombaci, 1968, pp. 96–97; Eckmann, 1964, pp. 280–285] and reflects the close acquaintance with, and even inclinations towards, the

Persian high culture at the court of Jochids. It could also be seen from the mysterious place-name Gulistan mentioned earlier, as it was the name of Sa'di's well-known Persian composition 'Gulistan' ('The Rose Garden'). The same work was reworked by Sayf-i Sarayi in the poem 'Gulistan bi-t-Turki' (see the publication of the text of this work [Säyf-i Sarayi, 1969]).

Even though the content of Qutb's work was ignored in all studies of this period, with the exception of those works which were dedicated solely to literature, besides the dedication to Tini Beg Khan and his wife, it contains many important assertions, which diverge from Nizami's original text and reflect the author's experience in the Golden Horde. The majority of such works begin with a declaration of the greatness and unity of God, supported by the positive characterisations of the Prophet Muhammad and praise of his four companions (also known as the Four Rashidun Caliphs: Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali.) Qutb's praise to the Prophet's companions describes them as leaders who could take care of Muhammad and fulfil all his wishes, and that together they could enter the 7 countries [Qutb/Hacıeminoğlu, 1968, pp. 190–191]. We can assert that this work offers a religious explanation for the relationship between the khan and the four tribal leaders; we have explained this political system in another place [Schamiloglu, 1984, pp. 283–297; Schamiloglu, 1986]. Probably, it can be regarded as a religious guideline for tribal leaders to continue to remain faithful to the khan.

We can note several other interesting changes which Qutb introduces over Nizami's version. One of them is the social structure of the society with the khan at the head. First of all are the begs, then the warriors (*bahadur*), then in the third place are the rich, in the fourth place are the poor, in fifth come the needy, followed in the end by innumerable slaves and others. A comparison with the original by Nizami reveals that Qutb knew who his patrons were [Nizāmī/Massé, 1970, pp. 143; Qutb/Hacıeminoğlu, 1968, pp. 350–351]. One can assume, following the logic, that the ulus begs, the wives of the ruling elite (*khatuns*) and the landocracy are represented as the ones spreading wealth. These components of the elite are



Headstone with an inscription in Arabic.
Alabaster. Vodyanovo archaeological site
(according to V. Egorov and G. Fedorov-Davydov)

not mentioned in the Nizami's original version, and their appearance in this version is a surprise [Qutb/Hacıeminoğlu, 1968, p. 421]. Lastly, while the Nizami's description of a feast includes dishes, which would be familiar to his audience, Qutb's version refers to the sacrifice of cows, sheep, horses, geese, chickens and ducks, as a type of feast [Nizāmī/Massé, 1970, p. 145; Qutb/Hacıeminoğlu, 1968, p. 352]. Thus, the inclusion of these and other details by Qutb gives us information about its context, at the same time representing further evidence that this work was supported by the patronage of the khan and was written with an awareness of how the court could react. In other words, the khan and his court understood the poetic language, which was not identical to the dialect of that time. They could assess genres of Iranian literature and follow the thread of a story written in ancient Iran. Undoubtedly, it was high culture.

Although 'Khosrow and Shirin' did have some moral and religious lessons for the court, it was not the goal of this work. A very different type of literature is represented by the compo-

sition 'Nahj al-Faradis' [Nehcü'l-ferādīs, 1995; Nuriyeva, 1999], which was a pious work. Already in the 19th century, Shihabetdin Marjani described the manuscript 'Nahj al-Faradis' (now lost), copied in Sarai in 749/1358. This manuscript attributed the work to a Mahmud, who was born in Bulgar and took refuge in Sarai, whose family name (*nisba*) Kerderi linked him to the city Kerder in Khwarezm. Another manuscript says the author died 3 days after 25 March 1360 and points to the various sources on which it is based and, in the end, refers to the author as Muhammad ibn Husraw al-Khwarizmi [Bombaci, 1968, p. 95; Nehcü'l-ferādīs, 1995, p. 309; Nuriyeva, 1999, p. 8].

This work is divided into 4 parts, each of which consists of 10 chapters. Part I 'Positive features of the Prophet Muhammad' is a detailed story about his life, the revelation of Islam, the flight from Mecca to Medina, miracles, which accompanied his life, his return to Mecca, the Prophet's ascension to Heaven in his sleep, the clarification on Heaven, the battle of Hunayn, and his death. Part II 'Positive features of the Rashidun Caliphs, the Prophet's family, and the Four Imams' includes stories about the first four caliphs (Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali), the Prophet's wife Fatima, Ali's two sons—Hasan and Hussein (whom the Shiites regard as martyrs), and the imams who founded the four primary madhhabs (the great imam Abu Hanafi, imam Shafi'i, imam Maliki, and imam Ahmad Hanbali). Part III 'Explanation of virtuous deeds that bring us closer to God' talks about the virtues of praying five times a day, charity, fasting in the month of Ramadan, the pilgrimage to Mecca, about a respectful attitude towards parents, a diet of religiously pure (*halal*) food, proper behaviour (including the ability to differentiate good from evil), religious ceremonies in the evening, patience, and satisfaction. Part IV 'Explanation of how evil deeds estrange a man from God' explains evil that originates from the unjust spilling of blood, adultery, alcoholic drinks, haughtiness, lying, love for this world, the hypocrisy of deception, malice, and envy, contempt, and hope for a long life.

How can we understand the nature of this work? We can suppose the content of this work

is orthodox Sunni in character, describing the basic knowledge and instructions necessary for a person to become a good Muslim. It includes balanced information about all Islamic schools of law, reflecting the number of Sunni scientists in the cities of the Jochid Ulus, as it was described by Ibn Battuta. If we can rely on the contemporary publication of manuals for Sufi orders of that period [Waley, 1992], this work was not specifically intended for a murid, a candidate of a Sufi order. The existence of both traditions answers the controversial question concerning whether any tensions between these two separate religious views could have existed. After all, orthodox Islam apparently dominated in the cities of the Golden Horde along the Volga, while in Khwarezm, and even elsewhere in the South, there was a strong Sufi tradition, which played its role in the conversion of Berke Khan to Islam. We cannot know whether the composition of 'Nahj al-Faradis' had an educational purpose or if it was only a devout act on the part of its author. There is one more observation we wish to make in this regard. This is that the name of this work provokes the desire to learn about how one can go to heaven. The fact of the increase in the number of those who had converted to Islam could have had an impact. As we have already noted, it was a period during which the Black Death had a devastating effect on the territories of the Golden Horde. As in Western Europe, it is most likely that the Black Death had a significant influence on society here, too. In Western Europe, the growth of religiosity, along with an interest in death and God's punishment were some of the responses to the onslaught of the epidemic. We believe that the Golden Horde's population undoubtedly had many causes for concern as to whether or not they would go to heaven, and this work was related to their fear.

Thus, the period of the Jochid Ulus was a golden age of the Turkic-Islamic high culture. All this serves as proof of the establishment of an Islamic and Turkic cultural synthesis on the territories of the Golden Horde in the 13th and 14th centuries (before the Black Death came), which was important from the standpoint of the development of both the Islamic and Turkic civilisations.

CHAPTER 4

Islam in the Ulus of Jochi

Iskander Izmaylov, Mikrasym Usmanov

The Jochid Ulus justifiably has a special place in the medieval history of Northern Eurasia. In this historical period, Islam crossed state and religious borders of separate countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia for the first time, becoming the religion of the Eurasian Turkic Empire. There are many aspects to the problems concerning Islam's implementation and development, and its culture in the Jochid Ulus. They are therefore complex and require consideration within the context of the politics and the culture.

Literature survey. The topic of the distribution of Islam in the Jochid Ulus has been of great interest to researchers for more than two centuries and there is a large amount of literature devoted to it. Therefore, this is only an analysis of the most important and dominant works.

I. Hammer-Purgstall, the author of the first general history of the Golden Horde, was one of the first to examine this problem [Hammer-Purgstall, 1840]. Noting the distribution of Islam in the state of the Jochids, he failed to give a precise description of the appearance and development of Islam in it, instead focusing his attention on political history.

The well-known Kazan orientalist and historian, I. Berezin, made a more detailed attempt to introduce Islam into the context of the internal structure of Golden Horde society. However, owing to the ideas of the Jochids' state as being an amorphous, nomadic tribe only slightly touched by state structures and a settled civilisation, he also considered Islam as a phenomenon, which was rather foreign to the nomadic population [Berezin, 1864].

A brief work by G. Sablukov was also of interest to Kazan orientalists. Sablukov developed I. Berezin's ideas, presenting a more complete and integrated picture of the history

of the Jochid Ulus. He paid special attention to the spread of Islam and tried to highlight this problem for the first time, using a range of sources, written and archaeological. [Sablukov, 1884; 1895].

Each of these works followed a general trend, typical for academia of the time, where the recognition of the nomadic character of the Golden Horde state and the chronic weakness and amorphous character of its institutions—including religious ones—was expressed.

Tatar historical thought stands apart from these of development in Russian historiography. It is based on its own historical tradition, beginning with works by Sh. Marjani [1884, pp. 40–58; 1999; Marjani, 1989], where not only the Islamic character of the Golden Horde was noted, but also the continuity of the existence of Islamic civilisation in the Volga Region. According to Tatar historians, the Jochid Ulus period played a defining role in the establishment of Islam as a state religion and as the basis of medieval Tatar culture [Fäxretdin, 1996; Akhmarov, 1998; Iskhaki, 1991; Battal, 1996]. At the same time, all sources emphasise the tolerance and respect of the different religions in the Golden Horde. For example, G. Iskhaki claimed that 'It should be noted that all religions in the Golden Horde had equal freedom. According to the laws of Chinggis Khan, the penalty for offending any religion was death. The priesthood of each religion was free from paying taxes' [Iskhaki, 1991, p. 17].

Works of the outstanding Tatar historian G. Gubaydullin should be mentioned as part of this discipline. He successfully combined Russian and Tatar academic traditions [Gubaydullin, 1925, pp. 71–111]. G. Gubaydullin arrived at several important conclusions concerning the history of Islam in the Golden Horde, based

on a profound examination of its literature and other sources. He emphasised the freedom of worship in the Jochid Ulus as well [Gubaydulin, 1994, pp. 71–73].

F. Ballod's remarks on the culture of the Golden Horde are rather interesting. Based on the results of excavations in the whole range of the Lower Volga and towns including Sarai, Sarai al-Jadid and Ukek, he drew conclusions concerning the development of oriental urban life, which was drawn from the works of 'the most intellectual elements of the peoples of Asia and Europe' [Ballod, 1924, p. 349].

V. Barthold made a significant contribution to the formation of the academic interpretation of the Islamic history of the Golden Horde and even further, in Northern Eurasia. His works, which only partially concern the history of Islam in the Golden Horde, examine this topic within the context of Islam's distribution in other Mongol states [Barthold, 1965]. At the same time, he noted that, after a short-term recession caused by Mongol conquests, a period of cultural ascension began; one of its indicators was the development of Turkic literature [Barthold, 1966]. In general, his works seemingly marked the end of an extended period in the history of historical studies, where a panoply of written sources was gathered and the political history of the Golden Horde and its institutions was created.

A. Yakubovsky paid special attention to the reasons for Islam's distribution in the Jochid Ulus in a fundamental, general study [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950]. It should be noted that the first version of this work only slightly covered the history of Islam, though its tonality was more balanced [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1937]. He analysed data from sources concerning the different confessions of the Mongols and the reasons for Islamisation in detail. He believed that the main reasons were the development of urban life, trade, and political ties with Muslim countries, particularly with Egypt [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, pp. 166–168]. At the same time, the author emphasised that 'Islam had little success among working nomads' and its spread under the rule of Öz Beg Khan 'did not exceed the limits of urban life and the feudal elite of the steppe' [Ibid., pp. 165, 168]. This

conclusion was drawn from a historical thesis based on the theory of historical materialism and a limited range of sources, although it was accompanied by reservations about any significant development of the Muslim culture in the cities of the Jochid Ulus.

In another periodical publication on the history of the Golden Horde, M. Safargaliev focused his attention on the issues of Islam, mainly from the standpoint of the Jochid Ulus' political and diplomatic history [Safargaliev, 1960]. In his work, the issues of Islam's distribution and its influence on the Golden Horde culture were left uncovered, as in the work of A. Yakubovsky.

A significant step forward was made in the study of the culture and history of the Golden Horde in G. Fedorov-Davydov's works, where he relied on an enormous collection of archaeological material. His studies newly examined the culture of Desht-i Kipchak and showed its high level of development and the active extension of Islamic culture [Fedorov-Davydov 1973; 1976; 1994]. G. Fedorov-Davydov emphasised that, as cities sprung up in the Jochid Ulus (primarily in the Volga Region), a new urban eastern medieval culture of which Islam was the basis luxuriously blossomed. He clarified the question concerning Islam's diffusion among the nomadic population of the steppe, arguing that near the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, the pagan rite of burial was replaced by its Islamic counterpart throughout the territory of the Jochid Ulus [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966, p. 248].

One of the authors of this chapter studied the issue of Islam's distribution throughout the Golden Horde, highlighting three stages—from an initial acquaintance of the highest ranks of the Mongols with Islam to the formal adoption of Islam in the time of Öz Beg Khan, and during the Islamisation of the population of the Jochid Ulus at the end of the 14th century [Usmanov, 1985, pp. 177–185]. He also studied the composition of the clergy and its hierarchy by the yaliqu of the Jochid Ulus [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 211–213].

Interest in the issue of Islamisation has noticeably increased recently. The problems of the formation of Islamic traditions in Tur-

kie-Tatar culture and the significance of the Golden Horde period in these processes have been studied [Däülätšin, 1999]. Literature experts and philologists are studying the separate problems of the interaction of cultures and the Islam's penetration into literature and 'high culture' (see, for example: [Minnegulov, 1993; Islamov, 1998; Nuriyeva, 1999]). These studies unambiguously show that the introduction of Islam into different segments of the population was complex and uneven.

At the same time, a tendency to return to the former position concerning the late and fairly superficial Islamisation of the population of the Jochid Ulus started to appear among orientalists. For example, considering that Islam permeated into the steppe Turkic population rather late, V. Yudin hastened to design a special Golden Horde 'faith'—'Chinggisism': 'a new genealogical complex, stated in terms of tribal interpretation of the appearance and formation of the structure of mankind, became the basis for the formation of views regarding the origin of the entire human race and the universe. It was supplemented with traditional elements of Turkic-Mongol Shamanism, which became the upper floor and annex to the new faith's construction. Thus, a cosmogonic myth was created, that is, an illusory world view and ideology were formed, and a new religion was born' [Yudin, 1992, pp. 16–21]. Nowadays, it is hardly possible to unambiguously consider Chinggisism a religion. The general idea of the society and the state of Jochids as a steppe empire or a nomadic union, which allegedly could not have had a developed historiography and ideology, became the cause of such an incorrect interpretation. However, it seems to us that the term 'Chinggisism' represents a special paradigm of the Mongolian and Tatar (Golden Horde) political ideology [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2000, pp. 99–100].

This concept was developed in a recently published work dedicated to the history of the states of the Eurasian steppes. T. Sultanov, the author of the section concerning the Golden Horde, claimed that 'there was no unified culture or religion in the state of Jochi's descendants' and Islam was finally consolidated in Desht-i Kipchak only after the Russian con-

quest [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2000, pp. 220–227]. It is strange that the author, ignoring numerous data from Eastern, Russian and Western European sources, as well as Golden Horde state acts and archaeological data, focuses on separate indications of traditional religions and remnants of the past, although their place and significance in the system of the Golden Horde's world view definitely played a more episodic role when compared with that of Islam.

Especially noteworthy is a particular work by historians and archaeologists from Saratov about the religions of the Golden Horde, where a special section by A. Rakushin is dedicated to Islam [Malov, Malyshev, Rakushin, 1998, pp. 94–125]. Generalising the large historical material, the author presented an entire study, focusing his attention on the key points. Basically, there are no objections to the description of the Islamic history and to the researcher's conclusions, except for two major aspects: the underestimation of Islam's role and its significance in settled areas and urban culture, which leads to the denial of the Golden Horde population's consolidation and the formation of the Tatar ethno-political community (such a tendency is vividly shown in essays written by N. Malov and A. Malyshev, where the authors use the non-scientific concept of 'nation', see: [Ibid., pp. 23–37]; see: these views were criticised by [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2000, pp. 5–11, 89–111]).

Another manifestation of this tendency (although in a different aspect) is the exaggerated attention paid to 'pagan' motifs in a number of historical works ('Chinggis-name') and epic poems about Edigu in a work by American orientalist, D. DeWeese, dedicated to the Islamisation of the Golden Horde [DeWeese, 1994]. It should be noted that the author does not deny the Islamic character of the Golden Horde and emphasises Islam's importance in integrating the Horde into a united ethno-religious community [Ibid., pp. 516–532]. However, the purpose of his work was to discover features and mythologems of the 'popular Islam'. The author collected and analysed a large amount of material, but the chosen direction of his work and the sources selected for analysis predetermined

his conclusions. The use of wider-ranged sources, for example, literary masterpieces of this epoch, yarliqs, and archaeological findings (such as graffiti, inscriptions on coins, etc.) prove that Islam in the Ulus of Jochi was more developed and complex (see an essay by Yu. Schamiloglu in Section 5).

In general, the history of studying Islam in the Jochid Ulus followed a significant path. A vast collection of material sources was amassed and researched, which has created a foundation for the further study of this complex topic, its expansion and development.

The religious situation during the period of the Jochid Ulus' creation: Christianity and Islam. At the time of Central Eurasia's conquest, there was a difficult and unstable religious situation here. From the 8th century forward, Islam completely dominated in Khwarezm and Central Asia, from where it penetrated into the Volga Region, where it became the state religion of Bulgaria in the 10th century. From the same northern distribution point, Islam quickly spread among the peoples of the Volga-Ural Region due to Bulgar's influence. Orthodox Christianity, which by the 13th century had repelled all other faiths to the periphery of the national culture, had already been introduced in Rus' at the end of the 10th century. Simultaneously, the output of the ideological doctrine of the Vladimir-Suzdal Rus went forth based on Christianity in its militant, 'crusader' function [Izmaylov, 1999, pp. 69–75]. The coast of Crimea was another focal point of Christianity, where, other than Greeks, the descendants of the Goths still lived. Few Judaist Khazarins—fragments of the once great people of Khazaria—dwelt there. In the foothills of the Caucasus there was another Christianity centre—the principalities of Alania. Between these islands of dominant religions there was a great sea of pagan cults and beliefs.

The same picture was observed in the Eurasian steppes as well. Its inhabitants were found to be under the influence of different civilisations and religions. Karakhanids were particularly active in the spread of Islam at the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries. Like all neophytes, they were fighting cruel religious wars, considering prosely-

tism with the help of weapons to be the basis of their foreign policy. Attacks in the name of jihad on the Kipchaks and Kimaks were successful enough, causing their flight to the west [Klyashtorny, 1993, pp. 124–127]. Cruel and fierce religious wars gave rise to unique literature and folklore, partially retained by the Karakhanid philologist, Mahmud Kashgari (in the 11th century). An example is his narrative of the battle against the Uighurs:

'We Bunchuks are more reliable,
and, like a flock of birds of prey,
we descended upon the Uighurs with the
Tatams
who were all thieves and were bestial to us.

...
We flew as a stream flows from its source.
At once we reached their cities,
and destroying Buddha's temples, we
became merry—
we mocked the idols'

[Poe'ziya drevnix tyurkov, 1993, p. 114].

These developments came alongside a cultural expansion provided by Islam's spread into the steppes of Central Asia. For example, highly competent historian Ibn Al-Asir (13th century) described the history of the Karakhanid power, writing that, 'in 1043, ten thousand carriages from faithless Turks adopted Islam, who used to make raids on Islamic cities in Balasaguna lands and Kashgar... they spent the summer in Bulgar's lands and wintered in the Balasaguna lands, but, when Islam was adopted, they were dispersed across the country...' [Ibn Al-Athir, 1973, p. 60].

It is hard to say whether it was a one-time phenomenon or it affected the broader masses of nomads, but it is impossible to deny Islam's gradual penetration into the culture of the Turks of Northern Eurasia. Islam was introduced even more actively among the Kipchaks from the latter half of the 12th century to the first third of the 13th century by Khwarazmian Anushtiginids. Descended from Turkic nobility, they actively strove to cast 'the light of true faith' on their northern neighbours [Buniyatov, 1986, p. 46; Akhinzhanov, 1989, pp. 208–225].

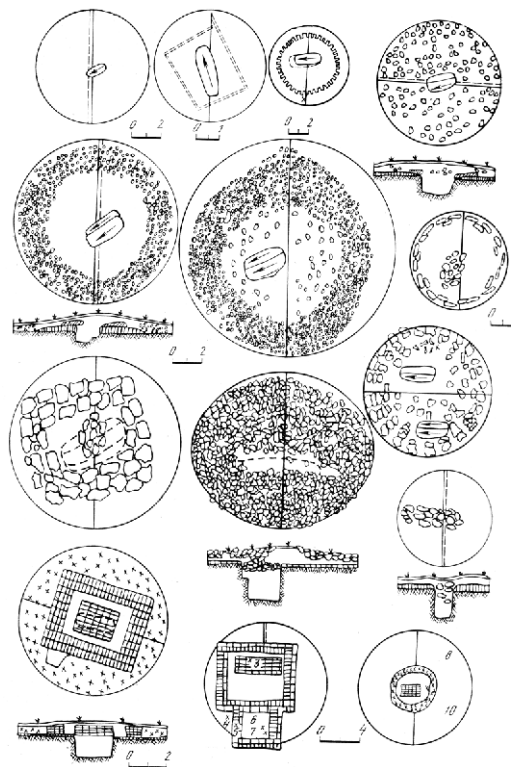
However, it can be generally assumed that the majority of Kipchaks from the Danube to

the Irtysh remained pagans, although their culture was constantly exposed to the influence of one or another monotheistic religion. The Kipchaks of the Black Sea Region apparently were under the ideological influence of Rus', as well as Byzantium and Bulgaria. A portion of them, especially the ruling elite, had already adopted Christianity, which can be seen from their names such as Yuri Konchakovich, etc. The Kipchaks and the Yemeks of the Trans-Volga region and the Aral Sea Region certainly trended towards Islam.

The picture was completely changed by the Mongolian invasion. In the destructive conditions of the old state and tribal structures and the creation of the Jochid Empire, a shift in the population's religious consciousness occurred. By the second quarter of the 13th century, after several bloody wars, victories and bitter defeats, Volga Bulgaria was defeated and conquered by Khan Batu's armies, fighting a path to the west, to the 'last sea'. Although the Mongols treated the religions of the conquered peoples loyally enough, Islam as the official or even dominating religion was broken, becoming one of many religions in the Ulus of Jochi. A period of relative religious tolerance—an original pagan renaissance—came to be. Symbiosis of various elements became the basis for the assembly of the imperial Golden Horde culture.

In the epoch of the formation of the state and ideology in Chinggis Khan's empire, Shamanism and Christianity of the Nestorian sect were traditionally spread among the Mongol Khans and their clans, for example, among the Kereits and Naimans [Kychanov, 1997, p. 192; Kadyrbayev, 1993]. The evolution of world perception within the population of the Golden Horde was also determined by life together with peoples of various confessions: Christians including Nestorians, Gregorian, Jews, etc. [Usmanov, 1985, p. 177; Poluboyarinova, 1978; Sochnev, 1993, pp. 107–117; Volkov, 1995, pp. 24–27; Malov, Malyshev, Rakushin, 1998, pp. 57–93].

Typical of the initial stages in the history of the Mongol Empire, a particular religious tolerance was elevated to law and imperial political tradition, allowing the descendants of Chinggis Khan to retain their power. The



Types of gravestones in burial mounds.
Southern Urals. 12–14th centuries (according to
V. Ivanov and V. Krieger).

Chinggisids were relatively indifferent to religious issues, creating the impression that any belief was lawful with regards to the power of the Mongol Khans, as long as it did not lead to a holy war against the conquerors. It was political loyalty rather than spiritual subordination to their faith that was important for the Mongol administration, which was built according to the Chinese tradition of public governance.

The Jochids also conducted a policy of tolerance towards the local religions (stated in 'Iasa' by Chinggis Khan) in the first period after the conquest of Eastern Europe, especially in settled countries. The Mongol conquerors did not try to impose their faith (Shamanism) upon conquered peoples. Despite their personal preferences and dislikes, Chinggis Khan and his closest descendants seemingly equated representatives of different churches, keeping them all at a distance. Certainly V. Bartold was right in defining this originality of 'religious tactics' of the early Chinggisids as a manifestation of

a purposeful policy, intended to look for allies among princes belonging to various churches and religions. This definition should be completed and clarified because the steadiness of early Chinggisids' conversion to the main or leading religion can be explained by a psychological factor and practical reasons simultaneously when it came to the populations of their улусes. If the psychological factor owes to their relative lack of consciousness, the practical reasons came down to the fact that by demonstrating their loyalty to Shamanism—the traditional faith of their ancestors—the early Chinggisids were trying to preserve the ideological unity of their clan and the empire inherited from Chinggis Khan [Usmanov, 1985, p. 177].

At the end of Batu and his closest descendants' rule, a furious struggle for the influence on the Khan's throne occurred between various groups of the nobility, which positioned their dogma as a standard. After a short struggle, the supporters of Khan Berke gained a victory. The furious character of the conflict can be explained by the fact that parts of the Jochids were Nestorian, particularly Batu's wife, Barakchin, and their son, Sartaq ([Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 19]); for the political circumstances of the dethronement of Batu's descendants see: [Fedorov-Davydov, 1992, pp. 72–82]. Politically, they were oriented alongside the united Mongol Empire. Another part of the nobility headed by Berke aimed to break off and create an independent state and practice Islam.

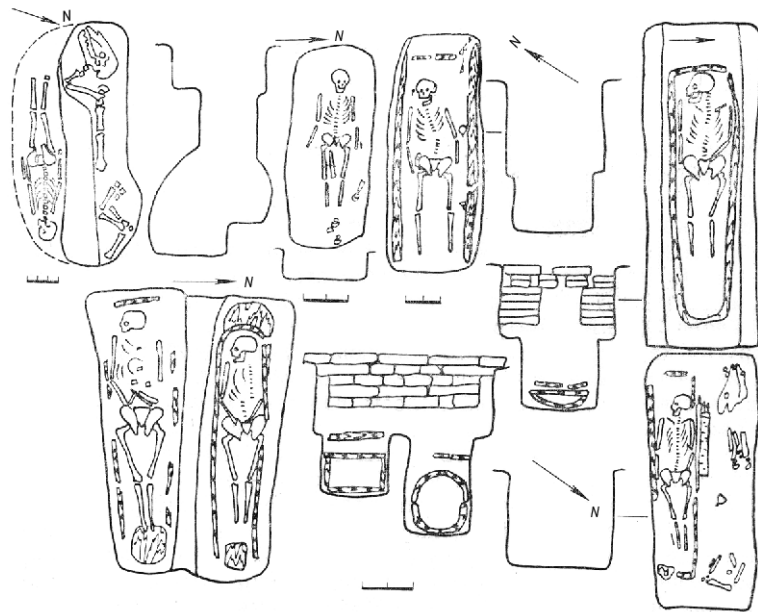
Berke became the first khan of the Golden Horde who converted to Islam. Therefore, the attention paid to this fact in eastern historiography is understandable. Juzjani, a contemporary of Berke, believed that 'Berke Khan was converted to Islam by the hands of Seif ad-Din Bakharzi' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 19]; Arab authors of the 14th century Ibn Khaldun and al-Ayni wrote that, 'Berke visited Islamic scholars in Bukhara, conversed with them, and then and there the conversion of Islam took place by Sufi Sheikh Shams Ad-Din Al-Bakharzi and his disciple Nadzhm Ad-Dean Kubra [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, pp. 369, 478].

According to al-Omari, Berke adopted Islam during his return from the assembly in Mongolia where Möngke was declared the Great Khan (1251). William of Rubruck, who was at the court of Khan Batu in 1253, reported about Berke's adoption of Islam still before the coronation [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 117].

Later, in around 1257, having already become the Khan, Berke visited Bukhara again to pay honour and respect to the outstanding Ulamas of the city [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, pp. 245–246]. This pilgrimage of Khan Berke is noteworthy because his mentor, Saif ad-Dean Bakharzi (d. 1261), was one of the several remaining Murids of the respected Sheikh Khwarezm Ahmad Ibn Umar Abu-l-Jannab Najm ad-Din al-Kubra al-Khivai al-Khwarezmi, who was a theorist, practitioner of Sufism, and a founder of Sufi tariqa 'Kubravi' [Gordlevsky, 1941, p. 201; Bartold, 1963, p. 503; Snegarev, 1983, pp. 142–158]. The situation was made particularly interesting by the fact that respect for this saint is not only connected with his activity in the field of the cultivation of Sufism, but with his heroic death during the seizure of Urgench (Gurganj) at the hands of Chinggis Khan's troops [Ibragimov, 1988, pp. 73–74; Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 309]. It is hard to say whether Berke was a follower of any Sufi tariqa, but the fact of the great influence of Sufi communities (*taifa*) on the politics of the Golden Horde is undeniable.

Apparently, at the same time as Berke, his wives, a unit of the emirs of his entourage, and his guard converted to Islam. Not without exaggeration, rumours spread throughout the Eastern countries that the army of the Khan of the Tatars was composed of 30 thousand Muslims who obligingly participated in the Friday Prayer and did not drink wine. To the Indian historian Juzjani, tales spread about Berke having a rich library and constant presence of theologians and lawyers in his palace, who participated in frequent debates over questions of the Sharia law. Al-Nuwayri (14th century) wrote about Berke that 'he is the first of the descendants of Chinggis Khan who has adopted the religion of Islam... who has given legal

Types of burials characteristic of earth mounds in the Southern Urals. 12–14th centuries (according to V. Ivanov and V. Krieger).



scholars honour, brought them to his place... and built mosques and schools on the borders of his land' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 151]. Other Arab authors, describing diplomatic contacts with the Golden Horde, noted that during a reception of the ambassador by Khan Berke, his older wife and around 50 or 60 emirs were present, besides, 'each of the (present) emirs has with him a muezzin and an imam; each khatuni (also) has her own muezzin and imam'. It was also observed that the children of the nobility studied in the madrasah where they 'listen to readings of the venerable Quran' [ibid., pp. 64, 194]. The adoption of Islam by Khan Berke, his wives and closest emirs became a factor of great political significance. Simultaneously, a course of action was taken, which directly led to the separation of the Ulus of Jochi from the power of the Grand Qa'an: the minting of coins with the name Möngke ceased, and 'high tamga', house of Jochi (since 1257) and Berke's name (since 1259) appeared on them. However, after the beginning of an internecine war in the ulus of the Great Khan between Kublai and Arig-Buga, the payment of taxes into the Karakorum (approximately since 1260) ceased [Dalai, 1983, pp. 34–44]. The changes that began to occur in the Golden Horde during the rule of the new khan appeared to be by no means accidental, but corresponded with the tendencies of development in the society. The support of Berke's candidacy by Muslim merchants, dragged to Batu by the Golden Horde administration as tax-farmers and bureaucracy, facilitated his victory. A wide field for missionary activity opened up in front of the Muslim clergy. Af-

ter Berke came to power, the spread of Islam began in Jochid Ulus, especially among the Kipchaks, who had already begun the process of Islamisation. After the conquest, changes in their old tribal structure and their dispersion to the uluses of the new rulers, former tribal cults lost their sanctity and their mythology lost its bearing. In these conditions, the public conscience of the Kipchaks of Eastern Europe began to turn to a new religion—Islam.

It was also important that Batu and Berke, being co-rulers of a 'united' empire, played the part of the suzerain for Hulagu and other ulus khans [Fedorov-Davydov, 1978, p. 26 Trepavlov, 1993, pp. 82–83]. Berke's aspiration to put his plots of land against the possessions of the Great Khagan and other ulus khans also had its place with regards to ideology [Usmanov, 1985, p. 179]. However, there is also an allusion to the fact that having become the first Islamic ruler, Berke was trying to follow the norms of Islam and reduce Shamanism's influence. If these processes are regarded as the manifestation of remote tendencies in the politics of the khans of the Ulus of Jochi, it should be recognised that the measures taken by Berke were the beginning of the religious and ideological reorientation of the Jochids, that is, of quests with respect to the changes in the territory and the structure of the populations subordinate to them [Ibid., p. 178].

A war against the Hulaguids particularly accelerated the process of reorientation in regard to the khans of the Jochid Ulus. The main reasons for this were the strengthening of Hulagu's power and his refusal to recognise the seniority of the Jochid Ulus. This happened against the backdrop of the decline of the Baghdad Caliphate (1258) and the strengthening of Nestorian Hulagu's resistance against the Mamluk Egypt, where the descendant of the last Abbasid caliph, Musta'sim (who had been executed by the Mongols), was secretly transported. He was proclaimed the Caliph of Egypt, but being deprived of any real levers of power, he became a religious symbol for Islamic countries. As the struggle against Hulagu intensified, Berke began to use the religious factor as a means of recruiting allies. The ambassadors were received by the Sultan of Egypt with great honour and swore an oath to the caliph, recognising his authority and domination in affairs of faith [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, pp. 429–431]. Berke's provocation of Hulagu was the most important aspect of diplomatic efforts, for the Sultan of Egypt and the caliph. It was justified as being the direct duty of Muslims to wage war against the faithless, even if they were relatives; a message stating this position was ended with an emphatic conclusion: 'Islam does not only consist of words: the holy war (jihad) is one of its (main) supports' [Ibid., p. 98, Rukn al-Din Baibars al-Mansuri]. The military and political aspects of this war are well known [Ali-Zade, 1946, pp. 16–38; Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, pp. 74–82; Zakirov, 1966, pp. 39–59], but its diplomatic and cultural elements are much more important. Having started the confrontation against Hulagu state, the Jochid Ulus automatically became an enemy of Orthodox Byzantium, the Catholic countries of the West, and their possessions in the Middle East from the Crusades, while becoming an ally of the Seljuk Turks and Egyptian Mamluks. In this manner, the political priorities and, most importantly, the direction of the civilisation's orientation were determined.

At the same time, we should not overestimate the scale of Islam's diffusion among the

population of the Ulus of Jochi. There was no mass Islamisation of the steppe population or the majority of the nobility. A certain balance was preserved under Mengü-Timur (1266–1288), who followed the foreign policy of his predecessors but was not an ardent follower of Islam. Previous traditions continued to function in public management and administrative practice. In other words, although Islam was rather popular among the highest ranks of the townsfolk, as well as in some regions of the Jochid Ulus (Khwarezm, Bulgaria and the Aral Sea Region), its influence was not yet a defining one.

Nevertheless, this process became irreversible. During the internecine wars of the end of the 13th century, concerning the choice of the Jochid Ulus' path for further development, the followers of Islam were victorious. In this regard, Nogai's activity is typical. The turning point of his political activity could be considered to be his letter to Egypt (1270–1271), in which he notified the Sultan of his own conversion to Islam, as well as that of a number of other emirs. It also mentioned that he was following in 'the footsteps of our father, Berke Khan, truth is being pursued and lies are being shied away from'. The closing sentence is, 'With you, we are like the fingertips of a hand: we work together with those who are with you and against those who are against you' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, pp. 101–102]. It is quite evident that he relied on Islamic Tatar clans and urban noblemen. A. Rakushin correctly notes that Nogai thus declared himself the direct successor 'of Berke's work', [Malov, Malyshev, Rakushin, 1998, p. 99]. After Mengü-Timur's death in 1281, Tuda Mengü Khan (1281–1287) was enthroned, upon which Nogai became the de facto ruler of the Golden Horde, showing further evidence of his true adherence to that path. Then, Tuda Mengü apparently converted to Islam and sent an ambassador to the Egyptian sultan with a request 'to ask for himself... a Muslim name, by which he could be called', as well as banners and drums 'so that he could move forth with them and set out against the enemies of the Faith'. Afterwards, the ambassador committed a hajj to Mecca [Sbornik

materialov, *otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy*', 1884, p. 69]. Tuda Mengu Khan took little interest in the actual conduct of state affairs and most probably occupied himself with questions of faith and spiritual education—he 'tied himself to the sheikhs and fakirs, visited theologians and holy men, settling for little after much' [ibid., pp. 105–106]. It led to a coup in the absence of Nogai: the participants accused the khan of insanity and 'contempt for the state affairs' and forced him to abdicate in favour of Talabuga (1287–1291).

While the khan ruled, 'The Islamic party' suffered a serious defeat, but in general it did not lose its positions. After a split in the traditionalists' camp, Nogai supported Toqta's group and defeated Talabuga and his supporters (Mengu-Timur and Tarbu's sons) during this internecine feud. Having become the khan, Toqta (1291–1312) rid himself of his noblest enemies, having massacred nearly all of the most authoritative leaders among the traditionalists. Later, Toqta became unhappy with Nogai's influence and began to deprive him of the true levers of power, thus provoking Nogai to another rebellion. Even though he was not officially a Muslim, Toqta's rule was a time for the Islamic Tatar aristocracy to consolidate their power. Temür Qutlugh, who had ties to the court of Khan Berke, was a notable aristocrat. Islam received a new impetus. Obviously, the religion was particularly widespread within the cities. The influence of the Muslim clans on domestic and foreign policy was highly significant. Striving to enlist their support, Toqta started producing coins since 1293, with the auspicious name 'Nasir li-d-Din Allah' ('Assistant of Faith and Allah') [Muhamadiev, 1983, pp. 46–49].

Thanks to the support of the Muslims, Toqta not only defeated his enemies, but also achieved an unprecedented strengthening of the Jochid Ulus. World trade was expanding, a growth of cities was noticed and a whole range of important victories were won in the international arena. Islam had been spreading more intensively in the steppes and towns of the Golden Horde since the late 13th century. The decrease in the number of pagan burial sites in the Volga and Cis-Ural Region, combined with

the emergence and widespread occurrence of Islamic necropolises, serves as evidence [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966, p. 248]. So, in the early 14th century, all the necessary preconditions were present to improve the status of Islam, both de facto and de jure, as the official religion of the Jochid Ulus.

The Adoption of Islam as State Religion.

Eventually, at the beginning of the 14th century, the Islamic community among the Tatar aristocracy was so strong that it not only enthroned its candidate (Öz Beg Khan), but also resolutely differentiated itself from the former religious and political traditions. A relatively large number of sources and significant historiography exist, concerning this key event in the history of the Jochid Ulus (see the analysis of sources: [DeWeese, 1994, pp. 101–158]; see the essential events: [Greeks, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 90; DeWeese, 1994, pp. 90–100]). In his letter to the Egyptian sultan, while relating about an-Nuwayri, Öz Beg Khan described events that occurred, 'In his (Oz Beg Khan's) kingdom there still remained a group of bandits who did not profess Islam but, when they admitted this, he let them choose either to join the Islamic religion or to face war. They refused (to accept Islam) and entered battle, where, after attacking, they were forced to retreat and were destroyed... [Sbornik materialov, *otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy*', 1884, p. 163].

Al-Birzali (a contemporary from the first half of the 14th century) vividly portrays the atmosphere of that time. He writes that Toqta Khan was 'a non-believer', adhering to the religion of idolaters and that he loved 'lamas and enchanter and gave them great honour. He was just and spread his kindness to different denominations, but he respected Muslims more than others... He had a son... he was committed to Islam and loved to listen to readings from the great Quran, although he did not understand it. He proposed that, when he became the tsar of this country, no other faith would remain, save for the Muslim faith. He died during his father's life, leaving a son behind. When he died, his father (Toqta) appointed him, the son of his dead son, as successor. However, he did not rule, because after him (Toqta), the kingdom was taken by his brother's son, Öz Beg

Khan... He overcame several emirs and dignitaries, he subdued a large quantity... of lamas and magicians and proclaimed the creed of Islam' [Ibid., p. 174].

An author at the end of the 14th century, Ibn Dukmak, supports this information with a tale of Temür Qutluğ's conspiracy. Before placing Öz Beg Khan on the throne, he 'forced him to swear that when he ascended to the throne, he would become a Muslim and adhere to Islam'. After his ascent, in the words of Ibn Dukmak, Öz Beg Khan 'zealously joined the faith of Allah and built himself a cathedral mosque where (all) five prayers were held at the time set for each. A group of Tatar emirs resented this and intended to overthrow him, but the conspiracy was stifled and the ringleaders were executed' [Ibid. pp. 232–233]. The same information is repeated, with some additions, in the chronicles of al-Ayni (d. 1451) and Ibn Khaldun (written in 1406) [Ibid., pp. 384–386, 515–516].

Later versions of this event, (for example, the anonymous 'Shajarat al-Atrak/Genealogy of Turks' (15th century)) report that Öz Beg Khan adopted Islam much later: 'Having gained the throne, he (Öz Beg Khan) spent eight years in the northern Desht-i-Kipchak with his ulama and ulus... When eight years from the beginning of his sultanate had passed, he (Oz Beg Khan) had the honour to accept Islam under the direction of a holy sheikh of sheikhs and a Muslim, Saint Zenghi-Ata, the foremost Sayyid of highest titles, pointing the lost to the devotion of the Lord of all worlds, the leader of travellers and searchers, the holy Sayyid-Ata, the successor to Zenghi-Ata, in the months of 720 (12 November 1320—30 January 1321), corresponding to the year of the hen', [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 207]. This message is differentiated from others because it shows the influence of Turkestan ulamas on the spread of Islam in the Golden Horde. This is obviously based on a desire to prove the ancient foundation of its claims to convert the Jochid khans.

It should be emphasised that, starting with Öz Beg Khan, who had his full Islamic name printed as 'Sultan Muhammad Öz Beg Khan' on all coins, all other Jochids also had an Islamic name along with their Turkic one—Jani

Beg (1342–1357) was called 'Sultan Jalal ad-Din Mahmud', Berdi Beg (1357–1359) and Urus—'Sultan Muhammad', Tokhtamysh (1379–1395)—'Sultan Nasir ad-Din', etc. [Klyashtorny, Sultanov, 2000, p. 223].

From then on, the Islamic civilisation became the defining force in the Jochid Ulus' political and cultural development. Thus, the medieval Tatar state became the centre of Islam in the north. Arabic diplomats respectfully called the khans of the Jochi clan, who ruled the Golden Horde, 'the sword of Islam in the northern lands'.

Religious Policy and Clergy. In the first half of the 14th century, there was a complex ideological situation in the Jochid Ulus: Islam—one of several competing religions—became the state religion. Islam began to spread throughout a significant part of the country's population. At first, however, the formal increase in the number of believers certainly did not lead to the deep penetration of Islam into public consciousness.

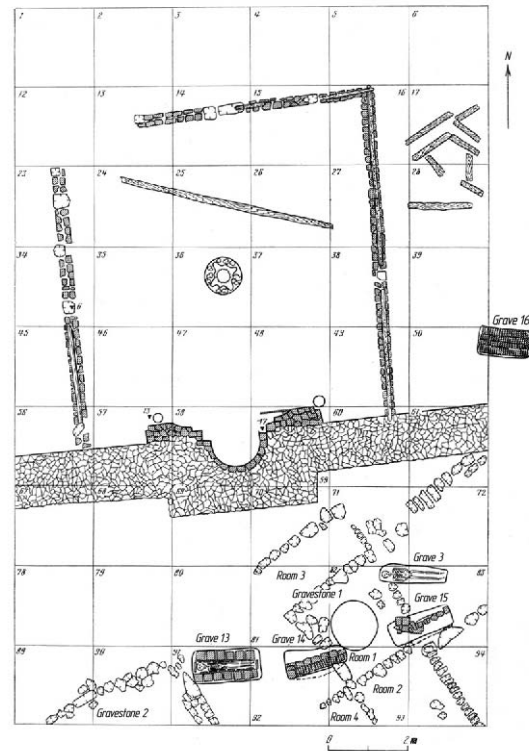
The irony of the situation is that, although previously small and compact Islamic communities with established traditions could demand a strict adherence to the rites and canons of faith, after the acquisition of an official status, the flow of neophytes could not help but make these norms more flexible and likely to change. On one hand, the appearance of a considerable quantity of publications by lawyers, theologians and writers, who were developing complex theological and dogmatic problems and stories, became a prominent feature of this development in the intellectual culture within the Jochid Ulus' population. On the other hand, the flow of converted pagans from different ethnic and social groups, who were far from these issues, became larger. Burial grounds located on the outskirts of the Lower Volga illustrate this complex period in the interaction between Islam and traditional faiths. Numerous burial sites with bones, horse skeletons and various items were examined there [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966, p. 150]. However, the underground tombs, where the dead bodies were placed according to qibla, and the pit graves that were faced with air-dried bricks (*sagans* like Central Asian semi-underground

burial-vaults), often without other possessions, are of the greatest interest [Ibid., p. 161].

During the formation of Islam as a state religion, the choice of concrete dogmatic practices and judicial canons as well as the development of links between local traditions and Islamic law occurred. Apparently, the Hanafi branch of Sunnism from Central Asia was adopted in the Jochid Ulus. At the same time, and contrary to popular opinion [Fakhrutdinov, 2001, p. 131], Islamic traditions from Bulgaria, which existed in more of an orthodox and millenarist form than in Khwarezm and Transoxania, did not have a decisive influence on the religious and ritual practices of the Golden Horde, and they later turned out to be mixed with, and substituted by, new traditions. Hanafi mazkhab, as well as Shafiit, which was apparently close to it, was widespread in Golden Horde cities, where they loyally followed some traditions and also allowed the preservation of some pre-Islamic customs. This tradition was better suited to a society, which was at the stage of introducing Islam.

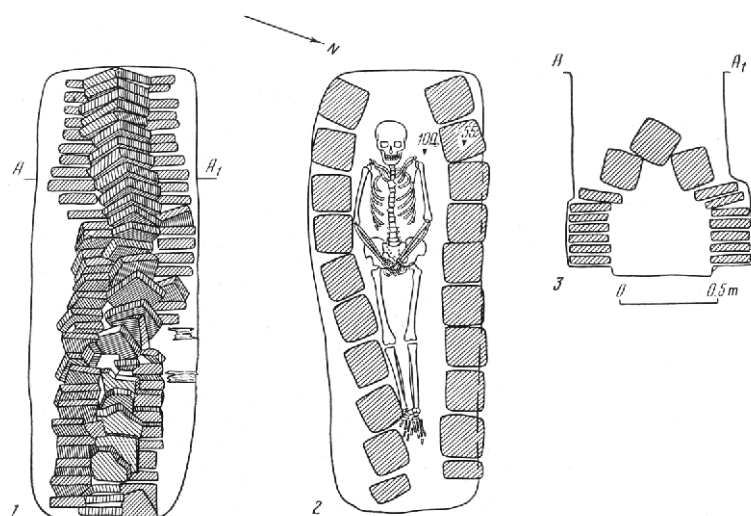
At the same time, Öz Beg Khan and his closest descendants proved themselves to be strict followers of Islam. It was expressed by changes in diplomatic etiquette and practice, the appearance of Islamic fiscal terms and in Islamic trial, which was implemented by the authority of the Khan. There was also intolerance to representatives of other religions who, apparently, were not allowed to act in the public and administrative departments of the Jochid Ulus from 1313 onwards. Relations between the Golden Horde and Egypt under Öz Beg Khan and his descendants continued to be friendly and they remained allies. The parties repeatedly exchanged ambassadors, and particular diplomatic etiquette and forms of address in correspondence were created [Zakirov, 1966, pp. 98–143]. Islam became the state religion and the core of the empire's ideology—the Islamic priesthood was the most important guide for religious policy, receiving large gifts of land and *vaqfs* [DeWeese, 1994, pp. 90–142].

However, one cannot deny certain differences in the adherence to some canons of Islamic law that were demonstrated by various



Floor plan of a mosque and a cemetery.
Vodyanovo archaeological site (according
to V. Egorov and G. Fedorov-Davydov).

levels of society. With false external piety, the nomadic nobility clearly allowed themselves some indulgences in ritual practice, for example, they drank wine and were buried in clothes and even with weapons. This is by no means accidental. The exact religious beliefs of the Tatar aristocratic clans ('throne support') were not that important to the khans, but their faithfulness to power, personal loyalty to the khan, and belief in the holiness of the 'Clan of Chinggis Khan' was. It was not accidental that the emirs sent the following in response to the Öz Beg Khan's demands that they adopt Islam, 'Expect our obedience and loyalty, but our faith, confession, and attitude towards the code (*Iasa*) of Chinggis Khan is not your business' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 141]. Therefore, although Islam played a significant role in the court of the khans and was an ideological sanction for power (unlike the Yuan Empire and Hulaguld Iran where '*Iasa*' by Chinggis Khan operated), for the nobility, Islam was often an



Islamic burials. Vodyanovo archaeological site
(according to V. Egorov and G. Fedorov-Davydov).

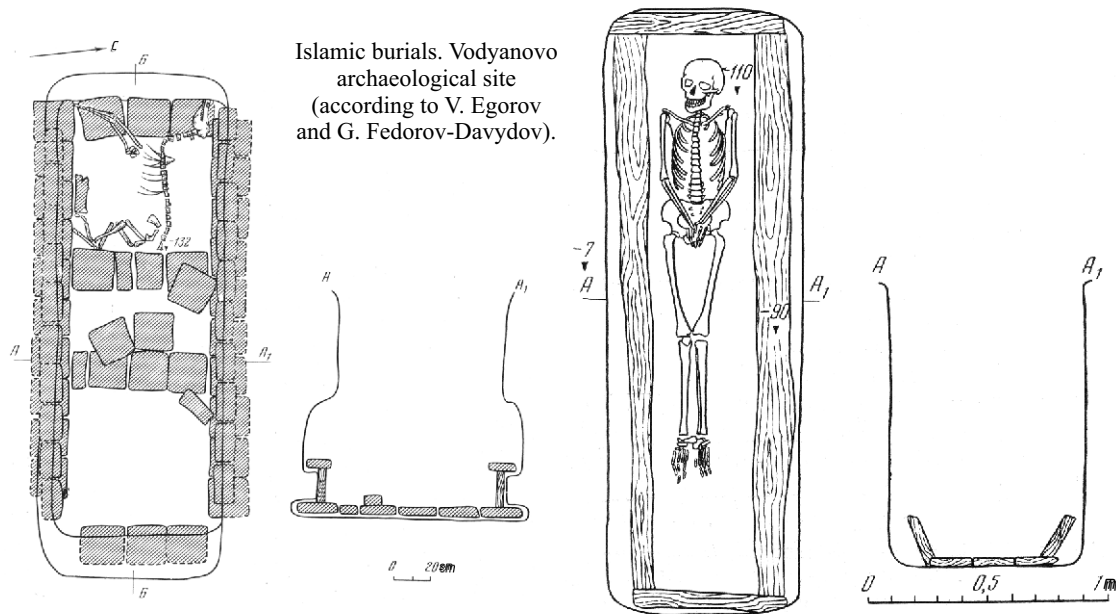
outer shell. This was especially the case for the nomadic nobility, which was oriented on the ritual aspect of life with knights' codes of honour and regional sects of saints, and superstitions [DeWeese, 1994, pp. 231–319]. They followed the ritualistic practices and canons of the religion more strictly in the cities and their outskirts, while a more domesticated Islam, with traditional faith and rituals, dominated the nomadic steppe.

After the brief rule of the oldest of Öz Beg Khan's sons, Tini Beg (1341–1342), his younger brother, Jani Beg (1342–1357), came to power. The new khan started to implement a stricter and more orthodox policy. As the Persian author Muin ad-Din Natanzi ('Iskander's Anonymous') wrote, 'He converted all of Öz Beg Khan's uluses to Islam, all altars of idols were destroyed, and many mosques and madrasahs were erected. He focused all of his attention on the well-being of the people of Islam. Many fine people and scientists from different countries and Islamic states made for his court. In his time, the sons of the emirs of Desht felt inclinations towards the acquisition of merits and the study of the sciences. Each of them became leading scholars, so the results of their thoughts and the fruit of their minds are still passed on at meetings and gatherings. He introduced all the customs of Islamic countries into the government' [Sbornik materialov, ot-

nosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 128] In his policies, Jani Beg completely followed his father's traditions, except for the fact that he did not interfere in Balkan affairs.

The active construction of religious buildings began in the towns of the Jochid Ulus at the end of the 13th and in the first half of the 14th centuries. Based on archaeological data, the construction started in the towns of Bulgaria, especially in Bulgar, where the famous Juma-Jami Mosque was erected in the centre of

the city [Smirnov, 1951, pp. 205–214; Aydarov, 1970, pp. 39–57]. Gradually, Islamic buildings, as well as madrasahs, hospitals and courts of justice, appeared in every region of the country. Dating from the first half of the 14th century, a whole range of samples of iconic architecture in different regions of the Jochid Ulus has been discovered. These include a 60 metre tall minaret of Temür Qutlugh, the mausoleum of Turabek-Khanum and Sheikh Najmuddin Kubra's zaviye in Urgench, another mosque (apparently, the Juma-Jami Mosque), and a madrasah, as well as possibly the premises of a Trial Chamber in Sarai (Selitrennoe archaeological site) and Beljamen (Vodyansk archaeological site), wonderfully preserved remains of the Large and of the Small Friday Mosques of Upper Julat—the largest mosque (nearly 3 thousand sq. m) in the Golden Horde in the town of Old Orhei (Transnistria), the mosque of the Kuchugur Ancient Town (Lower Dnieper) settlement, as well as the mosque and madrasah of Solkhat (Stary Krym) [Zilivinskaya, 1998, pp. 16–37]. All of these mosques and iconic buildings, as well as the monuments to pre-Mongol Bulgaria, followed the traditions of Central Asia, and especially the Seljuk architecture. When considering the eastern view of the capital of the Jochid Ulus and the presence of cathedral and large mosques, Ibn Battuta, who visited it in 1332, wrote, 'Sarai is (one) of the most beauti-



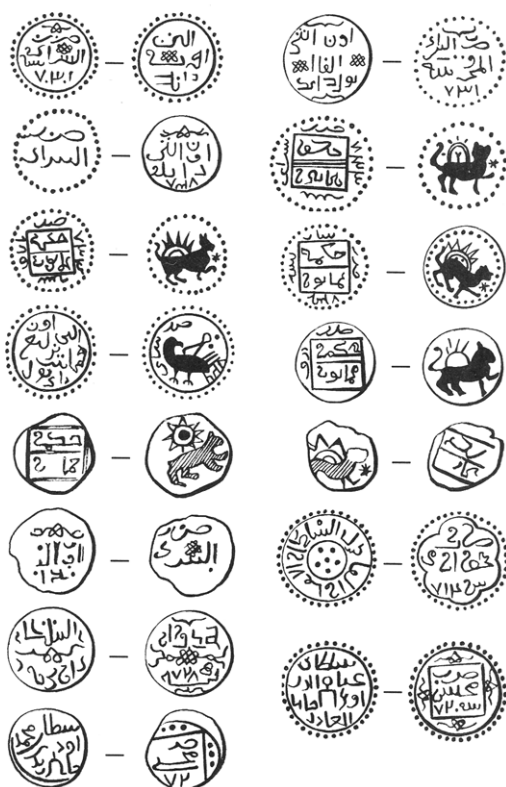
ful cities... There are 13 mosques for religious services, one of them is shafiit. In addition, there are many other mosques' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 306].

The adoption of Islam led to a change in the status of the state's power. The khan's right to rule was not 'By the force of Eternal Heaven' but from Allah. Both state ideology and historiography changed respectively as well [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2000, pp. 98–106]. New Jochid bureaucracy, diplomacy and currency became the material expression of this change in civilisation [Usmanov, 1979; Zakirov, 1966; Muhamadiev, 1983]. Formal titles, such as 'follower of warriors and fighters of faith', 'the greatness of Islam and Muslims', 'the pillar of faith', 'the glory of Islam and Muslims', 'the sword of the ruler of the faithful ones', etc., appeared among the khans of the Jochid Ulus and high-ranking dignitaries. Traditional folklore and popular epic poems were filled with Islamic motifs.

In the first half of the 14th century, the hierarchical structure of the Islamic clergy gradually began to form in the Golden Horde. It was headed by the descendants of the prophet, the Sayyids (Syeds). The privileged position of the Sayyids was reflected in the sources; for example, the 'Genealogy of Turks', after the description of Öz Beg Khan adopting Islam, re-

lates that 'the sign of the il (tribe), which came from the north with Öz Beg Khan and Saint Sayyid-Ata with the Myurids of Sayyid-Ata, (and the ones who were not his murids either), [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 207]. Thus, the people (obviously, the priesthood) from the 'province of Öz Beg Khan' (i.e. the Jochid Ulus) were considered murids of a particular Sayyid who reckoned himself among the descendants of Saint Ahmad Yasavi.

Golden Horde Sayyids (Syeds) were one of the basic elements of the country's Islamic clergy, which had a complex internal structure. We can evaluate this based on a whole range of sources. For example, the yarliq of Öz Beg Khan to Metropolitan Peter contains an address to 'scribes, code keepers and public teachers' [Grigoryev, 1842] and Ibn Battuta wrote that Sultan Jani Beg 'gathered sheikhs, qadi, legal scholars, sheriffs and fakirs and held a great feast for them' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 291]. 'Kazii-muftis' and 'sheikhs-masheikhs' (sheikhs above sheikhs), as well as 'Sufi sheikhs' are also mentioned in the yarliqs of Toktamys (1391 or 1392) and Temür Qutlugh (1397 or 1398) [Berezin, 1851, p. 10–15; Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 126; Iskhakov, 1997c, p. 72–73]. Without a doubt, the above-mentioned clergymen were



Öz Beg Khan coins (Sarai, Azak, Khwarezm, Mokhshi) (according to G. Fedorov-Davydov)

hierarchically organised, relative to each other, although their hierarchy has not been completely defined.

Official judges ('qadis') played a special role in this hierarchy of the priesthood. They were elected by the community or appointed by the ruler and administered justice on the basis of the Sharia law. According to Islamic traditions, their main duties were not only legal investigation and dogmatic issues, but also the supervision of issues of morality and property of *vaqfs*, etc. Very often, the qadi carried out the administrative functions of community leaders and sometimes served as bureaucrats for special missions. Golden Horde qadis are often mentioned as participants in diplomatic contacts, for example, with Egypt - and not without reason. Apparently, the ulug karachibek (beklyaribek), Temür Qutlugh, fulfilled judicial functions himself in important cases. A description of a court session made by Ibn Battuta has been preserved: 'One of the habits

of this emir is that every day, the qadi comes to his reception and sits down in the seat allocated to him, and legal scholars and scribes come with him. One of the senior emirs sits down in front of him, accompanied by eight (other) senior Turkic emirs and sheikhs called *argudji*; people come to them for legal proceedings. As far as religious issues are concerned, they are solved by the qadi, all the rest is the emirs' business' [Sbornik materialov, *otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy*', 1884, pp. 311–312] He also noted that, 'The qadi of this capital (Sarai), Bedreddin al-Araj, is one of the best qadis' and indicated that every *mazhab* had his own qadi in Sarai [Ibid., p. 306]. Obviously, this system was combined when religious and civil cases were investigated on the basis of different traditions. Gradually, Sarai became one of the active centres for the study of *fiqh* and for sharing information with countries of the Islamic East. For example, according to the data of some Arabic sources, Öz Beg Khan requested books on *fiqh* issues [al-Kholi, 1962, p. 28].

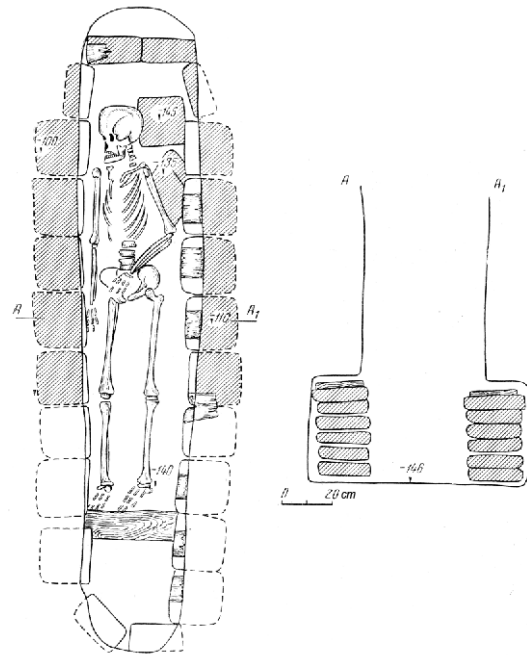
In the middle of the 14th century, distinguished scholars of theology and a *fiqh* lived and worked in the Jochid Ulus. Ibn Arabshakh understandably wrote that, 'Sarai became the centre of science and a source of grace; and in a short time an unprecedented number of scientists and well-known people, teachers of literature and masters, and all manner of distinguished people came there who could not be seen in other populous parts of Egypt or in its villages' [Sbornik materialov, *otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy*', 1884, p. 463]. The formation of a universal system of Islamic education also occurred at that time. Madrasahs were usually organised on the basis of a well-known saint's burial vault (*zaviye*), which was either a pilgrimage destination or a mosque (see: [Ibid., p. 308]). Money to maintain mosques, madrasahs, and hospitals affiliated with them was often provided by *vaqfs* (these were usually caravans and/or baths).

It is believed that madrasahs were intended to train a class of professional scholars for to facilitate the spread of Islamic law and faith throughout society, that is, religious and legal information. In any case, the formation

of a system of Islamic education in the Jochid Ulus served the purpose of the further institutionalisation of Islam and the professionalism of ulamas, which contributed to the depth and breadth of Islam's distribution.

The wide-spread occurrence of Sufi cloisters (*khanqah*, *ribats*), not only in the districts where the traditions of Islam had spread, but also in the Lower Volga Region and Crimea, became another way in which the process of institutionalising Islam was expressed. The sense of Sufi theory as a mystical trend in Islam became a part of Sunni orthodoxy, thanks to works of al-Gazzali and his followers—and additionally, in the Turkic countries of Northern Eurasia, the sermons and works of Ahmad Yasavi. Khanqahs were especially wide-spread near mazars in the Golden Horde during the rule of Öz Beg Khan and his closest descendants, when their spiritual authority and social prestige rapidly increased. Judging by indications from sources, it can be seen that the khanqahs received rich waqfs, money allowances, and the patronage of the khans themselves. An example is the burial vault built at the grave of Najmuddin Kubra, which was rebuilt by the order of Öz Beg Khan. Sheikhs al-Bakharzi, Sayiid-Ata and others had a significant influence on the court of the khans in different years (for more on the spreading of Sufism in the Jochid Ulus see: [DeWeese, 1994, pp. 72–142; Malov, Malyshev, Rakushin, 1998, pp. 111–118]). In other words, Sufi khanqahs were usually located near places of worship, holy places and the graves of saints (mazars). They were centres for the spreading of Islam in different regions of the country (for more details see: [Ibragimov, 1988, p. 74]).

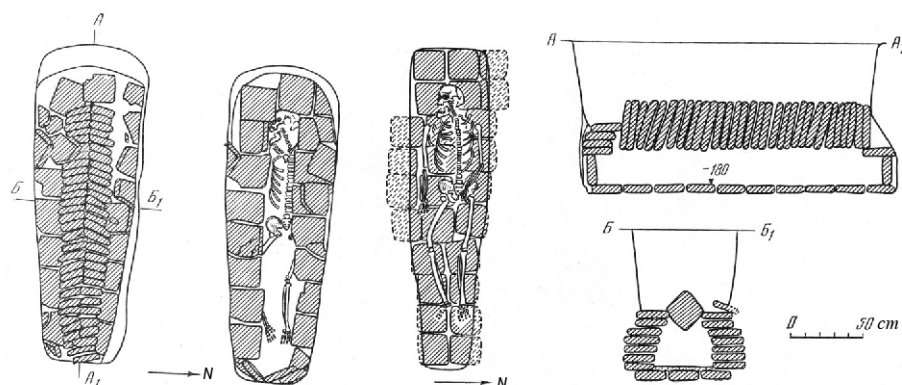
There appears to be an unjustified notion often found in scholarly articles that 'the Sufi sheikhs and dervishes, often inclined to mysticism, deliberately included the religious and domestic traditions of nomads in the expression of their religion... therefore, the Islam being preached by them was more viable in the nomadic steppe'. These researchers have a particular view concerning the Islamisation of the Jochid Ulus, in which 'Central Asian Sufism, giving Islamic form to many traditional Turkic Mongol religious faiths, brought new tribes



Islamic burials.
Vodyanovo archaeological site
(according to V. Egorov
and G. Fedorov-Davydov).

into the process of Islamisation...' [Malov, Malyshev, Rakushin, 1998, p. 118]. There are no grounds to believe that the traditions of national Islam were being established because Sufism gave an Islamic form to the Turk-Mongolian religious faiths. National Islam and its specific beliefs require a special study of the traditions and innovations, which appeared together with Islam, although they were neither welcomed nor condemned by it. It is thought that the causes of the relatively fast adoption of Islam among the Tatar population and its deep penetration into the consciousness of the aristocracy, as well as into that of ordinary folk, do not lie in the 'Islamic form' that was convenient for the faith of Turkic Mongolia, but in the significant administrative pressure and, clearly, the struggle for faith, which united the people.

Being one of the key and effective mechanisms of this conversion, Sufism was multi-faceted and encompassed different tendencies of public thought. However, orthodoxy and the practice of militant irreconcilability in the faith were a common feature of Sufi tarikahs in the



Islamic burials. Vodyanovo archaeological site (according to V. Egorov and G. Fedorov-Davydov).

early stage of their development. Regarding philosophical and literary works preserved since the epoch of the Golden Horde, they were saturated with Sufi motifs and expressed sufficiently high levels of ethical and social ideals, which required great self-denial and a resolution for internal change [Amirkhanov, 1993]. The Sufi brotherhoods and their ideology of the institutionalisation of Islam in the Jochid Ulus played a significant role in the reception of faith in the form of orthodox Sunnism. In addition, an influential wing, which was actively preaching an armed 'holy' war for the Faith, existed among Sufi tarikahs. At the same time, different traditional faiths, of course, continued to exist among the population of the Jochid Ulus, but they were located in the periphery of public consciousness and did not play a significant role in the mentality of the society and its ritual practices.

Nevertheless, there remain unanswered questions about the religious nature of the population of the Jochid Ulus and the internal organisation of life in the Islamic community. Some data relating to this can be drawn from the study of monuments with brief inscriptions of Islamic epitaphs from the territory of the Bulgarian emirates [Yusupov, 1960; Khakimzyanov, 1978; 1987; Mukhametshin, Khakimzyanov, 1987]. However, they do not give much comprehensive data about the life of the ummah—significantly less compared to the information they reveal about the conception of death and formal religious tradition.

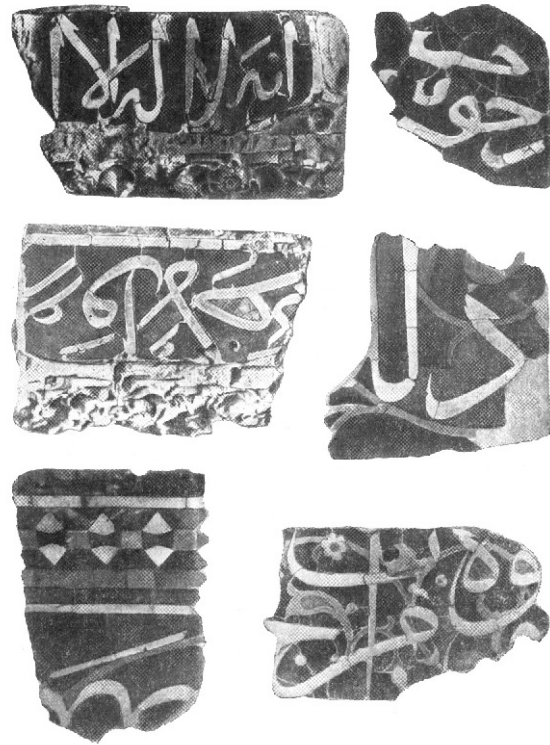
Overall, despite the clear predominance of Islam in the Jochid Ulus during the first half of

the 14th century, religious tolerance remained. The non-Muslims (namely the Christians and the Jews, as the pagans were not considered to adhere to any religion), were obviously regarded as *Dhimmis*, that is, under the patronage of Muslims, but they retained self-governance (other papers clarify Golden Horde policy towards different non-Islamic faiths in great detail, allowing us to pass over this particular issue) See: [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 282; Poluboyarinova, 1978; Sochnev, 1993, pp. 107–118; Malov, Malyshev, Rakushin, 1998, pp. 57–93].

In the cities of the Volga Region, churches of all Christian denominations, as well as synagogues, were erected along with mosques and each faith group of the population had its own cemeteries. Mongol representatives of many peoples, Ases (Alans), Kipchaks, Circassians, Russians and Byzantines lived in Sarai. 'Each people lives in its own area separately', wrote the Arabian traveller, Ibn Battuta, adding that their churches were situated in the same place as their dwellings [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 306]. This was not by chance. Having created an empire, the khans of the Jochid Ulus strove to join all their subjects into a single community even if they would not all adhere to a single faith. Hence, they aimed to have a clergy that served them, understanding the omnipotence of the throne of the Golden Horde and ensuring that the loyalty of citizens would originate directly from this policy. Very broad rights were granted to the Christians in Sarai. By 1261, in the time of Berke, the orthodox

diocese of Sarai was formed, and the first bishop, Mitrophan, was appointed. This diocese remained in Sarai up to the 14th century, after which it was transferred to Krutitsy, Moscow. It continued to exist there until 1764, when it was then divided between the neighbouring dioceses [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 282; Sochnev, 1993, p. 107; Malov, Malyshev, Rakushin, 1998, pp. 87–90].

In the regions where Christianity (Rus', Alania, Southern Crimea) traditionally dominated, the circumstances were different. Already during Batu's rule, the orthodox clergy received distinct privileges. During the reign of Mengu-Timur Khan, this policy underwent further development. The Metropolitan Kirill received a *yarliq* from his administration (around 1267) 'concerning their various tribute and tax exemption, respect for their service, and even deductions from Tatar bureaucrats for their offenses and harassment'. Its text asserted that 'this charter, seen and heard from priests and monks, certifies that neither tribute nor anything else that is desired by baskatsi, prince scribes, *kopluzhniki*, and *tamozhnitsi* will be taken, and if taken - they will have to apologise or die' [Pamyatniki russkogo prava, 1955, p. 467]. By this *yarliq* and the others similar to it, the death penalty was sentence for insulting churches and faith, as well as for the destruction of church property. The *yarliqs* even contained a direct address to the Russian princes, with an appeal to observe the privileges of the church. Also, after the formation of Islam as the Golden Horde state religion, the Orthodox Church gained enormous authority. So, in 1313 Metropolitan Peter made a special trip to the Horde and was greeted with an honourable reception, having gained the entrenchment of the clergy's privileges [Russkoe pravoslaviye, 1989, pp. 72–76]. Interestingly, it refutes Church legends regarding the Church itself as an organiser of struggle against 'Tatarschina'. On the contrary, the Horde's power was a guarantee for the Church's future prosperity. It is not without reason that Tver princes subordinate to the Khan, who met their deaths without even having begun an open opposition, were deemed holy by the Russian orthodoxy.



Mosaics with epigraphic ornamental patterns (according to L. Noskova).

The presence of various faiths and religious communities in the cities of the Jochid Ulus contributed to the early emergence of self-identification by both the nobility and the main population of the country. Religious affiliation was a defining factor here. Becoming a member of an Islamic *umma*, a person chose his Tatar ethno-political identification, whether consciously or unconsciously.

Islam and Culture of the Golden Horde.

The Golden Horde civilisation is a bright page in the history of world culture. A powerful imperial style was created, where the traditions of many peoples merged into one—not as a cluster of chaotic heterogeneous elements, but as a system of organically fused phenomena surpassed by powerful sounding styles and various trends in different periods of its existence. Aside from the syncretical background of pre-Mongol cultures, some of which had developed a figurative language based on Islamic (Khwarezm, Bulgar) or nomadic Eurasian (the Kipchaks and Kimaks) traditions, one cannot help but note Central Asian and

Far Eastern material elements and artistic culture in the Ulus of Jochi. The imperial culture of the Golden Horde emerged as a result of the creative activity of almost all the people who belonged to the Jochid Ulus, mastering a cultural repertoire that was then brought by conquerors to the west. Most vividly Chingisid traditions manifested themselves in the cultural field of socially exclusive accessories, which were the distinguishing feature of the military and service class nobility: a full costume system, consisting of a belt kit, objects of weaponry, and other accessories. Of course, this culture was not completely united because initially it was strictly socially oriented. However, in the beginning of the 14th century, during the growth of cities in the Jochid Ulus, primarily in the Volga Region, a new eastern medieval culture blossomed. This was a 'culture of flow bowls, mosaic panelled mosques, Arab stargazers, Persian poems and Islamic spiritual learning, hierophants of the Quran, mathematicians, and astronomers, exquisitely delicate ornaments, and calligraphy' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, p. 118]. Thus, the defining feature of the Golden Horde civilisation was that it was a syncretic, full-bodied, even, and supra-ethnic imperial culture, under the guidance of Islam.

The cities of the Volga Region were large cultural centres, where literature and art were developed and colloquial and literary languages were formulated. The archaeological remains of these cities (of which there are more than 100), were some of the largest medieval cities in Eurasia. Among these are Sarai (Selitrennoe archaeological site), Sarai al-Jadid (Tsarevskoe), Beljamen (Vodyanskoye), Ukek (Uvekskoe), Bulgar (Bulgaria), Ackerman (Belgorod Archaeological), Shehr al-Jadid (Starookheyskoe), etc., as well as numerous ancient settlements, waste heaps (barrows with elements of pagan ceremonies from until the end of the 14th century, and Islamic ground from the second half of the 13th century) and mausoleums (*keshene*) (from the 14th to 15th centuries). The presence of ovens, kans (horizontal chimneys), and sufs (brick ledges) in city complexes were typical features of the houses, as well as brick and white stone pub-

lic buildings (mosques, baths, etc.). The walls of many buildings, especially those of multi-room brick houses, were faced with painted plaster, carved ganch (terracotta), and kashin (or multi-coloured glazed) tiles and the floors were laid with featured stone tiles and bricks. Cities had complex street plans with large urban and suburban estates at their core. Estates have been discovered in the vicinity of big cities (which extended from 500 to 5000 sq. m and were surrounded by walls), within which the multi-room houses, separate residential complexes, household outbuildings and reservoirs (*hauses*) were situated. Complex hydraulic engineering constructions have been found, including artificial lakes, irrigation ditches, and an underground plumbing and sewer system (assembled from clay pipes). Circular red clay and kashin pottery dishes in diverse shapes (from pialas to jugs, bowls, soup plates and bottles), a variety of paintings (plants, geometrical, zoomorphic and arabesque ornaments), women's dress decorations and details of military everyday life (openwork and simple belt sets), the shape of weapons and trappings, etc. are characteristic elements of household culture from the Golden Horde period.

During the Golden Horde period, Turkic language and culture, along with Arabic and the Persian cultures, became the medium of international 'higher' culture. Various dialects of the Kipchak language were the basic means of communication in Golden Horde cities and in the steppe districts of the Jochid Ulus. On the basis of this, an urban language began to form in the cities of the Golden Horde and the Kipchak language acquired official status in the cities of the Golden Horde. A dictionary, Codex Cumanicus, which was put together in the 13th and 14th centuries in one of the cities of the Jochid Ulus, is evidence of this [Radloff, 1887; Abdullin, 1974, pp. 166–184]. The character of this language and its distribution among the layers of the city population and its prevalence among different strata of the urban population can be discerned by archaeological findings. A bull blade from Sarai al-Jadid deserves particular attention. The blade features two drawn faces and a Kipchak inscription: 'This caricature, I swear by Allah, (was done)

by the hand of Ali... son of Muhammad' [Usmanov, 1963, p. 246].

On the basis of the colloquial, urban language and the norms of literary Karakhanid language (and apparently Bulgarian as well), a literary language—Volga Turki—was formed in the Golden Horde [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 101–106; Nadzhip, 1979; 1989]. Surviving works of old Tatar literature were created, such as 'Gulistan of Bit-Turk' by Seif Sarai, 'Mukhabbat-name' by Al-Khwarezmi, 'Khosrov and Shirin' by Qutb, 'Nakhj al-Faradis' ('Open way to heaven') by Mahmud as-Sarai al-Bulgari, 'Qisas Al-Anbiya' by Rabguzi ('Stories of the Prophets'), as well as many other works that have disappeared with time [Nadzhip, 1989]. A special genre of literature was comprised of religious and philosophical works of a social and ethical nature (see more details: [Amirkhanov, 1993]).

It's certain that from the 13th century to the beginning of the 14th century, Mongol decrees and diplomatic documents were in part copied down or duplicated in Kipchak (for example, the famous complaint letter of Öz Beg Khan to the Venetian ambassador, A. Zeno, sent in 1332, was translated into Latin from 'Kuman' [Grigoriev, 1981, pp. 81–83]), but from the second half of the 14th century to the 15th century, Turkic was the only official state language (Kipchak or old Tatar) [Usmanov, 1979, p. 101].

The prosperity of the Jochid Empire, the development of cities, the formation of a powerful and syncretical culture, the formation of an urban language and a literary language ('Volga Turks'), as well as the active mixing of military-feudal nobility, led to the formation of the Tatar ethno-political community. Despite the fairly well-studied implications of these processes, the mechanism of such an ethno-political transformation itself still remains largely unstudied. However, based on modern ethnological studies and the analysis of the specificity of the medieval mentality, one can assume that ideological reasons played the key role in these processes, namely the insertion of a new Jochid ethno-political identification [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2000, pp. 89–111; Iskhakov, 2001, pp. 85–96].

The Fall of the Ulus of Jochi and the Rise of Islamisation. In the middle of the 14th century, the Jochid Empire seemed to be the 'world superpower' of which Mamluk Egypt Sultan Beibars spoke in 1263, referring to the 'acceptance of citizenship and subordination'. The Egyptian sultans termed Öz Beg Khan 'his great majesty, sultan brother, courteous, competent, just, the greatest, so to speak, unique khan, shahanshah, ruler, Öz Beg Khanilkhan, sultan of Islam and Muslims, the only one among the rulers and sultans, pillar of the kingdom, sultan of the Mongols, the Kipchaks, and Turks, the beauty of modern rulers, the pillar of the God-fearing house of Chinggis Khan, owner of the throne and crown, assistant to those who fear God, and the support of believers' [Polyak, 1964, p. 40]. However, the omnipotence of the khans of the Golden Horde had already been undermined by internal contradictions.

In 1359, the Horde entered a period of permanent, ever-deepening crisis. For twenty years, internecine wars, mutinies and palace revolutions tormented the Horde. Tokhtamysh Khan, who, thanks to the support of the eastern nobility, managed to unite the country and return it to its former strength in 1380, prevented the final break-up of the Jochid Ulus. However, a series of unsuccessful wars for hegemony in Central Asia between the Horde and Tamerlane's empire ended with a frightful defeat of Desht-i-Kipchak. The country lay in ruins. The majority of its cities were destroyed, craft production began to decrease, and trade and the economy were crippled. The long wars and the awful epidemics destroyed the population levels. Internecine feuds broke the country back into many parts. In a country which had been recently dictating its will to the neighbours, there was hardly any life at all. The neighbouring states—the former vassals of the Horde—were conducting a policy of expansion in their territories and active intervention in the affairs of the Jochid Ulus. The frequent internecine wars and struggles against neighbours caused the reinforcement of the religious factor in the state's life.

In the united Jochid Empire, the rulers were most likely to be more concerned about the loyalty of their subjects, as opposed to their

faith. Therefore, nominations of Nestorian and even of pagans for senior posts were frequent in the Horde. Religious tolerance was most likely universal and the basic political doctrine became 'Chinggisism'—a faith in the divine source of the power of the khans of Chinggis Khan's dynasty. It was only from the middle of the 14th century that the Muslims supplanted the other faiths, thanks to the increase of the city aristocracy and military nobility's influence. During the collapse of the Jochid Ulus, these tendencies surfaced even more frequently, revealing religious tensions between the different areas of the land.

In these conditions, a new stage of Islamisation in the Ulus of Jochi associated with the name of Ulug Karachibek (or Beklyaribek) Edigu began. He was a legendary figure. It is enough to say he was highly intelligent and had the rare abilities of a top statesman. Even though he was not noble or rich at birth, he managed to rise to the very top rungs of power in the Horde and to become one of the chief political figures of Eastern Europe and Central Asia at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. It was he who managed to neutralise the destructive processes in the Jochid Ulus. He used disagreement among clans of migratory and metropolitan nobility, and attempted to stabilise the domestic and external position of the country. He not only managed to consolidate the whole country for a little while and inflict a whole range of defeats upon his neighbours, but he also reactivated trade for a short time, brought order to laws and taxation, and increased military strength.

Edigu established 'subtle customs in the state and a great law (yasak), and the people entered into a constraint from frivolity' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, pp. 133–134]. This 'constraint' was also caused by the active intervention of Islam, about which the Castilian ambassador to the court of Timur, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, wrote, citing someone else's words and clearly exaggerating the tension of the situation: '... this Edigeu drew and draws the Tatars to the Islamic faith, as they recently did not believe in anything, but they have not yet accepted the faith of Muhammad' [Clavijo, 1990, p. 159].

Another European who lived in the beginning of the 15th century in the Northern Black Sea Region—the Italian merchant and diplomat I. Barbaro—agrees with him. Describing the religious situation in Jochid Ulus, he noted, 'The Islamic faith became very popular among Tatars around one hundred and ten years ago. Admittedly, only few of them were Muslims before and every person could enjoy believing what he wanted. Therefore, there were even those who worshiped wood or cloth idols and paraded them on their carts. Coercion to accept Islamic faith comes from the time of Edigu, the military leader of the Tatar Khan...' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, pp. 140]. Archaeological data even more strongly suggests a widespread victory for Islam within the migrant population of the Jochid Ulus [Fedorov-Davydov, 1966, p. 9, and Garustovich, 1993, pp. 86–90; Garustovich, et al., 1998, pp. 257–259].

Of course, this referred to the steppe population as well as the city dwellers, not only in the traditionally Islamic regions of Bulgaria and Khwarezm, but in the Lower Volga Region, which was already quite Islamised from the beginning of the 14th century. However, even the active consolidation of the population with the help of religion did not save the Jochid Ulus. Edigu's struggle ended dramatically. The natural collapse of the Horde became a reality under him and the former power of the Horde continued living only in the minds of its descendants.

In conclusion, it must be said that the Golden Horde period in the history of Northern Eurasia was a time of complex ideological experimentation. Having a long history in Eastern Europe and Central Asia before the Mongol conquest and the formation of the Jochid Ulus, Islam became the foundation of the Golden Horde civilisation. Spread in the Middle Ages throughout a wide territory, each nation's form of Islam is known to have its own peculiarities. These local differences are for the most part related to the specificity of a nation's everyday life and to a significant extent, were caused by maintaining elements of pre-Islamic faiths and traditions [Mukhametshin, 1994, p. 31]. Being a Turkic state (if not by dynasty, then by ethno-political traditions) where nomads made

up a rather significant part of the population, the Golden Horde retained elements of earlier faiths in its culture for quite some time.

Islam was one of the most important consolidating and integrating factors in the Jochid Ulus. A new imperial supra-ethnic culture gradually started to form under the influence of Islam, with the dynamic formation of the Jochid state and development of cities and city culture. From the early 14th century, its culture became integrated with Islamic civilisation. The elements of traditional Turkic culture were either forced beyond the margin of public conscience or processed in an Islamic way.

As a result of the formation of a Tatar ethno-political community [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2000, pp. 89–111], the first plan of action included consolidating factors, which remained even after the collapse of the Jochid Ulus into separate khanates. The most important were the maintenance of the former socio-political

structures, the clan system that goes back to formation of the Jochid Ulus, which included the military-service Tatar nobility, as well as mythologems of ethno-political unity and a general religion— Islam. At the same time, the Muslims of the Golden Horde (especially the aristocracy, as it seems) were brought together not only by the acceptance of Islam itself, but by the special institution of the Sayyids (Syed). It's no accident that in a number of the later Golden Horde Tatar khanates, Sayyids (Syeds)—heads of local Islamic clergy—traced their genealogies to common ancestors who lived in the epoch of the Jochid Ulus [Iskhakov, 1997, p. 21]. This realisation of a connection with the Tatar khanate population via religion and its institutions was one of the factors that provided an inner unity between the historical past and culture of the Islamic peoples of Northern Eurasia, which held a significant meaning throughout subsequent history.

CHAPTER 5

Architecture, Arts and Crafts

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The art of the Jochid Ulus represents a very interesting and important stage in the history of world culture. As a result of the Mongol invasions, the ethno-political map of Eurasia was completely redrawn, which led to the formation of a new civilisation [Safargaliev, 1960; Zolotaya Orda, 2005; Kramarovsky, 2005; Kulpin, 2004]. At the same time, although the role of the regional heritage was quite large, Central Asian traditions came to define the period. The symbiosis of these various elements became the basis for the addition of an imperial, supraethnic, Golden Horde culture. Two integrating factors—Islam, which had already become the basis of the Golden Horde culture at the crossroads of the 13th and 14th centuries [Izmaylov, 2002b], along with the growth of cities, played the most important roles in these processes. The medieval Tatar state thus became the centre of Islamic urban civilisation in Northern Eurasia.

History of the Golden Horde's architecture and fine arts study had already begun by the end of the 17th century to the beginning of the 19th century, when the first descriptions of Volga Region cities appeared and the early archaeological researches were initiated (see: [Grigoriev, 1847; Tereshchenko, 1850; 1853]). These works bore the imprint of the initial stage of archaeological development in Russia and were unfortunately unsystematic and random, they were used rarely, only to illustrate historical papers. As a result, notions of the Golden Horde as a weakly developed, nomadic state, where art was entirely borrowed from subjugated nations, began to gradually form in the domestic academia.

F. Ballod made an attempt to reconsider the situation in the beginning of the 1920's, having undertaken the first significant research on the entire range of Lower Volga Golden Horde

cities, coming to a conclusion about the blossoming of the cities and urban culture in the Ulus of Jochi [Ballod, 1923a; 1923b; 1924]. Later, A. Smirnov picked up the mantle of studying the cities, embarking upon systematic and purposeful excavations in Bulgar in 1938, discovering the great monuments of the Golden Horde culture [Zbrueva, Smirnov, 1939; Smirnov, 1940; 1941].

The new stage in the study of the art of the Jochid Ulus commenced in 1959, when G. Fedorov-Davydov led an archaeological expedition to the Volga Region and began an intensive historical and archaeological project in all of the Lower Volga settlements and above all, in the capital cities of the Golden Horde. These studies not only increased the source base by a factor of hundreds and created the Golden Horde Archaeology, but also allowed for the reconstruction of the civilisation of this medieval state. The papers of G. Fedorov-Davydov [1976; 1981; 1994], his disciples and followers established a school for scientific study of the Golden Horde art, touching on diverse spheres of its culture, which allows for presenting it as an integral and independent phenomenon with its sources, traditions and tendencies of development. The studies of Russian scholars formed a solid basis for the integrated study of the art of the Jochid Ulus, its artistic and stylistic peculiarities and its specificity in refraction of different traditions. At the same time, it must be noted that these works were formulated based on archaeological materials and often did not contain artistic analysis by virtue of the specificity of the material. In that regard, it makes sense to pay attention to more general trends of development in the art of the Jochid Ulus, focusing on a number of issues that, from our point of view, are still insufficiently covered.

Urban Planning

Urbanisation in the territory of the Golden Horde developed unevenly. Regions such as Khwarezm, Bulgaria, Rus', Crimea, and Saqsin (Lower Volga Region) had traditions of urban planning and urban culture for long enough, at least since the 9th to 10th centuries (since antiquity in Khwarezm). Having conquered Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the Mongol khans used them for the creation of their urban infrastructure in the Lower Volga Region. Immediately after the stabilisation of the Golden Horde borders, the ruined cities in conquered countries began to be rebuilt and a new area of urbanisation emerged in the Lower Volga Region [Egorov, 1969, pp. 39–49; 1985, pp. 75–78]. The remains of more than one hundred archaeological sites, which were the biggest medieval cities of Northern Eurasia, have been discovered in the Jochid Ulus, including Selitrennoe (historical town *Sarai*) Tsarevskoe (*Sarai al-Jadid*), Vodyanskoye (*Beljamen*) Uvekskoe (*Ukek*), Bulgarian (*Bulgar*), Narovchatskoye (*Mukhsha*) Belgorod Archaeological (*Ak-Kerman*), Staroorkheyskoe (*Shehr al-Jadid*), Saraychyq (*Saray-Juk*), Majar (*Macar*), Azaksk (*Azak*), etc. The first Lower Volga cities played the role of administrative and trade and craft centres, later becoming real centres of the political, religious and economic life of the Jochid Ulus, around which agricultural villages gradually formed.

The original development of urbanisation in the Golden Horde provided an imprint for urban planning. In the regions of old city settlements, which experienced cultural impulses from the central regions of the country, their own cultural traditions developed. In the regions 'of new urbanisation', such as the Northern Caspian Sea Region, the Dnieper River Region, Transnistria and partially the North Caucasus, it was the Golden Horde traditions that were more expressive. Their common features included the active role of the ruling class in constructing cities, the short construction period of estate-castles as city-forming centres, a swarm of monumental complexes (public, religious and residential buildings), the syncretism of traditions and the absence of typical medi-

eval city planning, such as city fortifications [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, pp. 12–16].

The Lower Volga Region was the heart of the Jochid Ulus. According to the Arab historian of the latter half of the 14th century, Ibn Khaldun, this region was particularly rich in cultivated places [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 378].

Here were located the two true medieval metropolitan cities—*Sarai* and *Sarai al-Jadid* (i.e. New *Sarai*), as well as the other large towns, such as *Hajji Tarkhan* (near the modern-day Astrakhan), *Beljamen*, *Ukek*, *Gulistan* and *Saray-Juk*, which, together with dozens of other towns and settlements surrounding them, formed a densely populated agricultural oasis, which ran along both shores in the lower basins of the Volga-Ural Interfluvium. The political, economic, cultural and religious centre of the empire was located there and by the end of the 13th century, the region witnessed an unprecedented growth and blossoming of urban civilisation.

As major political, economic and cultural centres, the cities were distinguished by their high level of accomplishment - they featured centralised plumbing and sewerage systems and the majority of palaces and public complexes were built of raw brick. Excavations revealed a strew of rich complexes and entire estates. Obviously, the Khan's palace was enormous, about which Al-Omari wrote: 'The Tsar's place of residence is the large palace on the top of which there is a golden new moon... The walls, the towers and the houses where his emirs live surround the palace. Their winter residences are in this palace' [Ibid., p. 241]. Entire artisan blocks were found on the city line, the inhabitants of which specialised in metallurgy and metal working, pottery, glassmaking, jewel and bone carving, etc. They provided goods not only for domestic consumption, but for export. World transit trade was of major significance for the blossoming of *Sarai* and other Volga Region towns, as the routes to Europe for the silk and spice trade, as well as for other luxury items, ran directly through *Sarai* in the 14th century. *Sarai* was a true 'Golden Horde Babylon', where Mongols, Kipchaks, Alans,

Circassians, Russians, Bulgars, Byzantines and Italians lived. Every nation had its own city quarter with religious buildings, cemeteries and bazaars. In general, the main population of the cities, apparently, consisted of Muslim and Turkic-speaking people.

As far as other cities in the traditional agricultural region are concerned, Bulgar and Urgench should be pointed out as rather typical for the Golden Horde period.

The city of Bulgar played a significantly dominant role in the history of the Jochid Ulus due to 'its craft traditions, wealth of cultivated lands, and the commercial importance (of Bulgar) in Eastern Europe' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1987, p. 4]. Along with its suburbs, the medieval city occupied an area of up to 6 sq. km, based on archaeological data. A square located on the high stone headland formed by the Melenka River became its centre. White stone buildings from the latter half of the 13th to 14th centuries remained there, including the Jami-Juma Mosque, the Small Minaret, the 'Khan's Tomb', the White, Red and the Black Chambers, a whole row of mausoleums, several brick baths and other complexes. A central location among these complexes occupied Ulu Cami (Grand Mosque of Bursa)—a mosque situated on the edge of a terrace, from which a magnificent view of the Volga floodplain unfolded. Obviously, this complex was the first of its kind in the Jochid Ulus and can be traced back to the 1360's. The majestic monumental building was meant to demonstrate the grandeur of the rulers of the Golden Horde, their patronage of Islam and one of their most important provinces. On the terrace and the foothills of the medieval town, residential trade-craft quarters have been discovered. Bulgar's fortifications were erected in the middle of the 14th century and shared the common length of 8 km and surrounded an area of about 4 sq. km. A so-called 'Small Town' (possibly, caravansary) was built near the south-east city gate. A city trading wharf and a trade-craft suburb, Aga-Bazaar, were located on the headland at the mouth of the Volga. Several settlements, including an Armenian colony and a Russian - possibly Orthodox - colony existed outside the boundaries of the city.

The city of Urgench, also almost completely destroyed during the seizure by the Mongols, was restored at the end of the 13th century, becoming one of the most important centres of the Jochid Ulus. The city design preserved the traditional Central Asian city lines—the presence of fortifications, the block-street layout, etc. The survived iconic monuments of the centre of Urgench are of particular interest. Traveller Ibn Battuta, who visited the city in the 1430's, described it as the 'biggest, most significant, beautiful and majestic of the Turkic cities, with lovely markets, broad streets, numerous buildings and impressive views' [Ibragimov, 1988, page 73]. He mentioned several large structures, including the madrasah, cathedral mosque and the khanqah of Torebeg Hanym, the khanqah of the sheikh Najmuddin Kubra, a hospital and palace with 'a decorative wooden dome, walls decorated with colourful fabrics and a ceiling with gilded silk' [Ibid.], which are of great interest. Some of these outstanding Central Asian architectural models of the Golden Horde have survived, showing the high level of development of the Jochid Ulus' urban culture.

In general, we can say that urban planning was fairly diverse. In the centres of traditional settlements, such as the Crimea, Bulgaria, and Khwarezm, earlier urban planning traditions continued, although they received a new impetus, completely changing the appearance of these cities. In the Lower Volga Region, the practice of urban planning was elaborated as an alloy of the influence of traditional urban planning centres and Central Asian empirical traditions, where cities sprung up around rulers to serve the cultural and agricultural requirements of the aristocracy. Such were the urban planning tendencies in the towns of the Lower Volga, Dnieper River, and Trans-Volga Regions, and, apparently, in the steppes of the Crimea and the North Caucasus. In general, we can say that the layout of towns in the Jochid Ulus continued the earlier urban planning traditions (local and Central Asian ones), but, at the same time, adapted them to the local conditions (for example, estate and street development instead of the quarters traditional for Central Asia, with complex water supply and sewage systems,

which were absent in Bulgarian and Russian cities). It is vital to speak of the Golden Horde's gradual development of its own urban planning traditions, which were shown most vividly during the construction of the Lower Volga cities, but separate elements are noticeable in the construction of other regions.

Architecture and Architectural Decoration

Monumental Architecture. Architectural monuments from the epoch of the Jochid Ulus were known for quite some time, but the architectural subjects or the parts of an architectural ensemble of a city or region beyond a connection with an overall Golden Horde context were studied most often as separate and independent entities. Only the recent excavation of a whole range of Golden Horde cities has allowed for the division of monumental buildings into different categories, examination of their structural peculiarities and their comparison to similar complexes in other regions (see: [Zilivinskaya, 1990; 1991; 1998; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, pp. 45–77; Gorod Bolgar, 2001]). Mosques, as places of prayer and appeals to Allah, appeared at the dawn of Islam's history. In Eastern Europe, the first mosques obviously appeared in the Crimea and the North Caucasus, but their first noted remains have been discovered in the Volga territory of Bulgaria (medieval Bilyar), where they date back to the first half of the 10th century (see: [Izmaylov, 2002a]).

The adoption of Islam by the khans of the Jochid Ulus in the 1260's, its diffusion among the urban population, and the adoption of it as a state religion (1313) led to the active construction of mosques, madrasahs, mausoleums and other iconic buildings. According to the testimony of Ibn Battuta, there were 13 cathedral mosques in Sarai alone and there was at least one mosque in each city of the country (for example, in Majar) [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, pp. 306, 326]. However, despite the presence of these early traditions, the Golden Horde architecture developed rather peculiarly, experiencing the influence of various schools and trends. In total, no less than 14 remains of mosques

and minarets have been discovered in the territory of the Jochid Ulus (in Bolgarian, Yelabuga, Selitrennoe, Vodyansky, Upper Julat (Tatartup) archaeological site (Tatartupsky), Kuchugursk, Staroorkheyskoe archaeological sites, in Solkhate (Crimea), Urgench, etc.) [Zilivinskaya, 1998; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, pp. 67–69; Aydarov, 1970, pp. 39–57; 2000; 2001].

The earliest and most famous monument of Islamic religious architecture is Ulu Cami, a mosque in Bulgar (the so-called 'Quadrangle'). Obviously, it was erected in the 1360's (construction began at the end of the 1330's) and, having undergone repeated redesigns, it existed until the middle of the 16th century and its ruins remained up until the 20th century (see [Yegerev, 1958, pp. 376–382; Aydarov, 2001, pp. 9, 30; Polyakov, 2001, pp. 174]; see another opinion: [Zilivinskaya, 1998, p. 18]). The walls were the first to be built and bore the appearance of a quadrangle with a small broadening to the south (internal sizes: length 32.6 m, width 28.2–29.6 m). The 1.2–1.3 metres thick walls were made of pieces of untreated limestone and held together with lime mortar. On their perimeter, the walls were secured with rectangular buttresses: the east and western one with two and the southern one with three, from which the middle mihrab sprung. On the north wall there was an entrance opening that was 2.2 metres wide, decorated by a portal from outside, of which only two rectangular pylons have survived. There was a wall buttress to the east of the portal and to the west was a rectangular plinth of a minaret symmetric to it. The entire complex harmoniously oriented itself by a meridian axis. The interior space of the mosque was divided into five naves by four rows of columns. There were five rectangular pillars (85x92 cm) or (92x92 square cm) in the plan of a section in each row. The walls of the mosque were plastered inside and outside with white lime. The floors rested on a pebble-sand base with lime coating and were repeatedly repaired later by wood decking with durable lime putty. Along the western wall, a stage on columns was erected some time later for noble parishioners.

In the late 13th and early 14th centuries the mosque was completely rebuilt, apparent-

ly after a destructive fire. The masonry of the new walls was made from more durable mortar with pebbles and the floor was raised and laid again. It's possible that it was then that the corner support posts were replaced by eight-facet columns up to 8–10 metres in diameter. These constructions, not bearing any analogy in religious architecture, have caused disputes among researchers about their purpose. Thus, A. Bashkirov considered them corner minarets [Bashkirov, 1928, p. 54] and V. Egerev asserted that these were buttresses that made the corners of the building more solid after its erection [Egerev, 1958, p. 377]. The architectural-archaeological researches confirmed V. Egerev's correct assertion [Voskresenskaya, Smirnov, 1966; Polyakova, 2001; Aydarov, 2001]. Corner tower buttresses were erected, apparently, under the influence of Middle Asian architecture, which were used, although not often, for the design of mosque corners. In the 1440s, the mosque's interior furnishings were also changed. Door openings were carved in the eastern and western walls and window openings were carved on their sides. They added lightweight tambours to all three entrances from inside. Even the colonnade of the mosque was rebuilt: eight-facet stone columns on square wheelbases with cut corners were set in six rows with six columns in each row. The wheelbases and the caps of the columns were decorated with carvings in the form of stylised palmettos and the portals were decorated with carved friezes with verses from the Quran and arabesque ornamental patterns. A similar style of decoration was typical for religious architecture of the Seljuks of Asia Minor. In the researchers' opinion, the ceiling of Ulu Cami—a mosque in Bulgar—was flat and leaned against arcades set on the pillars of the hall. The roof was pitched perhaps with a light lantern in the centre.

Though smaller (21x21 m), but a mosque of a similar construction has been studied in the Elabuga Archaeological Site. It also has a cubic protruding shape, individual rising buttresses on the sides and hexahedrons (in one case, and supposedly in others) in the corners (around 9 metres in diameter). The triangular buttress from the south side of the plan shapes a mikhrah niche from the underside [Aydarov,

2000, pp. 78–79]. An opinion exists that this mosque traces back to the pre-Mongolian period due to a very superficial analogy with fortresses typical to Sousse (Tunisia) [Ibid.]. It is impossible to agree with this, as it merely ignores a direct analogy with the Jami-Juma Mosque in Bulgar.

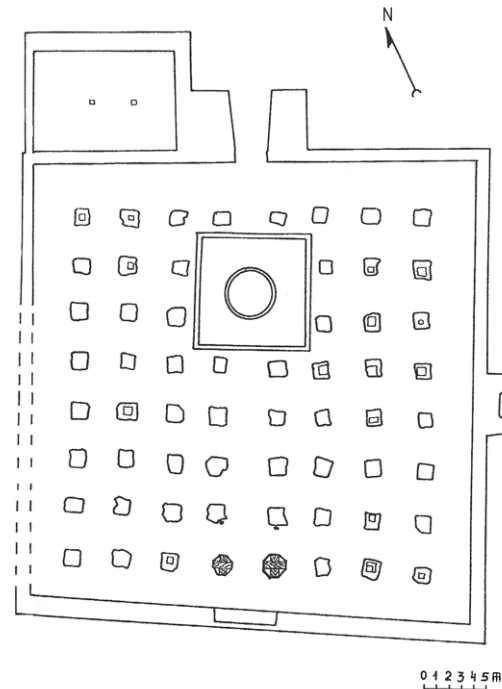
The so-called Bigger Minaret adjoins with the Bulgarian Jami-Juma Mosque. Based on drawings from the 18th and 19th centuries and archaeological investigations, it had a view of a cubic plinth, which turned into an octahedron, on which the shaft of the cylinder slightly tapered up, crowned with a platform where the muezzin stood. Three windows were situated on two sides of the minaret and a phrase from the Quran was carved into its middle. The height of the minaret reached 24 m.

The Small Minaret that has survived has a similar structure and a cubic plinth that turns into an octagon, crowned with a cylindrical minaret shaft (19 metres long). It is crowned with a platform, where a cylindrical complex with a pitched roof stands. The door opening, which is situated 1 metre from the ground, is framed by a tourniquet and strip of a floral ornament. The quadrangle also includes a carved bear ornament in the form of three-petal rosettes.

Very close to the Bulgarian minaret is the minaret of the Jami-Juma Mosque, Urgench. Built by Torebeg Hanyim, according to the evidence of Ibn Battuta, in the beginning of the 14th century, it no longer survives. Only its 60-metre high minaret remains, and it is a unique example of this type of construction. It continues the Middle Asian tradition of erecting brick minarets with a shaft in a conical shape that is representational of 12th century minarets found in Vobkent and Bukhara. Apparently, it was also crowned with a lantern. The builder's inscription, cut out in carved brick in a kufi handwriting, mentions the names of Temür Qutlugh and the sultan of the Golden Horde, Öz Beg Khan (who ruled before 1342), which allows the approximate time of construction to be estimated—from the 1320s to the 1330s [Yakubovsky, 1930, p. 20]. The slender minaret is divided into seventeen wide decorative masonry belts of twin bricks [Pilyavsky, 1974, fig. on pp. 42–43] separated in staggered rows

with carved 'bows' that were laid upright and were covered in blue glaze in some of the top rows. The kufi inscriptions are located on four architectural sashes, of which the three upper ones have been poorly preserved.

Of the mosques opened in the capital cities of the Lower Volga Region, a mosque from the excavations of the Selitrennoe settlement (Sarai) deserves to be highlighted. Its walls were made from burnt clay-mortar-based bricks in four rows (almost 1 metre wide). The south wall was more massive and reached a width of 1.5 metres including a mihrab niche. The main entrance was made in the middle of the north wall. The doorway's outer opening (2.7 metres wide) was decorated with a massive portal, its pylons were 5 metres long, 3 metres wide to the east and 4.8 metres wide to the west. This can be explained by the fact that the western wall was built near the small hall of the mosque. Apparently, the walls of the mosque were covered with white plaster. The prayer hall of the mosque was a square; it was 35.5x36.5 metres and was divided into nine naves by eight rows of pillars. There were 8 columns in each row except for the two middle ones. The second and third pillars were absent in the middle rows on the north side and there was an inner courtyard (9.3x9 metres) with a parapet on its perimeter made from burnt bricks set on an edge, held together with lime mortar. The main area of the courtyard was paved with bricks laid flat on lime mortar. In its centre, there was, obviously, a small circular reservoir (3.7 metres in diameter, 3.3 metres deep) faced with burnt brick. The foundations of the pillars consisted of several rows of brickwork. The pillars themselves were made of wood and were square, based on prints smeared in the lime in one section (the diameter was around 38 centimetres). The central nave was slightly wider than the rest. It led to a mihrab decorated with ganch in the south wall of the mosque. Based on the material of their bases, these two pillars were made of stone. There was a narrow entrance with pylons in the middle of the eastern wall. Apparently, the same type of entrance adorned in the western wall, too. To the west of the main portal there were small premises with two pillars, a brick floor, and walls that



Mosque plan. Bolshie Kuchugury
(according to E. Armanchuk)

were richly decorated with gilded mosaic. This mosque was built in the 1340s and existed for at least 30 years. A specific feature of this mosque was the L-shaped premises with several isolated living rooms with kanas, ovens, and adjoining independent entrances. The outer corner had a decorative column. One room was empty with a small niche directed by kybla. Obviously, this is a small adjacent mosque. E. Zilivinskaya thought that these premises could have been a library or a court located near the mosque, but G. Fedorov-Davydov is most likely to have been correct in supposing that this was a khanqah (a cloister of Sufis) or a reception chamber [Zilivinskaya, 1998, pp. 22–26; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, pp. 68–69].

There is another Lower Volga mosque, discovered in the Vodyansky settlement that is similar to that of Sarai. However, its better state of repair allowed the details of the design of a prayer hall and minaret to be deduced. For example, the mihrab niche was decorated with an alabaster plate with a carved inscription. There was a rectangular area in front of the mihrab, which was fenced off from the rest of the hall by wooden columns. There was a marble col-



Small Minaret. Bulgar. Photograph from the 1950s.
National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan

umn in the centre of this platform opposite the mihrab. Below that was a part of a small marble cap from the early Asian epoch; apparently it had been brought from Crimea. The minaret's rectangular plinth (5x4.2 metres), made from large stone plates and blocks, was discovered near the northeastern corner of the mosque. A cylindrical minaret shaft assembled from burnt bricks was intended to rise over it. Tiles with turquoise glaze, alternating with ganch insets where 'Allah' and 'Muhammad', along with botanical and arabesque ornamental patterns were inscribed to decorate its surface [Zilivinskaya, 1998, pp. 20–22; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, pp. 67–68]. This mosque was erected in the middle of the 14th century and existed until the defeat of the city by Tamerlane (1395) [Egorov, Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, pp. 108–132].

All of the other mosques are more or less similar to the ones described above and of the same type. As a rule, they are square or rectangular buildings and their interior space is separated by rows of columns supporting a flat ceiling in the form of beams or arcades. Rect-

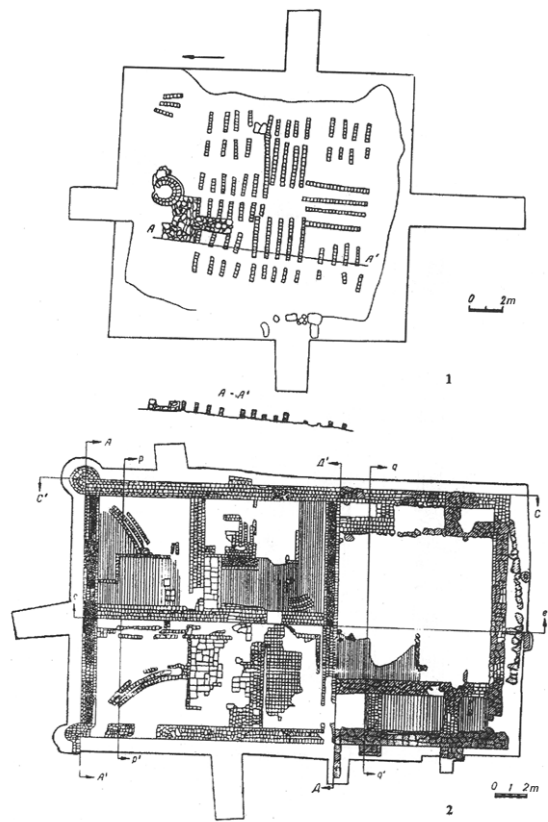
angular mosques are usually elongated in the Nor–South direction but they can be wider (for example, the Big Mosque of the Verkhnedzhulatsky settlement). The main entrance to the prayer hall was almost always located opposite the mihrab and framed with a portal. Sometimes, buildings had even small side entrances (Bulgar, Sarai, Kuchugur Ancient Town). The prayer premises measure from around 7x4 metres (Kurshun Jami, Crimea) to 35x36 metres (Sarai), 33x28 metres (Bulgar) and grandiose complexes measuring 58x52 metres (Shehr al-Jadid). Inside, the walls were usually covered with plaster and the mihrab was decorated with carved stones and tiles alternating with ganch. The floor was usually wooden, sometimes it was covered with lime mortar.

At the very least, it is worth searching for parts of similar mosques in Seljuk architecture, where the rectangular complexes were divided into naves by rows of columns or pillars inside, connected by beams or arcades. The presence of sky-lights in the roof, under which one can find a reduced inner courtyard with a reservoir or fountain, was a specific feature of Seljuk mosques. We can also find halls divided into naves in the mosques of the Ulus of Jochi. We can easily trace the construction of mosques in Bulgar, in the Kuchugur Ancient Town and in the mosques of Öz Beg Khan and Baybars in Crimea, as well. The distance between the rows of pillars and columns is identical in the mosques of Sarai and Beljamen, but the presence of a transept in the mosque in Sarai testifies to its familiarity with the layout of a basilica. The presence of the inner courtyard with the reservoir in the centre also indicates obvious Seljuk sources. For the mosques of Asia Minor, it was typical to emphasise the space in front of the mihrab by covering it with a dome. Most likely, the presence of a square platform in the mosque of Beljamen, surrounded by pillars in front of the mihrab, served the same purpose.

It is important to focus on the architectural details of the developed portal that led out of the structure in the mosques of the Golden Horde. Occasionally, it is considered that in the iconic complexes of the Jochid Ulus, an imposing peshtak with an entrance opening in the form of a lancet-arched portal niche was erected in

the religious buildings [Aydarov, 1970, p. 41; 2000, pp. 21–22]. However, the niche of the peshtak is hidden in the layers of the front wall in most of the constructions of portals in Islamic architecture and, if it projects beyond the main portion of the building, the thrust of the arch is reinforced with buttresses in the form of decorative minarets and side annexes. The presence of a peshtak with a pointed arch can only be assumed when it comes to the mosque of Sarai, where one can see Middle Asian influence on the building techniques. The pylons of its portal are remarkable for their special thickness. Also, the western pylon is strengthened by a wall of an adjoining building that was erected next to it (see more details: [Zilivinskaya, 1998, p. 33]). As far as the mosques of Bulgar, Bel-jamen and Shehr al-Jadid are concerned, one should note that the thickness of their pylons does not exceed the thickness of the walls of the building itself. Taking the connection with Seljuk architecture into consideration, one can assume that there was a portal with a stalactite niche and stone carving, similar to the famous mosque-madrasah in Crimea. The entrance of the mosque in the ancient Kuchugur Ancient Town was designed in a different way: it lead into the vast premises, which were in the form of an 'aivan' or an entrance vestibule.

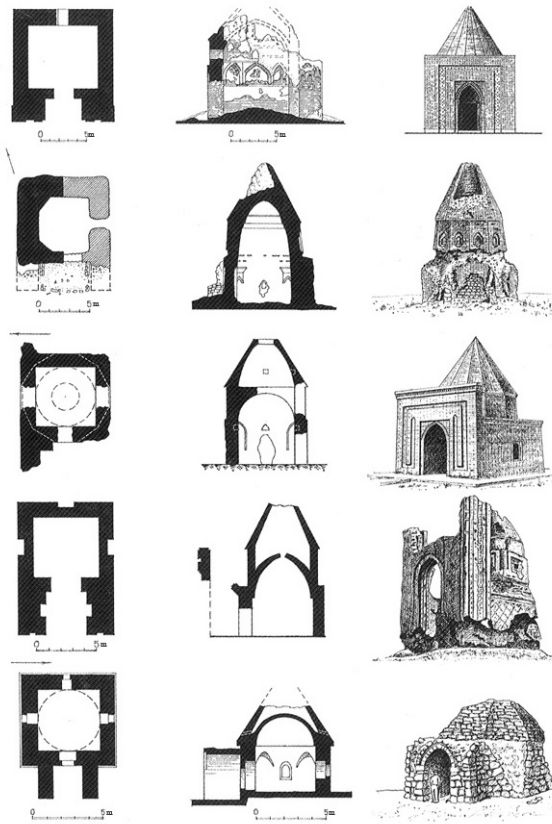
A presently-surviving mosque-madrasah of the medieval city of Solkhat (Stary Krym), is also of the great interest, reflected in the enormous amount of research dedicated to this complex [Bashkirov, 1927, pp. 122–145; 1926, pp. 108–126; Borozdin, 1926, pp. 271–302; Zasyupkin, 1927, pp. 113–169; Jakobson, 1964, pp. 104–108; Zilivinskaya, 1998, pp. 27–28]. The building is a basilica with three pairs of eight-faceted bases, interconnected by pointed arches. The complex measures 17.5x13.5 metres. The bases support a wooden rafter ceiling and a ridge tile roof. A cylindrical minaret shaft is built into the northeastern corner of the building. The entrance of the mosque is framed by a portal with a stalactite niche and carved stone friezes. The mihrab niche is decorated in the same way. An inscription dated back to the reign of Öz Beg Khan (1314) was preserved on a carved portal of the mosque. A madrasah in the form of a vast square complex



Plans of banya and madrasah. Bolshie Kuchugury (according to N. Armanchuk)

with an outdoor court in the middle adjoins the mosque in the south. This monument was considered to be a united and synchronous complex. However, the archaeological research of this monument conducted by M. Kramarovsky from 1978 to 1986 proved that the mosque had been built in the 16th century near the madrasah of the 1330s onwards, and the portal with the inscription was borrowed from another earlier mosque like all the décor of the mihrab [Kramarovsky, 1989]. At the same time, the researchers agreed that this complex was obviously built under Seljuk influence.

Mausoleums were another significant form of religious architecture. Their findings were rather large in number and expressive [Khlebnikova, 1970; Rtveladze, 1973; Alikhova, 1973; Palimpsestova, Runich, 1974; Egorov, 1980, pp. 74–88; Baranov, Kaveyev, 2001, pp. 176–199; Aksenova, 2001, pp. 200–216]. Several types of mausoleums in the Golden Horde are especially remarkable [Fedor-



Types of mausoleums - keshene. Aral Sea Region.
13–14th centuries.

ov-Davydov, 1994, pp. 70–72]. Square in layout, found in the Southern Urals, North Caucasus and in Lower Volga cities are the first group, and they were most likely crowned with tent ceilings. Square in layout with a portal in the form of a vestibule with two long pylons on the sides of the entrance cities are the second group; apparently, they are similar to the first group regarding their roofs. They were found in Bulgar and Mokhsa, in the Southern Urals, North Caucasus, and Transnistria; this is the most widespread type of mausoleum of the Golden Horde period. One-chamber mausoleums with a massive portal which are similar to peshtaks from Central Asia belong to a third group. Richly decorated mausoleums of this type have been discovered, for example, a mausoleum with a mosaic portal and pavement made of burnt brick above the graves was found in Sarai. Similar mausoleums with tent-domed roofs have been uncovered in the

Southern Urals [Smirnov, 1957, No. 58, fig. 8]. One more group is comprised of mausoleums with two chambers: a burial vault ('gur khana') and a place of mourning ('ziyarat-khana'). They could have a portal of the peshtak varietal. These mausoleums were found in the necropolises of the Lower Volga cities, Bulgar, and Mokhsa, as well as those of Southern Urals and the North Caucasus. Mosaics decorated the portal of a mausoleum from the ancient Vodyansky settlement and the 'Gur-khana' of another rich mausoleum was faced with wooden bars inside and it had ganch facing on the walls and dome. The underground mausoleum made of burned bricks in the ancient Selitrennoe settlement was square and had a ceiling built as a 'false arch'. Other vast underground mausoleums with four, pointed niches in its corners that shaped a cubic dome were discovered in the same settlement.

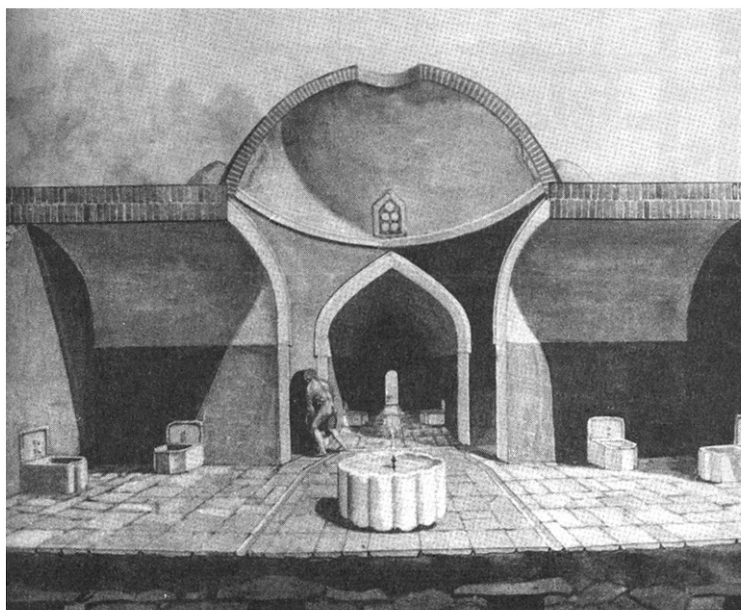
As a rule, mausoleums were the tombs of families and clans, therefore containing several burials. According to G. Fedorov-Davydov, the closest parallels to the mausoleums of the first type can be found in the architecture of Central Asia, especially that of Khwarezm. It is possible that mausoleums of the second group emerged in Bulgaria and spread throughout all of the Jochid Ulus from there. Features of Seljuk architecture can be found throughout the mausoleums of the Golden Horde [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 72].

In general, it should be emphasised that the religious architecture of the Jochid Ulus was formed under the influence of Seljuk traditions. At the same time, however, having taken the basilica layout with a flat ceiling as a basis, the architects of the Golden Horde reinterpreted it in a creative way, conforming to the local conditions and the tastes of their clients. As a result, original architectural solutions emerged, for example, the tower-like buttresses of the Ulu Cami Mosque in Bulgar, the annex of the khanaqah adjoining the mosque of Sarai, and the entrance vestibule of the Kuchugur mosque.

It is impossible to imagine a medieval Islamic city without a public bath—a *Hammam* (Turkish bath). For example, based on written sources, there were 5 thousand baths [Metz, 1973, p. 311] in Baghdad in the 9th century and

although these figures are evidently exaggerated, the presence of a great number of public and private baths in the cities of the Islamic world is beyond doubt. The studies of Golden Horde cities confirm this to a degree. For example, during the excavations of Bolgar Archaeological Site, six baths were studied. Three baths were found in the settlements of Selitrennoe and Staroorkheyskoe, and several more baths have been excavated in the Vodyansky settlement, Azak and another settlement near Zaporozhye at the Lower Dnieper [Alikhova, 1976; Byrnya, Zilivinskaya, 1988; Zilivinskaya, 1990; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, pp. 69–70; Sharifullin, 2001].

Buildings with rectangular premises situated in one row, consisting of one (or more) washing areas with connected walls represent the simplified construction of the Hammam. The baths of the Narovchatsky settlement are notable because they featured a furnace chamber and an underground heating system. Seven small one-room brick buildings, measuring 8–20 square metres were studied there. Most likely, these were small baths with wooden anterooms, which were a part of a manor complex. This is a rather rare example of the occurrence of small, private baths. Another similar bath was discovered during excavations in Azov and Sarai [Zilivinskaya, 1990, pp. 133, 135]. Baths with three rooms are a more developed kind of this construction: a partially heated anteroom, a hot washing room and a furnace compartment. The bath from Sarai that belonged to a rich manor and adjoined its central building, is an example of this type of bath. It consisted of a large cold anteroom with a rectangular pool situated in its centre, a washing room with a warm floor, and a furnace chamber. Water was supplied with the help of a drainage system. A bath from Bulgar is also typical [Sharifullin, 2001, pp. 222–223]—its



Reconstruction of banya. Bulgar city. 14th century.
(reproduction of work by N. Freiman)

rooms were arranged as an enfilade suite where the temperatures rose. The room furthest from the oven measured 3x5.5 metres. Two parallel chimneys, which obviously were the remains of heated benches, can be seen along the walls. The main washing premises was almost square (6.2x6.6 metres). It was heated from an adjacent furnace room with the help of an underground system of flues.

The most impressive, typical kind of eastern bath—Hammam is exemplified by numerous baths from Bulgar (almost all of them, including Red, Eastern and White Chambers [Ibid., pp. 221–256]), Mokhshi, Sarai, Beljamen, and settlements at the Lower Dnieper. They featured the following architectural layout: they were rectangular (more often square) into which a cruciform hall was fitted, between the sides of which small, square, washing rooms were built into the foundation of the building, featuring an underground heating system. As a rule, service rooms were built next to it on two opposite sides. The first part was intended to supply heat and water to the central rooms. The second part, which was sometimes separated from the bathing rooms by an intermediate vestibule, was where visitors could dress, undress and relax. The whole system of ceramic

pipes for the supply and drainage of water was in the central hall of the bathing rooms and, as a rule, there was a stone basin reservoir with a fountain, in the centre of the hall. Apparently, the ceilings of the rooms were rather uniform and identical with domed vaults above the centre of the cruciform hall and bathing rooms; barrel vaults were above the sides of the main rooms, the vestibule and the cistern; the anteroom could have had a flat or a sloped roof [Ibid., p. 255]. One of the most typical baths (from Mokhshi) measured 14x10.5 metres. It was erected on a foundation made of stone rubble, topped with brick walls. The building consisted of two areas with different purposes: a cruciform hall with four corner bathing areas and a massive furnace area. The oven was located in the northern part of the bath and hot air from it passed through three horizontal chimneys, heating the main premises. Heat conductors were covered with large brick plates (6x18x6 cm). A reservoir in the form of a round basin (1.2 metres in diameter) with a flat bottom faced with bricks was situated in the centre of the hall, and a fountain was situated on a clay chimney with a bell mouth in its centre. At the entrance of a narrow chamber, there was apparently a small pool. A cold anteroom was located in front of the southern side of the bath [Alikhova, 1976]. One of the richest constructions is a bath in Sarai, the entrance to which was located in the square in front of the Jami-Juma Mosque [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 70]. It was an impressive 26 metres long and 13–16 metres wide. The building had 9 rooms. From the tambour through the passage, a visitor would find himself in a cold anteroom with sufas along walls, while heading from the vestibule through the hall. Its floor was laid with patterns made from pieces of burnt bricks. Obviously, there was a fountain in the centre of the anteroom fed by a qubur plumbing system. The anteroom had windows with ganch glazed lattices, called 'panchzhara'. Besides the anteroom, there were two more cloakrooms. One could get from the entrance vestibule to either of them or to the anteroom with a fountain. The hot rooms featured underground heating and a furnace which was common. The rooms intended for bathing were cruciform. The bath

was distinguished by careful decoration work and design with tile walls, a mosaic floor, and stained glass windows. It was intended for the prosperous level of the urban society.

The question about sources of similar architecture provokes a discussion. There is a point of view that the simple constructions of baths in the forms of a suite of rooms are 'the continuation of the ancient traditions' [Zilivinskaya, 1990, p. 137]. However, the presence of any constructional elements of a bath (absence of a vestibule, double volume) or the substitution of a separate element of the main frontage (a part of washing department) for a service room (a furnace chamber or a cistern) could be conditioned by pragmatic considerations: a customer's option to save materials and fuel combined with limited access of visitors, etc., but not ancient traditions. In addition, the design of almost all similar complexes in Eastern Europe from Bulgarian (the 10–13th centuries) to Golden Horde (the 13–14th centuries) was characterised by a system of underground channels with vertical flues for the forced circulation of smoke and heat, whereas the ancient tradition was characterised by fastening the floor to small pillars which provided free circulation of air and heat [Sharifullin, 2001, p. 257]. It was customary to believe that the construction of khammams with the central reservoir was brought to the Ulus of Jochi by Armenian masters [Khovanskaya, 1954, p. 422; Yegerev, 1958, p. 388]. However, as the similar construction is unknown in Armenia, but it is very typical for architecture of Asia Minor, one can assume this type of complex came from Seljuk sources [Zilivinskaya, 1990, p. 131]. At the same time, early Bulgarian, Central Asian and very strong Seljuk traditions were clearly intertwined here.

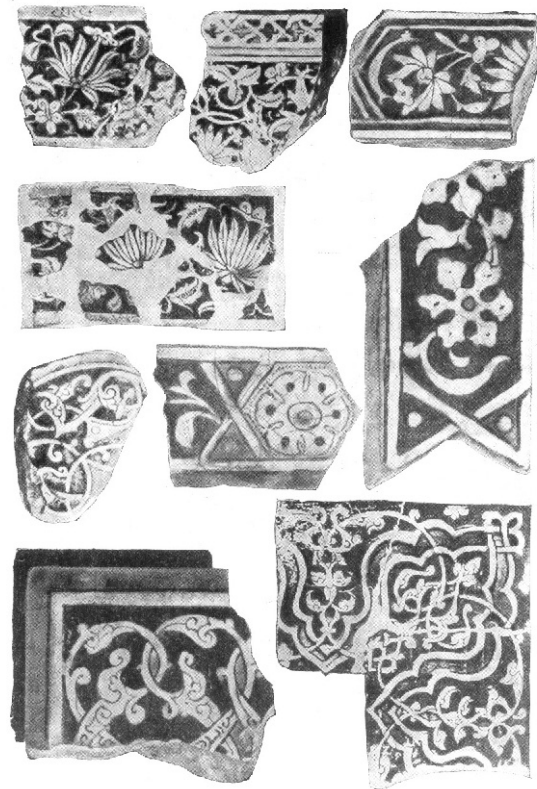
Architectural Decoration. The grandiose construction, which was conducted by the khans of the Ulus of Jochi in the new and old towns of the Empire was accompanied by a wealth of architectural decoration. Decoration of monumental iconic buildings—mosques and mausoleums, as well as palaces of rulers and nobility, which was unprecedentedly powerful and extensive, combined all of the materials and techniques which were previous-

ly known in Muslim design. The transparent glass mosaic and the tiles, carved terracotta, and gypsum, carved stone, and the painting on plaster are more or less known in decorative design of monumental buildings in all Golden Horde cities.

Mosaic of transparent glass is a technique of a decorative set of figures carved from ceramic tiles covered with pied glaze. It was widely used in public building interior and external design (see: [Meinecke, 1976]). It was preferred (in comparison to tiles) when it came to facing portals and pylons, the inner surfaces of domes, and the solid decoration of large surfaces of walls. The ability to repeat the outlines of many curved and profiled surfaces of arches, vaults, domes, under-dome drums, tromp, half-vaults of mikhrab niches, and stalactites—*mu-karnas* in Muslim architecture—was a big advantage of mosaic along with the creation of durable decorative covering with a bright pattern, which could be seen clearly, even at a distance.

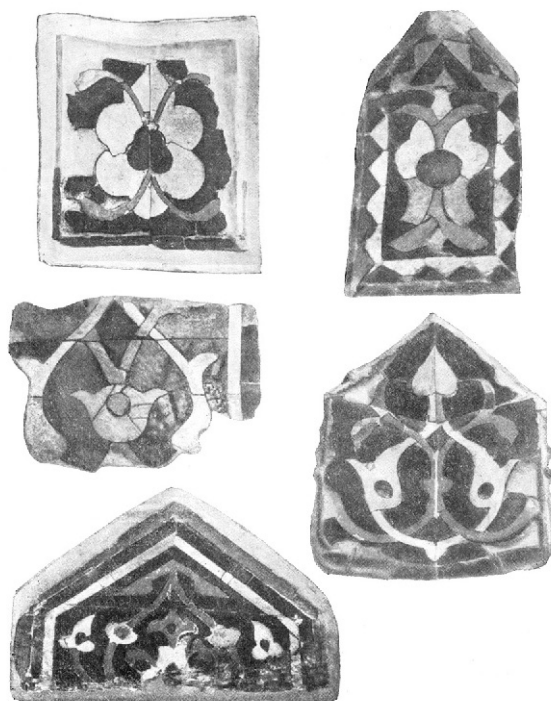
Searching for direct analogues with the Golden Horde mosaics used in architectural decoration from Central Asia, Transcaucasia, and Iran was not successful [Noskova, 1976, p. 25]. They failed to find convincing proofs of the emergence of the technique of transparent glass mosaic in Khwarezm or Maverannakhr, where carved terracotta was the main facing material until the 14th century, and the appearance of mosaics is connected with complexes in Samarkand of the late 14th century. Many identical Volga motifs can be found in these famous but rather late monuments. L. Noskova, who researched the architectural design of the golden horde cities of the Lower and Middle Volga Regions, explained an earlier appearance of majolica mosaics in the Volga Region and Kwarezm than in Maverannakhr, by a tendency to completely decorate buildings requiring the invention of facings which would allow the efficient decoration of large surfaces which are significantly distant from an observer [Ibid., p. 28].

However, this tendency showed itself much earlier in Middle Eastern architectural decoration, namely in Asia Minor, where magnificent examples of irrigation decoration were left as



Majolicas with floral ornamental patterns
(according to L. Noskova)

undeniable evidence. In general, the Seljuk epoch became the time of prosperity for many artistic crafts. They gathered together older techniques and innovations. The gradual development of design in brick architecture of the Samanids, Ghaznavids, and Karakhanids continued in this period, a number of previously known techniques existing were perfected. The art of the Anatolian Seljuks in the 11–13th centuries absorbed many artistic traditions including the experience of Iranian, Syrian and Transcaucasian masters. Fleeing from Mongolian invasion, many of them found a refuge in Asia Minor and participated in the construction and decoration of the monumental buildings of the Konya Sultanate [Bayburtluoglu, 1993]. Undoubtedly, there were ceramists—masters of tile and mosaic decoration among them [Ibid., pp. 210–228]. In the 11th and 12th centuries transparent glass mosaic was already used in Asia Minor, in the outdoor design of buildings in combination with patterned masonry made



Majolicas with floral ornamental patterns
(according to L. Noskova)

from burned and glazed bricks; in the 12th century it became the most widespread kind of decoration of the interiors of iconic constructions. The inner premises of aristocratic buildings—palaces, baths—were covered only with a facing of figured tiles. One can state that in the 13th century the major superb development of architectural ceramics occurred in Anatolian-Turk art [Aslanapa, 1993, p. 318]. The use of mosaic design on the iconic buildings of Seljuk Anatolia seems to be extremely important within the context of the problem of the origin of Golden Horde mosaics. Surviving in the form of facings on the monuments of Khwarezm, and known due to excavations in the Volga Region, they contain many materials which allow the establishment of technological and stylistic continuity with their Anatolian predecessors.

The mosaic decoration of the mausoleum of Tyurabek Hanym in Urgench is one of such examples. This is a benchmark of pre-Timur architecture design. It should be noted that the transparent glass mosaic was serving as a decorative covering of its internal surfaces and of a

considerable part of the exterior surfaces. Natural yellow-pink bricks which were the basic dividers of decorative mosaic accents are skillfully used. Parts of the exterior design survive as insets, mainly turquoise, that mark out the places where it used to be concentrated. The mosaics served as a covering of the collapsed decorative stalactite filling of the half-vault in the portal, two curbs pressed into the surface of a rectangular frame clearly highlighted the panel above the entrance. The mosaic design amplified the picturesque form of divisions, repeating a portal scheme in eight facets of the main frontage of the building and the side portal walls. A blue conical roof, which crowned the building of the burial vault, was the most vibrant colour on the outside. The drum that supported the roof is broken into rectangular panels with carefully veneered thin brick frames. In its turn, the honeycomb pattern of the panel is also faced with thin bricks between which the seams of later mosaics survived. The cornice of two rows of stalactites, and the ribbon with an inscription under it, completed the design of the drum (it is lost) (see: [Pilyavsky, 1974, p. 52]).

Area of transition from the main walls to the drum and dome is wonderful in the design of interior. There are twelve blind arch niches of pointed outlines filled with mosaics in the drum, they are repeated in similar shapes of twelve window openings that alternate with them. The stalactite sails and the panel of the area between the hexagon and the drum are also covered with mosaic decoration. The elegance and completion of the compositions evokes the best known examples of oriental miniatures, and refer primarily to the design of the dome. Its ornamental pattern is based on interweaving nine- and five-pointed stars, combining in variations and diminishing logically in the direction of the centre of the dome. The unique composition scheme of dome mosaic furnishings has no predecessors in medieval art of Central Asia and Iran. For mastery of arrangement and performance they are comparable with only two surviving monuments among the few chronologically earlier tessellated dome mosaic interiors (the dome of Karataj Madrasah in Konya and Eshrefoglu-jami in Baishekhir).

Tin-glazed (maiolica) tiles with soft and brittle masses of crocks (20x20x2 cm, 15–20 mm thick, with a glaze layer of up to 0.75 mm) designed for cutting were found in the ceramic workshops of several Golden Horde cities [Noskova, 1976, p. 25]. The motifs of ornamental patterns and the fragments of background filling were cut into natural sizes with the help of curves prepared in advance. The reverse view of the set, applied in Golden Horde architecture [Ibid.] suggested laying out the parts of a pattern along the flat surface upside down, close to each other, with a subsequent pouring of a solution on the finished piece on the reverse side. The cut parts of ornamental patterns were a little conical in profile, which was especially convenient and important when laying out a pattern on a concave surface. It is identical to the technology of setting mosaic blocks in the design of Seljuk Anatolia (the ‘straight’ set along with it was mainly used in Anatolian mosaics in monumental epigraphy, and the design of stalactites in mikhrabs when parts of mosaics were placed on the prepared surface of the wall where the white background of plaster cement plays an equal role; see: [Yetkin, 1986, p. 162]).

Examples of architectural majolica with glaze painting which underlay decorative wall panels are also known, due to excavations in Bulgar. Majolica tiles are usually rectangular and richly ornamented. Small yellow-brown flowers on long curved stems with carved leaves are portrayed on Bulgarian tiles. The white Arabic inscription on them—apparently, in ‘naskh’ type—denotes a saying or a verse from the Quran. The finding of a majolica panel with aliid motifs matched with a design from Ukek is interesting. Carved terracotta with and without glaze were also typical. There are also many analogues in Islamic architecture to these elements of building decoration, especially in Asia Minor.

The area of plant ornamental patterns was remarkable for producing the greatest assortment of motifs and compositional freedom. In comparison with Central Asian patterns, with their tendency to repeat composition, the Volga monuments are distinguished ‘by free location, individuality, and non-repetition of sep-

arate ornamental schemes’ [Noskova, 1976, p. 25]. Branches and interlacing shoots with leaves, buds, and blossoms constituted the basis of the compositions of big panels; also, some plants, which were probably favourite ones at that time, can be recognized in the last images. Extraordinary methods of stylization of floral forms can be seen in mosaics, sometimes they are invented, but in most cases they are carnations, tulips, forget-me-nots, narcissi and lilies. The background of such compositions is usually ultramarine, turquoise shoots and branches stand out from it. The details of background and ornamental insets are located close to each other. Having a complex linear pattern, the blossom mosaic carpet is enriched by bright decorative colour combinations. Bright yellow, red, blue and white are in the mosaic palette. The resonance of the key elements of a panel, the repeating main motifs of curbs is reinforced by bright contrast insets—red on yellow, yellow on blue; these shallow, round, drop-like, heart-like and figured shape insets are carved very skilfully [Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, fig. 74–80].

The mosaics of Sarai al-Jadid are distinguished by a special elegance. Each motif is subjected to painstaking detailing for reasons of precision and recognition, which does not upset the general conventionalism of an image. The flowers, which became the main source of inspiration, are interpreted in a manner comparable to a jeweller’s view: the petals have fine contrast contours, all the surface of panels is covered by interlaced stems and curls of shoots, which is close to a pattern of openwork filigree; a method when blossoms, leaves and stems, seemingly moved by an accidental blast of a wind, cover each other, is wide-spread. One more original finding is a portrayal of a leaf’s transparency having a carved opening through which the thin stem passing under it can be seen [Noskova, 1976, table I, 5, II, 1, 3, 6]. The compositions which were decorating meshes of mukarnas—stalactites forming decorative wall cornices and half-vaults of niches—are especially noteworthy. These are compact small pentagonal panels [of tables III, 1–4] in the design of which the brief schemes made from several shoots and buds are repre-

sented [Ibid., tables III, 1–4; Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, fig. 76.]

The wide-spread occurrence of red marks out the mosaics of the Volga Region's Golden Horde cities [Kverfeldt, 1947, p. 88; Noskova, 1976, p. 26; Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, p. 122]. One can connect the brick-red insets which are typical of the architectural ceramics of Sarai al-Jadid, with the application of soil paint covered with soft transparent glaze. Another way of enriching the palette of mosaics is by gilding over the glaze of separate parts of a pattern, sometimes all of it, which has no analogues in medieval Islamic architecture in such a form [Noskova, 1976, p. 26].

Apparently, large epigraphic friezes and insets in the design of walls, probably mikhrabs, were faced with mosaic. The letters of inscriptions were always white. The fragments that reached us allow us to speak about the use of 'naskh' italic type for inscriptions on a monochromatic background [ibid., tab. V 1, 2] or epigraphic panels against the background of plant patterns [Ibid., tables V, 4, 5; Aydarov, Aksenova, 1983].

Numerous archaeological findings of fragments of tiles in the ruins of the Volga Region's medieval towns (Bulgarian, Vodyansky, Selitrennoe, Mechetnoye, Majar, Uvek ancient towns) support consideration of the original development of this art in the region in this period [Noskova, 1976; Fedorov-Davydov, 2001, pp. 147–159]. The formation of a unique decorative style of Golden Horde tiles was guaranteed by the active development of domestic ceramic production. Most probably masters from Iran, Asia Minor and Central Asia contributed to its formation. In these countries kashin architectural ceramics had been known since the early 12th century, because the secondary Persian inscriptions were preserved on Bulgarian majolikas which the masters used to help them to assign the order of laying out tiles [Noskova, 1976, p. 24].

Colour balance, pattern and the technique of painting Golden Horde tiles are distinguished by their great variety. Ultramarine was a favourite colour. Compositions that used plant, geometrical or epigraphic ornamental patterns were usually based on it.

Insufficient fragments of tile facings were preserved on larger fragments in the Volga cities of the Ulus of Jochi to give an idea of the nature of composition on large walls. However, even the smallest details that have reached us can be a basis for some reconstructions. The examples with painting and gilding above the glaze, within the form of an irregular rhombus [Ibid., table VIII, 5; Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, fig. 87] draw attention among majolics of Selitrennoe ancient town. The figured tiles, which are similar to that, were a part of mosaic facing constituting a massive facing of the lower tier of walls. We can find the analogues of shape and painting motifs in the design of a palace of Seljuk sultans in Konya. The lower tier of a wall in one of the palace buildings was faced with fine tiles forming hexagons [Sarre, 1937, p. 19–20, Taff. 6, 7; Oney, 1988, fig. 84].

The panels made from crossed tiles alternating with octagonal or square tiles are typical of the designs of medieval Iran, Azerbaijan and Anatolia. They played a particular role in Golden Horde interiors as well. Particularly, a fragment of octagonal (?) majolica tile with an image of a man from the excavations of Golden Horde Sarai can be evidence [Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, fig. 89]. The image of a warrior wearing a helmet which significantly differs from some images on architectural and household ceramics of Iranian area allowed it to be asserted that masters of the Ulus of Jochi had worked out their own artistic manner [Noskova, 1976, p. 26]. The polychrome decoration of outer and interior walls was enriched by panels from rectangular tiles with plant ornamental patterns, wickers and inscriptions. Mainly these majolicas were being manufactured of kashin dough with underglaze painting. Small tiles with more delicate glaze painting were used sparingly, being found in interior design details (curbs, cornices).

The degree of differentiation of tile design in connection with the function of a monument can be shown with the help of the following examples. For example, a brick gravestone with two-colour majolica facing found in the mausoleum in Vodyansky ancient town is extremely interesting. The majolica of the bottom platform of the gravestones has a motif, which

was applied for a frame of the main pattern [Ibid., p. 15]. One can find an interesting interpretation of this motif, which is extremely typical of Anatolian-Seljuk architectural design (Gyok Madrasah Mesjit in Sivas, a mosaic curb under the dome drum; a mosaic panel in the depth of the minaret of Chifte Minareli Madrasah in Erzurum; archivault of the arch of the entrance ivan, Abul-Mujahid Yusuf in Chaya; an engraved curb above the entrance arch and a portal in the Chifte Minareli Madrasah in Sivas; a portal of the Mama Khatun mausoleum in Terdzhan, etc.) in polychrome tiles with underglaze painting made from coatings of the so-called 'Khan's Burial Vault' in Bulgar [Chervonnaya, 1983, fig. 6].

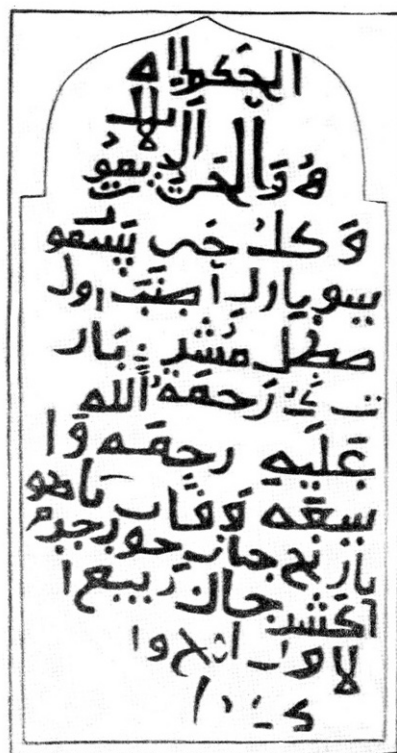
Carved and pressed gypsum panels and the curbs were a traditional way of decorating both religious and secular buildings. The combination of carved gypsum with transparent glass facings and painting on plaster is typical for the whole range of the monuments [Efimova, 1969, p. 67]. The mihrab of a cathedral mosque of medieval Beljamen (Vodyansky ancient town) was also decorated with gypsum carving: the traces of the profiled rectangular frame of a mihrab niche and an alabaster panel with a Quran inscription were preserved; burned and moulded turquoise brick, along with patterned and epigraphic insets made by pressing, combined with each other in the outdoor decorative masonry of a minaret shaft [Egorov, Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, p. 108, 123–125, figure 16–23].

The walls of the one of the palaces in the Sarai were decorated by stucco panels with images from stories. The surviving fragments of a curb made with help of moulding [Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, fig. 93–99] are a hunting image, popular in a spectrum of secular art of Western Asia and the Middle East. Admittedly, in the quality of an analogue and (possible source) for these curbs, from the point of view of the story, material of performance, and place in an ensemble of interior facings, one can give only the carved gypsum curbs of the seldzhuk palace in Konya, anywhere the gazelle, the leopards etc., are shown moving against the background of arabesque scrolls [Sarre, 1937, Taff. 9–11]. The reliefs of the Golden Horde seem to be a replica of konijsk reliefs, but in

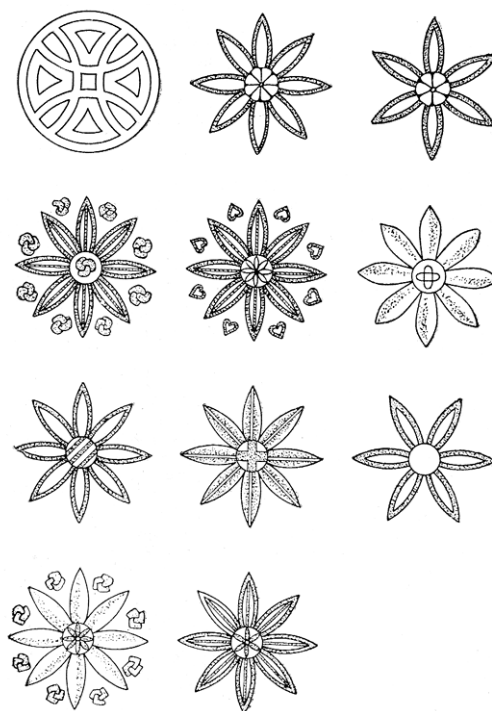
them a planned background is absent and some modelling of bodies of animals is reflected fairly primitively. The tendency towards simplification, which led to division into simple rapports, also impacted in the design of many parts of the interior. For example, the carved column of Sarai looks this way [Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, fig. 92].

Stone Carving. The repertoire of the Golden Horde's architectural decoration is enriched in Bulgar monuments by stone carving. Erected out of limestone, most of these buildings were faced with dressed tuff blocks covered with decorative carving in certain areas. For example, carving decorated the capitals, the entrance arch, and the window openings of a Jami mosque (see the drawing: [Valeev, 1975, fig. 60, 1–4]). The surviving fragments allow one to pose the question about the sources of decorative techniques and motifs, in which there are direct borrowings and indirect influence from the art of Asia Minor of the 12–13th centuries. Similarities like those found in the architectural shapes of the Bulgarian complexes of the encirclement of window openings of mosques whose designs are comparable with the reviewed period. The carved parts of design have a typically 'Seljuk' appearance along with the technique of carving—comparable to many Asia Minor monuments [Mukhametshin, Khakimzyanov, 1987, p. 10]. The gradation of decorative curbs, the band of the geometrical grid used here, and the means of the edging are especially typical with carved triangles (for similar ones in the Asia Minor art, see, for example, the Al ad Dean mosque in Niida), thorough grinding and masonry of stone.

The tiles that are the remains of the portal's decoration give interesting samples of an epigrammatic ornament. Two of them are a part of the facing archivolt of the entrance arch, they contain fragments of two curbs. One with a plain twist of two 'running waves' and a 'sprout' with leaves, the second with cufesque (pseudo-kufic) motifs, derived from 'twisted' kufi. Another known fragment is the so called 'over portal plates' of the northern facade; it bears a sculptured inscription in thuluth placed against a background of two concentric plant shoots with small foliage ('of arabesques'). Based on



Headstone with an epitaph. Bulgar. 1322.



Types of carved rosettes on headstones.
Middle Volga Region, 13–14th centuries
(according to D. Mukhametshin, F. Khakimzyanov)

the style and nature of an inscription, plates were a part of an epigrammatic frieze on the design of a portal. The letters of an inscription and the parts of an arabesque ornament, intended to be a background for it, project from a plane to an identical height, coating them with a firm decorative grid. Meanwhile, in surviving monumental stone epigraphy, similar friezes did not have an arabesque background, this combination was more typical for carving to a curve (see: a panel with inscriptions in the mausoleum of Sultan of Sanjar in Merv (1157) and into an inner curb of mihrab of Arslan Khan Jami in Ankara (1289/90)), as well as for a transparent glass mosaic (in the monuments of Anatolia see: mosaics curbs in Siricali Mejit, Siricali Madrasah, and Karatay Madrasah in Konya, Gyok Madrasah in the Toccata, Burujiyya Madrasah in Sivas, Eshrefoglu Jami in Beysehir). Thus one can confidently speak of Asia Minor sources of this technique of carving on stone.

The stone design of another monument of Golden Horde Bulgar—the Small Minaret—is extremely typical. The inclines that form the

transition from the lower octagonal level to the round shaft are made in the form of a six-blade shell, common in design of stalactites and tromps in the interiors of stone buildings in Asia Minor. The design of the niche and entrance opening differs from the carved ornamentation of the mosque of Ulu Cami in the ornamentation style and the careful execution; apparently, it has been made by local masters at a later time when the school of carving had already been lost. The ogee arch of the decorative niche on the west facade is framed by a carved rectangular frame with large rosettes in corners. The composition is completed by the pointed arch of the blind niche in the tympanum of which since the 19th century there has been a tile with Arabic inscription. The carving of the entrance has not survived well, but we can mention the twisted column going on in the archivolt of the arch, as well as two rectangular borders with a twist and a fine pattern of palmette motifs.

In Islamic culture of the Golden Horde during Volga period, there developed another

field of application of architectural and decorative carving—the gravestones. By the end of the 13th century there was a specific type of gravestones with inscriptions and rich ornamentation. The epigraphy of these monuments was in Turkic, saturated, at the same time, with many Arabic loanwords and quotations from the Quran [Mukhametshin, Khakimzyanov, 1987]. The texts, as well as the calligraphic style of the inscriptions are extraordinarily peculiar. Epitaphs often contain inscriptions made in different styles of the Arabic script—thuluth, kufi, naskh. Some massive plates (up to 3, 5 m high) were completed in the form of a four-centre arch, in the tympanum of which was placed an inscription (Quran Formula) in elegant thuluth, in a similar style to the monumental architectural epigraphy of Bulgar monuments. Serving as separators between the tympanum and the rectangular base of the main inscription or the ornament of lateral tile faces, carved curbs most often represented twist or shoot variants with interesting shapes of three and four-partite leaves, buds and blossoms [Mukhametshin, 1977, fig. 2; Mukhametshin, Khakimzyanov, 1987, fig. at pp. 11, 21, 37, 51, 64]. In a number of monuments the manner of writing: use of defined Quran formulae, and the ornamentation techniques testify to presence of several local centres.

Arts and Crafts

The ornamentation, the wide colour palette, the presence of arabesque motifs, etc., are the characteristics of the Ulus of Jochi's applied arts. Studio pottery, the setting of jewels, and objects of everyday life, as well as the adornment of warriors' everyday life (armament and saddlery) are the most expressive examples of this art.

*Studio Pottery**. One of the most important features of the culture of the Golden Horde period was red clay and kashin potterywares of diverse shapes (pitchers, bowls, deep plates, bottles, etc.), with variegated painting (floral, geometric, zoomorphic and arabesque orna-

ments). In general, ceramics, especially glazed potteryware, expresses the vivid and typical image of Golden Horde civilisation. We can say that this colourful household potteryware most vividly reflected the syncretism of culture in the towns of the Ulus of Jochi and by virtue of their mass character and prevalence expressed the fashion and tastes of the medieval Tatars. The styles of dishes in terms of ceramics are divided into red clay and kashin, among which products with underglaze and overglaze painting stand out. It is difficult even to enumerate all the nomenclature of Golden Horde pottery for it is so diverse. Decorative motifs and styles of decorating glazed pottery are also diverse, for the most part these were geometrical and floral-vegetative motifs, as well as zoomorphic subjects. Golden Horde pottery has been studied for many years [Papa-Afanasopulo, 1925; 1930; Yakubovsky, 1931; Vakturskaya, 1959; Kverfeldt 1947; Bulatov, 1969; 1976], but the questions about the history of the technology of ceramic production in the Ulus of Jochi and artistic peculiarities of its ceramics continue to evoke discussions.

Unglazed red clay pottery is the most widespread and varied in forms, which, according to archaeologists, originated from an alloy of local traditions, such as Bulgarian, Crimean and Khwarezmian. As a result of mixing pottery techniques, as well as mutual enrichment using types of ornament, the formation of a special Golden Horde ceramic complex occurred. Ceramics were distinguished by a good firing. Its colour ranges from yellow to red and yellow to brown and russet, grey potteryware is also found. Their ornamentation is distinguished by the presence of strictly carved zonal lines in several rows, both as an independent element, and accompanied by wavy lines and arched zone lines.

Examining the sources of glazed kashin ceramics, the majority of researchers (N. Vakturskaya, E. Kverfeldt) followed A. Yakubovsky and considered that the influence of Khwarezm dominated the technical and technological developments. However, N. Bulatov's researches into the production of this type of potteryware, the colour of enamel and glaze, and painting (under- or overglazing)

* The paragraph is written in co-authorship with N. Lisova.



Kashin bowl. Sarai. 13–14th centuries.
(according to G. Fedorov-Davydov)

showed that the traditions of the Golden Horde kashin pottery were formed under the influence of Middle Asia, Iran and Asia Minor [Bulatov, 1969, p. 48]. As a result of such development, glazed kashin pottery turned out to be closer to Central Asian ceramic craft in terms of its technological aspects, and to ceramics of an Iranian and Asia Minor background in terms of its decorative motifs and themes. Special attention should be paid to the numerous findings of bowls with a covering of turquoise glaze with black underglaze painting that is very similar to the turquoise ceramics of Iran and Central Asia. Ceramics of such a kind in the 13th and 14th centuries became fashionable from Egypt to Central Asia. However, in the Ulus of Jochi their own style of studio pottery was developed, which resembled a form of Islamic art, but which can also be analysed as an independent style of pottery [Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, p. 128].

The entire complex of glazed Golden Horde pottery is divided into two types—kashin and red clay. Kashin products (that is ceramics made from a special mixture containing a large quantity of silica sand with an admixture of kaolin [clay with a high alumina content]), chamotte, clay, and tidings based on a special

adhesive [of animal origin]) constitute from 30% up to 70% of all findings of pottery. Before an ornament was applied, they usually coated products from loose kashin with engobe and then glazed. Potteryware was being ornamented by overglazing, as well as underglazing.

The decorations on glazed ceramics of Lower Volga Region demonstrates the high level of artistic achievement in applied arts. During almost two centuries, basic principles of composition and the placement of ornaments on vessels of different shapes were developed. In the ornamentation of Golden Horde pottery, there are several basic groups: floral, geometric, epigraphic, abstract, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic. As an exception, there is one example with a polymorphic ornament.

Floral ornament. Floral ornament mainly linked to an established canonical style of depiction. At the same time, the features of a regional Golden Horde style such as free distribution and the uniqueness of separate decorative schemes are consistently exhibited. The number of botanical motifs in kashin ceramics reached 26 elements, but the most widespread botanical images in kashin, as well as in red clay ceramics are lotus blossoms or bushes in the central circle or on the walls of a vessel, as well as botanical prints with thick leaves and buds in ceramics with a relief, and a variety of herbal patterns in ceramics without a relief. In red clay ceramics the botanical motifs are stylised and are not so diverse.

The geometrical ornament having its certain originality in Golden Horde ornamentation was applied in complex decorative compositions full of herbal and epigraphic patterns, and sometimes was concealed. All the elements of a geometrical ornament are properly adjusted, especially in overglazed kashin ceramics, and are depicted with evidence of accurate geometric knowledge. In glazed crockery of Lower Volga cities, a six pointed star was the favourite geometrical motif in the central ornamented circle. A motif of corners or wickers was located in the rim under the corolla of open vessels. The diagonal grid was an additional ornament.

Zoomorphic ornament. The zoomorphic ornament got widespread in the Middle Ages. The figures of animals lost their independent significance and were completely subordinated to the composition and shapes of leaves, branches, buds, geometrical lines and figures. The images of animals in the Golden Horde ceramics were subordinated to the peculiarities of a linear pattern, which is typical for a decorative style of the Islamic East. Ducks, peacocks, parrots, snow leopards, deer and hares were real and fantastic beings that decorated the Golden Horde's kashin ceramics. As a rule, they were shown moving: by riding, running or flying. Very often patterns of animals and birds, inscribed onto medallions, occupy all the space of a bowl and are framed by botanical motifs. The Golden Horde masters had an excellent mastery of the correlation between the shape of an object and its ornamentation. The botanical motifs and the movement of an animal or bird, in harmony with each other, enhance the expressiveness of the drawing.

Epigraphic Ornament. The style of a simple *Kufic* script, which is characterised by modest, slim writing of letters and presented by a repeated stylised Arabic word of *iqbal* ('success') is the main kind of writing on household pottery of the Golden Horde. In overall design composition epigraphic stripes or the panel usually play the role of structural elements, breaking the monotonous flow of patterns and enlivening the image texture. In kashin of ceramics the epigraphic ornament is the most typical and is combined with various ornaments, such as flourishes, geometric and zoomorphic patterns, and others. It is always located in a separate broad band around the main central ornament, more rarely they are its part. Besides the word of *iqbal*, on kashin ceramics sometimes there is also Persian poetry, written in a thin line in cursive handwritten *naskh*, as well as pseudo-epigraphical ornaments. The parts that were managed to read, these turned out to be usual good wishes, common on glazed ceramics of the Middle East.

The anthropomorphic ornament on the ceramics of the Golden Horde is rarity. It was commonly used on Iranian architecture and household ceramics; it is found in the territory

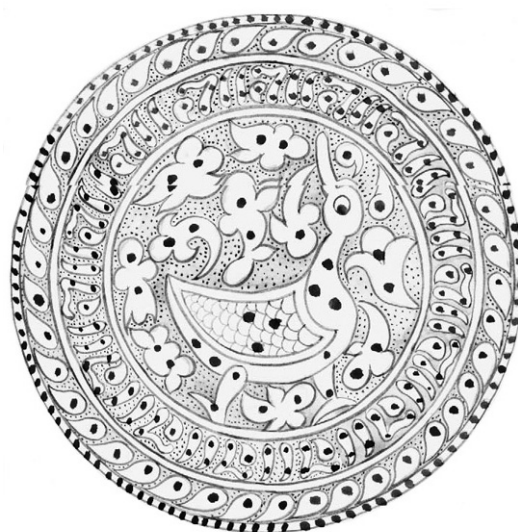
of Central Asia, Transcaucasia and the Crimea. Human images on the ceramics of the Golden Horde differ significantly from images known to us in their architectural treatment. If in the basis of Iranian images there underlay a Baghdad miniature style, which was reflected in the *minai* technique and in miniature paintings, in the Volga Region the ceramist masters managed to devise their own style and an artistic way of depiction.

Polymorphic Ornament. On one of the bowls from Selitrennoe ancient town a winged beast with a horse's body and a man's head is depicted in the central part of a vessel and a tiger's tail is crowned with a bird's head. The manner of depiction of feathers on its wings is typical of bird drawings. Most probably this is an image of the mythical beast of al-Burak, described in the Quran.

Abstract Ornament. In the Golden Horde ornamentation, along with others, additional types of ornament which are neither botanical nor geometric, were widely used. In kashin ceramics the similar motifs encompassed elements from the phylum 'peacock eye', 'fern leaves', 'peacock tail', as well as 'fir in a leaf' and different cloud like figures. For red clay pottery S-like and lance-shaped figures are typical.

The compositional distribution of ornaments on Golden Horde glazed pottery is based on the principles of composition and the placement of ornaments on vessels of different shapes. During the Golden Horde period, a diverse spectra of colours are being utilised in the ornamentation of glazed pottery and various motifs and elements of ornaments combine. Being combined and complementing each other, the motifs of ornaments created the most varied compositions. In glazed pottery of the Golden Horde, different kinds of compositions, such as centric, radial, concentric, radially-concentric, banded, swirl, medallion, solid, mosaic are identifiable, which had their own ornamentation motifs.

The compositions on kashin ceramics demonstrate a high and masterly command of the art volumetric and spatial composition and composition in general, as well as an acquaintance with Middle Eastern miniature painting



Kashin bowls with polychrome painting under transparent glaze. Ancient towns of the Lower Volga Region. 13–14th centuries (according to N. Lisova)



techniques. The works of Lower Volga ceramists were characterised by strict adherence to composition—whether it is concentric, medallion or radial arrangement of an ornament. A retreat from an imaginary canon such as introduction of random elements not typical for this type ornamentation or an output beyond the established boundaries is observed almost nowhere. For example, compositions of stylised botanical patterns, or a repeated word of *iqbal*, arranged in concentric belts, are typical for kashin products with multi-coloured painting and a relief. Stylised images of birds, animals, a six-pointed star, more rarely blossoms, and botanical patterns was being entered in the cen-

tral ornamented circle. A peacock eye and an epigrammatic inscription of the word 'success' were additional elements of an ornament. The defining style feature of this style of ceramics is the decoration and simplicity of composition by the use of minimal elements. The characteristic features of multi-coloured ceramics with a relief under transparent glaze include basic principles of composition, such as concentric, medallion, radial-concentric, solid and mosaic as an exception.

Ceramics without relief is stylistically close to the artistic style of the relief image, but the lack of relief gave more room for the imagination of ceramist masters, when designing vessels. During the creation of compositions, a large quantity of various elements and motifs in unique combinations was used. It is also typical for a combination of designs to be used on a single vessel. The concentric, solid, radial, radial-concentric, and medallion ceramics were also the basic compositional principles of division of ornaments for kashin ceramics with multi-coloured painting without a relief.

In blue-black ceramics, the decorative flourish became the main and the favourite pattern, demonstrating a complete command of manual painting. Smoothly bending on the stem that is

as thin as a hair, changing length and direction, the leaves stretched with three or five serrates, turning into a Garden of Eden for fairy birds and deer. Application of an openwork bound decorative flourishes, as well as original use of the abstract element 'cross stitch birds' for a similarity of the diagonal grid on the spherical walls of bowls are new to this part of kashin ceramics. In general, the composition of blue-black ceramic vessels are less diverse and consist mainly of the concentric, radial, mosaic and more rarely—vertical one.

In white-blue kashin ceramics, the Golden Horde masters employed decorative motifs also borrowed from Chinese porcelain. An original artistic style of Golden Horde ceramics craft was shown here particularly vividly. If, for Chinese white-blue porcelain, the symbolism where each element of an ornament is carrying a special sense of burden is typical, the Golden Horde masters decorated their vessels with botanical and zoomorphic motifs, using them to a significant extent as a decorative element, besides, the visual themes common to Chinese porcelain were absent in them. The Golden Horde cobalt ceramics also show the development of special techniques for a unique lightweight brushstroke in combination with the 'rice kernel' design. Masterly brush skills allowed the Golden Horde masters to create completely new compositions and led away ever further from Chinese prototypes. Variants of composition represented in white-blue ceramics are diverse: centric, concentric, concentrically radial, mosaic, banded, medallion and vertical. Centric composition of an ornament in the form of dots at the bottom of little bowls, in general, does not find analogies in design of other parts of Golden Horde kashin ceramics.

The red clay ceramics of the Golden Horde, when taken as a whole, demonstrates a special Golden Horde vessel design style in an ornament, although there are differences in the technique of applying the design. If for Caucasian and Crimean ceramics a basic tectonic pattern underlining the shape of a vessel was typical, in Lower Volga ceramics with a graphical ornament we can notice some withdrawal from this style. The impression is that there was not enough space for the ornament in the closed

concentric circle in the centre of a bowl, and it was trying to 'escape' beyond. We can observe the timid attempts to violate the strict tectonics even in the floral ornaments where the tips of radially located petals enter the decorative belt under the vessel corolla. The same can be observed also in the geometrical pattern as in the example of various wickers. An example of breaking the isolation of the pattern is the well-known figure of a leopard, where it occupies the entire surface of the bowl, and even seems to reach its edges in radial stripes.

For red clay ceramics the solid compositions where all of the surface of a bowl is coated with the ornament are, unlike the kashin one, the most typical. Most popular was the concentric, medallion and striped type of the radial composition. The most common versions of the interaction of ornamental elements in red clay ceramics are botanical, abstractly-geometrical and abstract.

The various art centres where the emergence and formation of Golden Horde ceramic craft of Lower Volga occurred influenced the formation of the artistic style of Golden Horde pottery. In the opinion of A. Jakobson, all the vast zone covering the Mediterranean, the Black Sea Region from Transcaucasia and Central Asia, the Middle East, and Near Middle East is one historical-artistic scene for glazed ceramics. And only relatively few motifs of ornamentation that usually signify a sign or a symbol, can be regarded as strictly limited in their distribution.

Borrowings of decorative motifs appear most vividly in multi-coloured ceramics without a relief. There are the analogies of decorative motifs of this part on ceramics of almost all cultural areas related to the Golden Horde. The elements of an ornament of this division are typical for the ceramics of the Far East, Transcaucasia and Central Asia. To identify one borrowing district is almost impossible. Analogies with ceramics of the Caucasus, Ani and Saray-Jük emerge. Kashin ceramics were widespread across a huge territory, with the same source of development—the ceramic craft of the Middle East.

In more complex forms of the decoration of cobalt ceramics of the Golden Horde, espe-

cially in timurid ceramics, the influence of Chinese ceramic art is being traced. However, the borrowing of Central Asia and Chinese decorative motifs in the ceramic centres of the Ulus of Jochi was accompanied by the development of their own Golden Horde style. This effect is especially noticeable on the example of a lotus blossom—a floral ornament in wide use in many regions. The impact of the ceramic craft of the medieval Western Caucasus and Crimea is the most noticeable.

A study of the style development of the Golden Horde ornament of household ceramics allows one to single out some peculiarities of its artistic design. First, all the colour spectrum of paintings on kashin ceramics is applied in cold tones; all shades of green from grey green, and bright green to almost black, cobalt blue and the running turquoise blue one. Kashin ceramics of the 'minai' type with many bright colours and the rarely found red clay ceramics with an engraved ornament under yellow glaze are exceptions to this rule. Secondly, in Golden Horde household ceramics the entire bowl mirror in open vessels and all the surface in closed molds are covered with ornaments. Thirdly, there is a diversity of decorative schemes on products typical for one part of ceramics. Fourthly, the use of decorative patterns dominated the ornaments of Golden Horde studio pottery and there is an almost complete absence of graphical scenes and landscapes as the botanical background in kashin ceramics and the minimum amount of zoomorphic images in red clay ceramics. Generalising everything mentioned above, one can deduce that the Golden Horde masters created an extraordinarily unique independent school of Golden Horde ceramics.

Comparative stylistic analysis showed that the decorative art of Golden Horde ceramics contained three powerful influences from the countries of the Muslim world (Iran and Central Asia), Byzantium and East Transcaucasia, as well as from the countries of the Far East. At the same time, the Golden Horde ornament bears significant differences in the design of artistic ceramics.

The formation of the Golden Horde decorative ceramic art was influenced by several fac-

tors: the influx to cities of Lower Volga Region of highly qualified specialists from conquered countries with developed ceramic crafts; the joint labour in one workshop of masters from different countries; the influence of tastes and consumer requests over the design of ceramic vessels whether from those at the aristocratic elite, the simple urban or the rural population; the expansion of mass production caused by increase and steady demand for household ceramics, in the country itself, as well as beyond its borders; the trade contacts of cities of the Lower Volga Region with many countries and cities in the Jochid Ulus, as well as with other neighbouring countries, which allowed the export of pottery on a mass scale.

Stylistic analysis of household glazed ceramic ornaments reflects the process of formation of a single festive imperial art culture of the Golden Horde's new medieval state. Obviously, ceramic art was in the forefront of this process by virtue of the understanding of art. Artistic ceramics penetrated all parts of the population and was considered to be a material for both monumental and applied arts, and where this process is exhibited most clearly. However, the bright ceramics of the Golden Horde were not a blind imitation of Eastern traditions of pottery. In the potters' workshops of the Ulus of Jochi they worked out their own style, having taken all the most advanced techniques and following fashion trends.

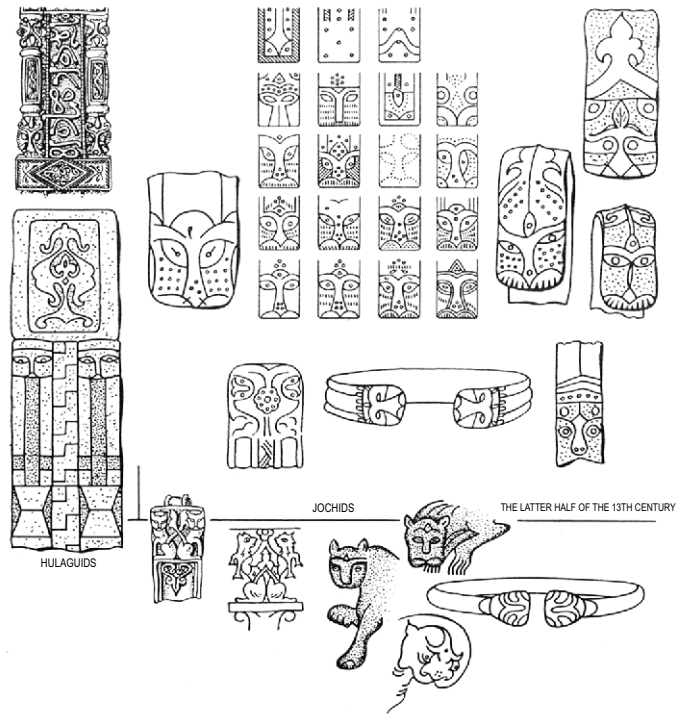
The pieces of jewellery and items of everyday life. Various pieces of jewellery were a typical part of the Golden Horde's culture. Many of them are widely represented in the museum collections of Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Kazan, Saratov, Astrakhan, and other towns of the Volga Region (for the sources of the initial stage of development of jewel art of the Golden Horde see an essay of M. Kramarovsky in Section V).

Lamellar bracelets which were the favourite type of jewellery for the medieval woman of the Volga Region had open ends decorated with sharp images of stylised lion masks. These bracelets, based on the findings of foundries of the Sarai al-Jadid, developed in Volga Region workshops in the second half of the 13th century under the influence of Asia-Minor and Ira-

Bracelets with lion heads:
schemes of origins and development
(according to M. Kramarovsky)

nian (seljuk) artistic style and were spread extremely widely in Eastern Europe until the 15th century [Kramarovsky, 1978, pp. 46–51].

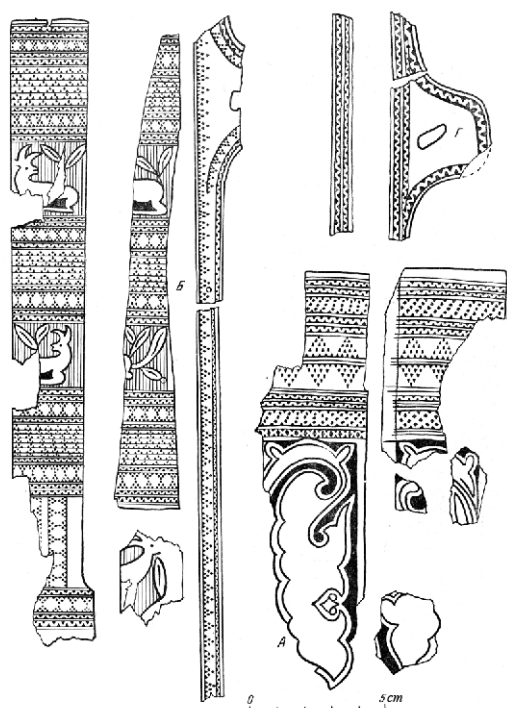
Mirrors are one of the most widely seen household items and examples of artistic crafts. Thousands are known from collections and excavations of cities and burial sites from the territory of the Ulus of Jochi. For example, from Bulgar there are 879 items known, from Ukek—80, several dozens from burial sites of the nomadic population of the Golden Horde, etc. They are all extremely varied in their decoration. There are mirrors with a simple geometrical ornament in the form of concentric circles, radial-circular compositions, floral-vegetative ornamental motifs (with a border around the centre), etc. There are mirrors with zoomorphic compositions, in shape of two or four symmetrically situated sphinxes (al buraqs), fish, wolves, as well as mirrors with dragons that are curled up in a traditional Chinese art pose and hunting scenes. A certain part make up mirrors with epigraphic arabesque ornamentation reminiscent of early Asian and Asia Minor examples. To better understand the essence of the symbiosis of the Golden Horde cultures, one should observe the mirrors that combine the Chinese motif of fish with an Arabic inscription on the edge, along with botanical patterns. Having studied numerous mirrors from the Golden Horde times, G. Fedorov-Davydov came to the conclusion that 'the mirrors clearly show us eclecticism of tastes and inconsistency in the style that prevailed at the time of the Golden Horde... The art culture of the Golden Horde took, not only things of different ethnic traditions and origin, but even things of the same origin, but of different styles and epochs and turned them into its own integral elements'. [Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, p. 181].



Adornments of Military Life (Weapons and Harness). As in pre-Mongol period, a military costume was rather expressive. There was an especially large variety of different belt ornaments, such as straps, badges, and buckles. The most expressive of these products were the ones with scalloped edges with depictions of dragons dating back to Central Asian (Khitan&Jurchen) prototypes, as well as waistbands reflecting the stage of the formation of the Golden Horde's own jewellery manufacturing school [Kramarovsky, 1999; Kramarovsky, Poluboyarinova, 1982].

Few weapons (found in the excavations of settlements and burial places) have survived, but even fewer items can be studied as subjects of arts and crafts. A fragment of a sabre (the Öz Beg sabre) with a Kufic inscription, stored in the Hermitage and found in the ruins of the Sarai, is one of the notable findings.

Very typical quivers decorated with carved bone inlays should be distinguished from other decorated items of military life [Malinovskaya, 1974]. In total a set of 84 are from the territory of the Ulus of Jochi. Analysis of findings showed they had appeared in the Golden Horde in the second half of the 13th century



Quiver coverings. Jochid Ulus. 13–14th centuries (according to N. Malinovskaya)

and been used by the aristocratic heads of Tartar clans. They are known in a large territory from Transnistria to central Kazakhstan, but a district of Lower Volga Region [ibid. pp. 134–135, fig. 2] accounts for the largest concentration of findings. However, despite their being circulated in a large territory, there is an undoubted stylistic similarity in the discoveries. The ornamented inlays on each quiver demonstrate the great art of ancient masters, who skilfully combined various techniques of bone carving. Carving of triangles and rhombuses was most often employed. Botanical and spiral-like motifs, as well as various carved delimiter bands of separate decorative groups were usually made by engraving. At the same time the simple linear pattern was supplemented and made livelier by deep grooves that were filled with coloured paste. This manner of outlining a picture was typical of medieval Eurasian nomads' ornamentation. Very typical depiction of fallow deer with their head sometimes turned back or deer tossing powerful horns behind their back are often found in the design of belt sets in the Ulus of Jochi, Ilkhan

Iran and Asia Minor, especially in early times, in the period of Chinggis Khan's legacy [Kramarovsky, 1995, pp. 193–198; 1999]. Representations of a rider on horseback, as well as of fantastic dragons and beasts, different animals created as a result of combining body parts, and birds are also seen. Therefore, it can be said that all these inlays existed simultaneously and were made in one location. Undoubtedly, the Volga Region towns were their centre of manufacturing [Malinovskaya, 1974, p. 169; Fedorov-Davydov, 1966, p. 204]. The general botanical patterns and stylised animal shape give a teratological style to openwork covers. The covers of this quiver, in N. Malinovskaya's opinion are 'Perhaps, the ones most sophisticated in form, style and performance. The natural colour of bone plates combines with the bright colouring (black, red paste) of figures carved extraordinarily skilfully and gold foil serving as a background for all images. Figures of big cats and dogs, deer, hares, birds, and fantastic beasts' are going one after another [Malinovskaya, 1974, p. 140]. The plates of this quiver are distinguished from all others by a 'Romanised' depiction of animals, this style shows analogies with multi-coloured Iranian and Asia Minor ceramics and the Golden Horde metalwork. In other words, the diversity of animals on carved quiver plates and the unsteadiness of depiction of similar images indicate the medieval masters did not have a single role model and borrowed plots for themselves along with motifs of drawings. Obviously, these trends of bone carving art, having emerged from the rich traditions of medieval Eurasian art, brought everything traditional and new in the Ulus of Jochi into a new beautiful shape.

In general, this bright part of military life testifies to the interweaving and blending of various traditions (Central Asian, Kipchak) and the evolution of a general artistic style, serving the aristocrats of the Jochid Ulus, who lived in cities, as well as in the steppe. This general military fashion that defined the costume style of military nobles and subordinated to general trends of development, served as an important unifying factor of the Jochid Ulus military-service class.

* * *

The Golden Horde civilisation is a notable page of the history of world culture. It was a powerful imperial style that assimilated the traditions of many peoples, not in a chaotic heterogeneous elemental collection, but in a system of organically-fused phenomena surpassed by styles that sounded powerful and trends that varied in different periods of existence. Besides a syncretic background of the pre-Mongol cultures, some of which had developed figurative language based on Islamic (Khwarezm, Bulgar), or Eurasian migratory (Kipchak, Kimak) traditions, elements of material and artistic culture from Central Asia and Far East are evident in the culture of the Jochid Ulus. The imperial culture of the Golden Horde emerged as a result of the creative activity of almost all peoples that belonged to the Jochid Ulus, who mastered a cultured repertoire brought by their conquerors to the west. Most vividly Chinggisid traditions were shown in the cultural circle of socially prestigious products which were

the distinguishing feature of military and service class nobility. These included the uniform of the belt kit, weaponry and equipment, along with other accessories. Of course, this culture was not completely isolated because initially it was strictly socially oriented. However in the early 14th century the growth of cities in the Jochid Ulus, especially in the Volga Region, led to the flourishing of a new urban culture with its watering cups, mosaic panels on mosques, Arabic astronomers, Persian poetry and Muslim theology, interpreters of the Quran, mathematicians and astronomers, refined ornamental patterns and calligraphy [Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, p. 118]. Thus, the essence of the Golden Horde civilisation was that it was a syncretic imperial culture incorporating Islam which cloaked traditional Turkic culture. The Golden Horde was one of most powerful and highly developed medieval Islamic states of Northern Eurasia. For more than two centuries it developed its own traditions, which exerted a decisive influence on many Turk-Islamic peoples.

CHAPTER 6

Written Culture and Scientific Knowledge

§1. Scientific and applicative knowledge

Gamirzyan Davletshin

In the Golden Horde on the basis of the highly developed writing culture and thanks to the numerous enlightened people of the Islamic world concentrated in cities of Khwarezm, the Bulgar, the Caucasus and Crimea a variety of sciences developed, including mathematics, astronomy, geodesy, geography, medicine, history, logic, rhetoric, etc. These knowledges advanced considerably here.

At first, the development of exact sciences in the Jochid Ulus was closely linked to the economic life, but later they gradually began to play an important role in both administrative and state construction. The state and military construction of the Jochid Ulus was mathematically based to some extent. The military-political units were divided by 10000, 1000, 100, 10. The cities in particular, that were centres of trade, craft and architecture became a fertile ground for the development of mathematical knowledge. Without mathematical knowledge neither astronomical nor geographical ideas could develop.

There was a clearly regulated tax system in the Jochid Ulus. The taxation system required complex mathematical calculations both when being set and during collection. The amount and volume of taxable goods were determined. This involved calculations of values, interest, etc.

The majority of taxes were per capita. Therefore, one had to conduct population censuses in the country and conquered lands. They were conducted repeatedly. A population census is an important event for any state. It also requires the society to be prepared mathematically.

Active inland and foreign trade in the Ulus of Jochi could not exist without a highly-developed monetary system.

The coins are valuable historical sources, inter alia, even for discovering the mathematical knowledge of the society. In the weight-based monetary system of that time, one can find many ratios which need mathematical actions. The coins had clearly defined weights [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 46]. Determination of value of a precious metal coin in a weight-based monetary system led to complex mathematical calculations, and raised the metals into higher level. Already in this time points denoting divisibility are found on the weights. However, it was not mere arithmetic. First one needed to define the weight system where the weight belonged, then make fairly complex mathematical calculations.

Such complex mathematical calculations could not always be memorised. Therefore, sometimes monetary units are temporarily marked on coins, scale dishes or on pottery-ware. A trader or buyer, looking quickly at an inscription, made his calculation. There is another interesting thing: the travellers of that time were very much interested in the prices of goods in markets. Therefore, there are many arithmetic calculations in the travel notes.

Strong mathematicisation of the society, that is the need of mathematical calculations in many areas of its activity, was reflected in works of fiction as well. For example, there are mentions of financial affairs and in this connection moral-ethical problems are being raised. Mentions of calculations, figures, mathematical symbols (*rakym*), facilities for drawing, etc., are found in the poem "Khosrow Shirin".

Jochi Ulus is a country of cities. In the vast steppes where city life was not known before, numerous cities appear relatively quickly. Majestic buildings are being erected in them. Hy-

draulic engineering and defensive constructions, the public buildings, none of these could be constructed without mathematical knowledge.

Since the middle of the 13th century Bulgar began to experience a period of great constructions. Knowledge of the peculiarities of various geometric figures and their skillful alternation allowed the architects to create majestic architectural ensembles. In the words of mathematician V. Berkutov "building constructions of similar types show that the Bulgars were well-informed about the science of stereometry and methods of stereographic projection" [Berkutov, 1994, 150 b].

Symphony of geometric figures is typical for many architectural monuments of Bolgar Archaeological Site. The so called 'Black Chamber' is most mysterious among the monuments. The architectural masses consisting of rigid geometric figures form clear correlations with each other. Thus the plan of this monument consists of unified squares of different sizes, an octahedron, and a circle.

Dyurbe are the mausoleums where the Bulgarian emirs and their relatives were buried. The cubes that form the base of the monuments thanks to the cuts go smoothly to the octagonal second tier, in a mausoleum of the North, possibly, into 16 facets. Inside a building they are crowned with the hemispherical dome and outside—with an octagonal tent.

Having explored baths on the Bolgar Archaeological Site, N. Kalinin and A. Smirnov came to the conclusion that 'the relation between the base and height of the vaults correspond to the simple proportions of an Egyptian triangle': for the east vault of 4:3, for south it is 3:2, for the west one, 5:4 [Kalinin, Smirnov, 1946].

Construction of architectural monuments on the principle of alternating geometric figures is also typical of other Golden Horde towns. Often the constructions of Sarai al-Jadid form rectangles in plan that remind of babylons. The babylon drafts are observed even on bricks in lower Volga cities [Fedorov-Davydov, 1961a, fig. 87]. Using relations of lines of babylons during construction in the plan of rectangular, square, 8 and 16-sided buildings was much more convenient. Such drafts were

also used in games (for example, Nine Men's Morris) [Polyakova, Fechner, 1973]. A similar draft was found in a children's room of a big house, explored in Sarai-Batu [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 58]. In addition, there were other mathematical games. here was a belief in the magical powers of numbers and an enthusiasm for magic squares was widespread in the Islamic world. Playing chips, the sides of which are marked by a different number of dots, along with hollows, are common finds during the excavations of Golden Horde archaeological sites [ibid, p. 178].

Because mathematical knowledge was closely linked to practical activity, few treatises relating to this field of science were written. Despite that, the separate encyclopaedist scientists were famous in this field as well. For example, there is a Taftazani Ate treatise on geometry [Marjani, 1885, 83 b.].

The Golden Horde stargazers used instruments that were a type of astrolabe prevalent at that time in the East. Some their parts were found in the Tsarevo archaeological site (Sarai al-Jadid) [Fedorov-Davydov, 1964b].

The astronomical instruments found by A. Tereshchenko in the middle of the 19th century in the Tsarevo archaeological site are two fragments of the so called planishperic or flat astrolabes with a degree grid and designations of degrees with Arabic letters. In contrast to the spherical ones, in these the sphere of the sky is represented on a flat surface. One can also estimate the popularity of astronomical instruments judging by literary works. For example, in the poem of 'Khosrow and Shirin' Qutb talks about an astrolabe [Qutb, 1992, No. 5, 35 b.].

In addition to that, astrolabe, the quadrant were used in construction works for measurement of horizontal angles. Not far from Sarai al-Jadid large hydraulic engineering construction that was very complex for its time, was erected. 'The perfection of all hydraulic engineering constructions merely amazed us... In this time the Golden Horde could really be proud of its capital and its engineers' wrote one of the early researchers of the ruins of the capital of the Jochid Ulus, Franz Ballod [Ballod, 1923a, pp. 21–22, 27–28]. This majestic hydraulic engineering construction

is a result of the scientific-technical achievements of the time.

In 1963, two fragments of a cast bronze quadrant were found in Tsarevo archaeological site. The quadrant is a goniometric astronomical instrument for the measurement of the height of heavenly bodies above the horizon and angular distances between luminaries. Unlike astrolabe, it is made of the fourth part of a circle. The plate of a quadrant was covered with the degree scale and lines, crossing each other, whereby one could easily calculate different arcs and angles with sufficient accuracy. On the found fragments, the points and the lines are labelled with Arabic letters, that is abjad. The words 'east' and 'degree' are also written in Arabic [Fedorov-Davydov, 1964b]. There is no doubt, in the Islamic world and Jochi Ulus, special treatises on these tools were distributed [Iskusstvo islama, 1990, fig. 49].

The shortness of nights in Bulgarian summers and consequently the difficulty of performing the daily five ritual prayers set by sharia continued to worry the Islamic world. In the Golden Horde period this was proved ever more by astronomical knowledge. With the help of tools, the time for the performance of prayers, and the removal of prohibitions during a fast is carefully calculated and measured. As mentioned by al-Omari, Masud [Collection of materials relating to the history of the Golden Horde, 1884, p.237] was not only a timekeeper but also an astronomer in Bulgar. The Bulgar was becoming one of the centres for the precise determination of time by observation of heavenly bodies. The Bulgarian stargazers kept following heavenly bodies far in the north 700 versts from Bulgar (the 20-day journey of al-Omari) [Kurat, 1920, p.789]. These are the lands of the Visu tribe. Because of the fact that the scientists from the centres of Islam did not have such a possibility, the Bulgarian scientists made a contribution to the Muslim astronomical science.

In the Jochid Ulus, they went beyond astronomical and geodesic knowledge to satisfy practical or religious needs. They also made certain theoretical generalisations in special treatises. According to the data given by Hajja Caliph, the author of one of them was Kamal

ad-Din al-Turkmani, who in 755, that is approximately 1354, in city of Guliston wrote commentaries on the work of the famous Kwarezmian scientist Mahmud ibn Muhammad ibn Umar Jaghmini on astronomy called 'Favourites from astronomy' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordj', 1884, p. 463].

At that time fiction was a means of disseminating knowledge, including astronomical. Saif Sarai (1321–1396) in his work called Sukhail and Guldursun writes in a manner as if he was talking about a completely natural and normal phenomenon, that a girl, the heroine of the poem, goes around her beloved one as the Earth goes around the Sun [Miñnegulov, 1994, 25 b.; Poe'ziya Zolotoj Ordj', 2005, p. 155]. Another poet, Qutb, writes about distant worlds, what look like stars are in fact special worlds, and there are long distances between them, and there is a perpetual motion existing in the Universe. One chapter of his poem is called 'Motion in the Universe' [Qutb, 1992, No. 5, 35 b.].

Therefore, in terms of astronomical knowledge and scientific thought the Tatars were completing the transition from mythological views to being genuinely scientific. As one of the Islamic world's popular sciences, astronomy influenced even the Golden Horde society. Its development was directly linked to the requirements and rites of Islam. The names of heavenly bodies, and their symbols were present at rites. They were also reflected in the people superstitions, divinations, which included the knowledge gained with the help of astronomical instruments.

Astronomical knowledge of the Middle Age had a place in the life of the Tatars until the late 19th century. At that time tools such as quadrants and sextants were broadly used by astronomers.

In 1260 the completely established the Jochid Ulus unites a significant part of the territory of Asia and Europe. Naturally, the country's endless dimensions had a serious impact on the geographical views of its inhabitants. The travellers who visited the Jochid Ulus in their records described the size of this country based, of course, on information received from

the inhabitants of the country as well as by themselves. Al-Omari, during a description of the Jochid Ulus, presented a lot of information from a famous merchant, sheikh of this country an-Nugman al-Khwarizmi.

Bulgaria did not lose its role as an intermediary between the South and North in trade affairs in the period of the Jochid Ulus either. This role of mediator is clearly emphasised in written sources of that time. Information from specialists such as al-Garnati, al-Marvazi and Biruni about the northern territories, Bulgarian peoples, and their activities, which dated back to the pre - Mongol period, remained constant even in that time. However, there are other opinions among the authors about the territories of the North, where stories from the Quran and the tales the travellers heard [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, pp. 240–241].

In that time the eastern intellectuals imagined the Volga River slightly differently. The Bolshaya Volga encompassed the Upper Kama (the White Volga), the Lower Kama (the Black Volga), and the remaining part of the Volga up to the Caspian Sea. Such a notion about the Volga River had already emerged in a Khazar-Bulgarian period and became traditional [Däülätsin, 1999, 374 b.].

The geographical views on the Eastern territories are interesting, especially those existing in the Jochid Ulus. It follows from the sources that there were two ways to the centre of the Mongolian empire. The first, the ancient road: through the Lower Volga, Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The other was from Bulgaria to Bashkortostan, through Siberia and Chulyman. There is no doubt, that the Bulgars preferred this way. Apparently, they had already mastered it in the pre-Mongol period.

Distances between the regions and towns of the Jochid Ulus were also determined fairly accurately. In the Mongol empire, as well as in the Jochid Ulus, high priority was given to road condition, maintenance, the organisation of a mail service, and the provision of roadside amenities [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 460].

All these conditions inside the country had a positive influence on the expansion of its in-

habitants' geographic knowledge. That is why many areas in Eurasia were familiar to them.

The Jochid Ulus kept close multilateral ties with many countries of the world. Ancient caravan routes brought them together. Particularly close ties existed with China, Mongolia, India, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Byzantium, Egypt, Syria, Rus', Poland, Hungary and Italy. The Ulus of Jochi actively conducted political diplomacy with all neighbouring and distant countries, especially with Egypt. Between the years 1260 and 1430, 50 embassies were exchanged by these two countries [Zakirov, 1966].

Since the end of the 13th century the Northern Italian cities of Genoa and Venice, and their regions, were known as strong trade territories, and republics. The trading colonies of Genoa and Venice were situated in the Crimea, along the Black Sea shores. At first the Mongols even kept close contact with the Pope. For example, in 1248, Pope Innocent IV (1234–1254) received a Mongolian embassy [Fedorov-Davydov, 1968b, p.76].

Names of people of foreign descent who lived and died in Bulgaria (for example, Shirvani, Shamakhi, Samarkandi, Kardari, Dzhenidi, Kursani (Khorasani, Afrikandzhi), are seen on the Bulgarian monuments [Mukhametshin, Khakimzyanov, 1987, p. 119]. Even in that time the Islamic world was large. It encompassed many countries. All that was required to make journeys across these countries was to be a Muslim. In Islamic countries rooms were rented for travellers, merchants, dervish wanderers. In all the Jochid Ulus there were increases of Sufism, especially in certain periods, there were shelters(khanaka)for religious sheikh figures, pilgrims and dervishes. Travellers from many countries stayed in them. For example, Ibn Battuta stayed in the Majar (Madzhir) hermitage of a sheikh from Iraq for a year where there were 'near seventy Arab, Persian, Turkish and Russian fakirs'. Journeys were therefore regarded as a noble cause that contributed to the dissemination of religion and the discovery of new ways.

The travellers enriched each other with information about their countries. In the Jochid Ulus there were even some professional trav-

ellers, geographers. One of them, Ala ad-Din an-Noman (Nogman?) Ibn Davlatshakh ibn Ghali al-Khwarezmi, having set out from his house at the age of 21, in 1318 arrived in Damascus. After spending some time there, he headed to the sultan's palace in Cairo. Then he set out to Mecca and again returned to Cairo. He saw many countries and met many noble people; he was received as a valued guest in the palaces of khans Mengu-Timur, Toqta, and Öz Beg [ibid, p. 175].

Khans usually questioned the famous travellers with interest about what they saw on their way. Thus they received up to date information and increased their knowledge. Al-Mufaddal described how the Khan of Burke questioned the Egyptian ambassadors with interest about their country. He was interested in animals that were common in the Jochid Ulus, such as elephants and giraffes. Then he asked if what he had heard was true that the bridge over the Nile was made from human bones [ibid, p. 194]. In those days the fantastic tales about other countries which were delivered by word of mouth and in written form as well, were more or less true. Travellers often found themselves looking for ways to make their stories more exciting.

All this contributed to the increase of geographic knowledge of inhabitants of the Jochid Ulus. The economy and culture of the Jochid Ulus were also open to foreign influence, many imported innovations were implemented here willingly.

Sanitation and hygiene condition of Golden Horde cities noticeably differed from European ones. The sources note equipment, cleanliness, the perfection of public buildings and constructions, good-looking markets which became original centres of society, broad streets and a lot of mosques. Describing it, a researcher of the Bolgar Archaeological Site A. Smirnov concluded 'the infrastructure of the city, its cleanliness and the number of public complexes and constructions exceeded the majority of European cities of that epoch' [Smirnov, 1981, p. 209].

Sarai was one of the most beautiful medieval cities. The Arab traveller, Ibn Battuta from Maghreb, who visited the capital of the Golden Horde, wrote, 'Sarai is one of the most beauti-

ful cities having reached the extreme extent... it is too crowded with people, beautiful markets and broad streets' [Collection of materials relating to the history of the Golden Horde, 1884, p.306]. Thus, the Golden Horde's urban streets were wide, unlike European ones. It favourably affected the sanitary condition of a city. The location of the majority of streets in Sarai in the direction of the Earth's rotation perhaps created not only physical but also biopsychological comfort. Infrastructure and the sanitary state of homes had social aspect. The floors, in houses where the representatives of middle segments of population dwelt, were covered with paved burned bricks and sometimes had a basin—toshnau—in the centre. They consisted of two parts— a living room and a room for the storage and preparation of food [Egorov, 1970].

Water supply and waste water disposal were the most important problems of every medieval city and its successful sanitation/hygiene. On the Tsarevo archaeological site, the aryks and the moats were joined by a pipe network to large artificial lakes constructed on the northern outskirts of the town. The hills and spurs of the Volga-Akhtaba fluvial terrace were connected by dikes and water, which flowed in the snow melting season to the valley district where the city was situated, was stored in these artificial reservoirs. Thus the protection of an urban area from drought was achieved and, simultaneously, reserves of water were created. In addition, the aryks were being filled with water from wells that were included in their system [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 64]. The similar systems of underground drainages, watersheds and water-absorbent wells were explored in the Selitrennoe archaeological site, Bulgar.

The reputation of Bulgarian and Golden Horde baths spread far beyond the borders of the country. They were situated in the central squares and were equipped with an underground heating system, plumbing with hot and cold water, and sewerage with clay pipes, as well as with pools and fountains. There was a channel diverting water with a reservoir [Zilivinskaya, 1989; Kalinin, Smirnov, 1946; Shariullin, 1984, pp.23–25]. The cleansing effect of baths was well known to the population. There

is a Tatar legend about the therapeutic properties of a bath and a birch broom. The baths in the East and ancient Rome had not only sanitary and recreational purposes, they were also a resting place. Here they played draughts and chess, musical instruments and listened to music, and ate delicious food. During excavations, draughts, chess figures, remains of musical instruments, and fragments of the expensive tableware were found in the Bulgarian cities [Kalinin, Smirnov, 1946; Sharifullin, 1984, pp. 23–25].

There were public toilets in towns of the Golden Horde. For example, there was a two-section toilet made from bricks with a hole dug out under the floor in Sarai-Batu [Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 67].

Medicine in the Golden Horde had a practical meaning. Medical knowledge had to meet everyday requirements.

Ibn Battuta wrote about the spreading of gout among Turks [Sbornik materialov, ot nosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 296], one of the causes of which was an abundant intake of fat meat. A feet disease was spread in some tribes of Turks. Perhaps this disease was a result of constant riding [ibid.] on horseback. The cause of the death of the famous Khan of the Jochid Ulus, Mengu-Timur (1266–1282) was 'an abscess, which collided in its throat. It pierced him and he died' [ibid, pp. 68, 103]. 'A colic', according to some sources, was the cause of the death of Khan Berke. From the standpoint of modern medicine, such pains could be associated with kidney, liver, intestine, and other diseases.

However, all the sources pay greater attention to the plague and cholera epidemic in the Jochid Ulus in 1346–1350 and in 1353 [ibid, pp. 529–530]. In the opinion of the population of the Jochid Ulus, the plague began in the 'Country of Gloom'. Actually, the plague epidemic in that time began in China, a part of lands of which belonged to the Mongol Empire. In the history of Islamic countries it was the sixth worst epidemic which, as the contemporaries wrote, 'devastated' the countries and dwellings, and affected people by numbness and hemoptysis' [ibid]. The great epidemic of plague (cholera) in the Jochid Ulus recurred in

1428–1430, when 'a lot of people died, few Tatars survived' [ibid, p. 439].

At that time, people tried to cure various diseases using natural remedies. They used a range of herbs, minerals and healing springs. A physician was traditionally called 'an otachi' in this time in the Turkic language, which literally means a herbalist. Thus, medicinal herbs were the most important means of treatment.

During excavations of Golden Horde cities they often found the so-called 'galls' or Latin galla [Grigoriev, 1847, p.570]. These are pathological parasites of plants. The oak, sumakh and pistachio galls are rich in tanning substances. Also, they were widely used by doctors.

Great importance in this period was attached to the power of healing springs and mineral waters. Al-Omari wrote about such a spring under a sacred mountain in Khwarezm: 'There is a spring known for the fact that people suffering from chronic illnesses arrive there. They remain there for 7 days and bath in the water every day in the morning and in the evening and after each bath, they drink the water till they get enough and thus, they are healed' [Collection of stories related to the history of Golden Horde, 1884, p. 242]. Ibn Battuta, who was in Caucasus in 1333, writes about the local healing springs as follows: 'Khan Sultan Muhammad Öz Beg's stake is four days of journey from Majar (a Golden Horde city in the Caucasus.—*G.D.*)—Bishdag (translated as Pyatigorye.—*G.D.*), where the hot spring where the Turks are bathing is located. They believe that whoever baths there will not be affected with the diseases' [Ibid., p. 289].

In 1264–1265 the sultan of Egypt organised a hajj in honour of Berke Khan. After it he sent an embassy to Sarai with numerous gifts, among which there were two vials of the so-called "zamzamii"—sacred water of the Zamzam spring and balsam oil [Ibid, pp.164, 358]. There is information on the healing powers of sacred waters in the Russian chronicles, too. For example, it is reported that none of the physicians of Khan Berke could cure his only son. The ruler of Rostov-on-Don, Kirill, came to help and he cured him with consecrated water.

And in that time people dreamed about immortality, everlasting life, rejuvenation. There is a mention of eternal water (*мәңгелек суы*) the poem by the Golden Horde poet Khwarizmi called 'Poem of love'. On a fragment of a large beautiful vase found in the homestead of a rich person in Sarai Batu the following is written in Persian: 'They say, there is water of life in the world' [Fedorov-Davydov, 1984, p.231]. The legends narrate about healing, rejuvenating water of life, water of eternity [Риваятьләр һәм legendalar, 1987, 214 b.].

The papers with Arabic texts, prayers, in the opinion of Muslims, also had a therapeutic property. In addition, the population used belemnites as a healing method. They were trying to strengthen therapeutic properties of belemnites by applying Arabic letters and words on them, which were considered sacred for Muslims. Thus, in this period the Arabic letters were sacred writings of Islam that served as drugs of their own kind and protected from diseases. On household items, in particular, on tableware, along with other wishes there are wishes of good health to the owner.

Jochi Ulus, which was quite developed for its time, could not do without a professional medical service. Sources report that in the Golden Horde there was such a well-established medical system that whoever fell ill could address a certain doctor. It is reflected as natural phenomenon even in literary works of that time. In this respect a relevant work is the collection of stories by Mahmud al-Bulgari, called 'Nakhj al-Faradis' written in 1358. For example, one of the stories tells about a woman who was cured for infertility with the help of psychological impact. Evaluation of a patient's pulse was one of the diagnostics means used by healers of Golden Horde [Mahmud al-Bulgari, 2002, pp. 195–196 b]. In the literary works of the Golden Horde period there are lines about separate medicines, as well.

In the Jochid Ulus a health care system is established. In the most developed regions of the country, for example, in Khwarezm, inpatient treatment centres (hospitals) open. This is reported by life facts of Al ad-Din an-Noman Davletshah Ibn Ali al-Khwarizmi, who was a famous religious figure, sheikh and a great ge-

ographer. One of his contemporaries—al-Birzali, says about him, 'He was a wonderful person; he left his motherland when he was 21, went to different countries, met famous people, studied logic, dialectics, and medicine, and returned to his land in 701. Here he made friends with King Timur-Malik, served as a doctor at his palace and was promoted to senior doctor in a hospital in Khwarezm (i.e. Urgench). Later, Timur-Malik sent him to Khan Toqta, Berkovich, who was the king of Desht-i Kipchak land, where he had major success' [Collection of stories related to the history of Golden Horde, 1884, p. 175].

One can conclude from reports of Ibn Battuta that the hospital in Khwarezm was also known abroad. Famous doctors from other countries worked there. One of them was a migrant from the Syrian town of Sakhun [Ibid. p. 309].

Another person who possessed encyclopaedic knowledge was tabib Ibn Nejam Abdarrahman Ibn Abd ar-Rahman Ibn Nasr al-Mausli (1254–1330). During the rule of Öz Beg Khan in Sarai he practiced different sciences, including medicine. In 1324 he arrived to Damascus. He taught in the madrasah of az-Zechariah al-Berali, al-Jarui, governed the Al-Qasr hermitage. Along with that he was a sheikh fakih [Ibid, p. 463].

Thus, medicine in the Jochid Ulus, based on national traditions and closely related to the achievements of the Muslim countries of that time, was turning into a professional activity. Inpatient medical facilities start to appear. These hospitals and the famous tabibs that worked there, lived under the patronage of khans and local authorities. Öz Beg and Toqta Khans paid special attention to medicine, they brought tabibs to their places, and patronised them [Ibid, pp. 175, 206, 277, 514].

The Jochid Ulus had its own state ideology and historical knowledge that served it. This ideology was very harmonious with the general Islamic one, disseminated in Islamic countries. Historical works of that period contain information about the dissemination of Islam, its acceptance by the Khans Berke, Öz Beg, as well as about the correlations of Sarai with the then centre of Islam—Cairo, the tense relations,

the military clashes of Golden Horde people with the then enemy of Islam Hulagu Khan.

In historical knowledge, pedigrees occupy ever more place, which is closely linked to the ancient Turkic traditions, as well as to Islam. In Islam, many official positions, ranks are related to proximity in kinship to the Prophet Muhammad and his family. After the election of a new caliph in Cairo, the history of his family is composed, the position of his kinship with prophets is certified by the seal and signature of the head of the qadis. It is announced throughout the Islamic world, first of all, to the rulers of the Jochid Ulus [Ibid, p. 430]. In the Islamic world, there were also other officials for whom it was obligatory to put up a family history. The composition of pedigrees was widely distributed in the Jochid Ulus. In such stories the authors strive, first of all, to emphasise the nobility of their family, its antiquity, and the number of tribes. The pedigrees approved by authoritative qadis turned into the most important argument for receiving high-ranking positions. The composition of pedigrees becomes fashionable also among the country's scholars. This document made an important difference for resolution of disputes. But a pedigree is not only the enumeration of tribes. A person's story is being set forth in it in relation to important, well-known historical events, a sort of benchmarks of the country's history. Pedigrees were preserved in a written form or passed by word of mouth, becoming a valuable aspect of the history of Turkic-Tatar culture. Each Tatar, at least, had to know his origin to the seventh tribe—this became an unwritten rule.

The Egyptian-Golden Horde Turks seem to have been familiar also with chronicles. The works of some Arab historians, who had good knowledge about the Turks of Desht-i Kipchak, were also called chronicles. They describe the events relating to the Jochid Ulus in the very smallest details. One such work is, for example, the historical work of Rukn al-Din Baibars al-Mansuri (he died in 1325 in Cairo) titled 'Baibars Chronicle', which has 11 volumes [Ibid, p. 73]. Another historian, Ibn Tagribirdi, who died in 1470, wrote about Egyptian Emir Artysh who carefully studied Iasu of Chinggis Khan, put up the genealogy of various Tatar

tribes and very often referred to the chronicles of his people [Ibid, p. 10]. By the concept of 'his people', first of all, the Volga Turks are meant here. Emir Artysh himself, having departed from the Volga Region to Egypt, received there a high position in the society.

Eastern literature, including the Golden Horde one, as well as fiction were also a beneficial means of spreading historical knowledge. In literary works they often turned to antiquity, the East, especially to the image of historical figures. Passing from one work to another, this information covered the activity of the same people and the historical events related to them. The typical characters of these stories are Iskander (Alexander the Great), Afletun (Plato)—a symbol of wisdom in the Golden Horde literature, Dionisius I of Syracuse—a symbol of evil, cruelty, Anushirvan—a symbol of justice, Harun ar-Rashid—in literature and folklore the attitude towards him is contradictory...

A philosophical idea about shortness of a person's stay on earth is being drawn in the poem of Khisam Qiatib 'Jumjuma Sultan'. Names of famous people of the past are specified as historical references [Boryngy terki, 1981, 157 b]. Here mythical history alternates with real one. Along with the Quranic ones, Arabic-Persian-Turkic literary characters of world-famous shahs, kings, and khans, such as Mahmud Gaznavi, Chinggis Khan are worthy to be historical reference points.

At that time, foreign Arabic and Persian authors wrote much about the Jochid Ulus and its history. The main plot of their works was the adoption of Islam by the khans Berke and Öz Beg, and their exaltation. In their works, they skilfully used also the traditions that existed among the local population. Among the historians who wrote the history as immediate witnesses, we can mention two, Ibn Arabshakh (1388–1450), and Ibn Bazzas (circa 1343–1423).

Historian Shihab ad-Din Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah is known under the name of Ibn Arabshah. He visited the Jochid Ulus and wrote his work based on his own observations, as well as according to local informants. Originally from Damascus, he lived in

Sarai, Bulgar, and Astrakhan. He visited China, Iraq, Byzantium, Khorasan, Khwarezm, and the Crimea. Thus, he got acquainted with many regions of the Jochid Ulus. Quite a lot of information about this person, especially about his life related to the Ulus of Jochi, can be found in the works by Sh. Marjani. He writes of him as if referring to a Turkic-Tatar historian. In his words, Ibn Arabshah is a 'scientist, writer and poet, was aware of the people's everyday life, world history, events of the past times...' Based on what he had seen, he wrote many books. He lived in Bariiatel Barakat (Jochid Ulus. *G.D.*) for a long time [Marjani, 1885, 88 b.]. The best known of his works are *Garat'ib al-makdur fi navadir i-Timur*, *Fukakhat al-khulafa*, description of Turkic and Tatarstan dynasties, and so on. Ibn Arabshah considered famous scientists and historians of that time, such as Qutb ad-Din ar-Razi, Sa'ad ad-Din at-Taftazani, to be his teachers.

Among the known historians of the research period we should mention Ash-sheikh Hafiz ad-Din Muhammad Ibn Shihab Ibn Yusuf is al-Khwarizmi al-Kardari, known under the name of Ibn-al-Bazzas. He, according to the information of Sh. Marjani, received elementary education in Kardar, then visited Bulgar, Crimea, Ruma, and other cities and lands. He met there most educated people, which allowed him to replenish his knowledge. He was respected among khans. His book *Al-fatavi al-Bazzasia*, devoted to religion and history, had special popularity. When they asked the famous mufti of the time, Abu s-Saud, why he was not writing a book about the events of his time, he replied, 'I would be ashamed in front of Bazzasi, as he has already covered all the issues'. Even Golden Horde khans treated it with respect [Ibid, 87b].

In the Jochid Ulus legends about famous historical, as well as contemporary figures of that period were passed by word of mouth. Remarkable is the fact that already in the times of Ibn Arabshah, many narratives about the famous state figure of Jochid Ulus, talented military leader Edigu were being circulated. The historian writes about him the following, 'Surprising stories and great fairy tales are being told about him: arrows of disasters (shot) on his enemies (always) hit the target,

his thoughts were of intrigues, battles, traps...' [Collection of stories related to the history of Golden Horde, 1884, p. 473].

Based on the work of Mirkhonda 'Rauzat al-Safa', the Bulgar genealogical legends of the pre-Mongol period with certain changes continue to appear in the Golden Horde time as well. In this historical research special attention is paid to the city of Bulgar. To be more precise, the former data relating to Bulgar Bilyar better relates to the city of Bulgar on the Volga.

Such are the continuations of Bulgarian genealogical legends, stories about the construction of Bulgar by Dhul-Qarnayn ('There is evidence that Dhul-Qarnayn built it after leaving the Country of Gloom'). Historical legends tell about the construction of the city of Bulgar by him in the 3rd century BC.

In Golden Horde times ethnic history takes the backseat in official historical literature, religious, generically Islamic history is the first. There appear professional historians, historical works, genealogies are put up. They fully satisfy the interest in historical knowledge of the society.

Scientists, writers, poets, and religious figures in that time could live and work only under the patronage of rulers and wealthy people. Practicing science and literature was especially encouraged by Khans Berke, Öz Beg, and Jani Beg, to whom scientists and writers, in their turn, devoted their works (Qutb—to the wife of the Golden Horde Khan Tinibek Melik; Khwarizmi—to the relative of Jani Beg Khan, the Ruler Muhammad-Khoja; Seif Sarai—to Egyptian emir Taikhas Bey; Ibn Mahmoud az-Zahidi—to Berke; Taftazani—to Jani Beg).

Ibn Khaldun reports the following about Berke Khan, 'He spread it (Islam) among all his people, began to build mosques and colleges in all his possessions, brought scientists and lawyers closer to his place and made friends with them' [Ibid, p. 379]. Al-Omari writes about Öz Beg Khan the following, 'Öz Beg Khan built a madrasah for science in it (New Sarai), as he was very devoted to science and his people' [Ibid, p. 229]. The Turkic historian and khan of Khiva of the 17th century Abu-al-Ghazi Bahadur Khan praises the all-powerful Jani Beg Khan, 'This Jani Beg Khan is remarkably good

among Muslim rulers. He paid special attention to people involved in cognitive activities, especially to scientists and people devoted to religion' [Abu-al-Ghazi, 1906, p. 54].

Not only representatives of the upper class of the society, but also those who had power, but were at a lower position, gave scientists and writers patronage, which is also reflected in inscriptions on monuments. An epitaph of 1314 contains such lines, 'A performer who supported scientists and loved them, erected mosques... Son of Hudja, son of (Ottoman) tribute collector Ibrahim al-Suvari...' [Yusupov, 1960, tab. 12]. Thus, education in the Jochid Ulus was greatly honoured. Support of scien-

tists, writers, religious figures, their patronage was considered a religious business.

Professional scientific knowledge in the Golden Horde was advanced for its time. Its development was first of all linked to the influence of scientific and cultural centres of the Islamic world. Scientific knowledge was often far from everyday life, while the professional one, on the contrary, emerged from the needs of the society. Turk-Tatar scientists were writing mainly in Arabic. Therefore, their works possessed a general Islamic tone. Development of scientific knowledge itself in the Jochid Ulus was a kind of response of the Turk-Tatar world to the Eastern Renaissance.

§2. Historical Compositions and the Formation of a Historiographic Tradition

Iskander Izmaylov

One of the most widespread notions about the Jochid Ulus, which can be observed not only among non-specialists, but also among historians, is that the 'nomadic population' of this state neither needed, nor had its historiographical writing tradition. The historical notions, in this view, were preserved as an oral tradition and had folkloric character. Such an opinion has its origin from the time when the Golden Horde was considered to be 'a wild semi-nomadic and parasitic state'. And although some researchers are prone to deny the existence of Golden Horde historiography, it is believed that 'Chinggis-name' and other such works were not part of the historical tradition of the Jochid Ulus, but a certain 'oral steppe historiography' [Yudin, 1992, p. 25]. Such ideas come to an ever more apparent contradiction to the sources, the complex of which was revealed in the recent decades.

During a thorough study of archaeology and historical data it, becomes clear that the state, which was developed as per the medieval standards, and was within the Islamic civilisation, must have had a sufficiently developed system of historical compositions, which would legitimise the power of the Golden Horde khans and build their dynasty to their great ancestors. At

the same time, taking into consideration the dissemination of literacy and writing culture, it is clear that such works spread not only in oral, but also in a written form.

At the same time, one is to note that the difficulty of the revelation and study of the Golden Horde historical tradition is connected with the fact that no complete authentic work on a historical theme has survived, which could be interpreted as a historiosophical conception of the Jochid Ulus, not to mention, speak of its development over time. It is quite difficult to discover concrete authentic changes of plots and their enrichment by new elements during their development, because only some separate plots and passages, which were reworked at later time, have survived from the integral historiographical state tradition. However, we should admit that this tradition was not oral as it existed in the works of the court historians who, of course, used oral traditions, but not only. For example, in his work 'Chinggis-name' Ötemish Hajji, an author of the 16th century, writes about 'the chronicles that... he saw... [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 90], thus noting the existence of a written historical tradition. It was not even a steppe one as it existed in cities, in the court of khans. The question about the relationship of

the oral tradition and the historical one is also quite complex. Based on the substantial uniformity of the surviving texts, one can assume that the traditions of the post-Golden Horde time were influenced by the historical tradition of the Jochid Ulus.

One cannot precisely determine when and who began the creation of the specific Golden Horde history. Its purpose, however, is undoubtedly clear—the strengthening of the own legitimization in struggle against the other kins of *Chinggisids* and creation of arguments in favour of their uniqueness and natural greatness. With the introduction and establishment of Islam, Chinggisism in its Golden Horde version acquires obvious connotations. In this process, new forms of ethno-political and social identification are clearly reflected, in particular, the Jochids' realisation of the importance of religion symbols for strengthening the Islamic reputation of the dynasty. In the 15–16th centuries, or rather even earlier, in the 14th century, Chinggisism in its existing form acquired apparent political and social significance, which V. Yudin hastened to call a special religion: 'The new genealogical complex that was set out in terms of tribal understanding of the origin and structure of mankind became the basis of formation of views on origin of all mankind and the universe. It was complemented by the traditional elements of Turkic-Mongol shamanism, which became something like an upper stage for the new faith. Thus, a cosmogonic myth was created, which means that an illusory vision and ideology were formed. So a new religion 'was born' [Yudin, 1992, pp. 16–21]. Today, one can hardly call '*Chinggisism*' a religion, at least because of the fact that the author himself writes that it was also 'a worldview, ideology, philosophy, sanction of a public system and social institutions, political and legal system, culturological doctrine, basis of education, means of regulation of behaviour in the family and society' and further he opens up a whole spectrum of quasi-religions—'*oguzism*', '*idegeism*' [Ibid, pp. 19, 55–56].

In other words, for the author any 'false ideological and world viewing system that determined the image and functionality of the world' is what religion is. Without going into

the understanding of the essence of religion, we would still like to note, that since its basis is considered the belief in the supernatural, then the author describes mythological thinking [Meletinsky, 1983, p. 377; Tokarev, Meletinsky, 1991, pp. 11–20]. In such setting of the problem it is revealed that the Mongols had their own mythological system, not reducible to '*Chinggisism*', [Neklyudov, 1991, pp. 170–174]. Chinggis Khan was by no means the 'Almighty God', as it seemed to V. Yudin, at least because of the fact that he himself ruled since the sanction of 'Eternal Heaven' [Trepavlov, 1993, pp. 59–67; Skrynnikova, 1997, pp. 56–73]. Besides methodological disadvantages, this theory has also 'political' roots. The basis of such a misrepresentation as to a large extent was the general view of the society and the state of the Jochids as a 'steppe empire' or 'nomadic coalescence', which allegedly couldn't have developed forms of historiography and ideology. It appears, however, that the term '*Chinggisism*' should imply a particular paradigm of Mongol and Tatar (Golden Horde) political ideology.

Meanwhile, the Chinggis Khan of the Golden Horde historical tradition is not 'a saint' and even not so much of a 'heavenly patron' of the dynasty and the state, but rather the founding father, the creator of the state and laws ('Iasa of Chinggis Khan'), an 'eternal ruler', who only temporarily transferred his rights to the next khan. Fundamental notions about the independent Jochid Ulus and the ethno-political unity of Tatars formed in the framework of this ideological paradigm, characteristics of dynastic legitimacy, continuity of power, the clan and social hierarchy were determined. And only after the break-up of the single state into separate khanates and possessions (the Kazan, Crimean, Öz Beg (Shibanid) khanates, Nogai Horde) there appear new symbols of power and legitimization mechanisms, related to the local peculiarities of power structures and the more active influence and introduction of Islam in these processes (exaltation of individual tribes of the descendants of Jochi - Tuk-Timurids, Shaybanids, and even the non-Jochids, the descendants of Edigu, the appearance of local saints - patrons of various dynasties, etc.).

The images of ruler saints are one of the typical and paradoxical phenomena of the medieval mind [Blok, 1998; Nelson, 1986]. But in spite of the proximity and similarity of images of saints in different civilisations and social contexts, they could have some deviations. The cult of Chinggis Khan that ruled since the sanction of 'Eternal Heaven' in this very regard responded to such demands, easily fitting to the system of Islamic values. The phenomenon of khans' aristocratic power, which arose in a pagan (or Nestorian) environment, obviously goes back to the system of mythological notions about the supernatural nature of power [Trepavlov, 1993, pp. 59–67; Skrynnikova, 1997, pp. 56–73]. However, in the archaic notions about the charisma of the Jochid Ulus ruler in the 14th century under the influence of Islam being introduced into mental structures of the society, an original transformation of traditional mythologema of power occurs in the new system of concepts, the Islamised religious and political symbols. Having adapted the cult of Chinggis Khan and his son Jochi to Islamic values, the Golden Horde ruling dynasty appeared to be included in a Muslim system of sanctification and legitimization of political power. Significance of this process which was reflected in the historical tradition, which, of course, bore an 'intuitive political influence', can be described by the formula of the 'Turkic-Mongol tradition in an Islamic paradigm'. It is also possible that the researchers who, referring to a broad anthropological context, believe that in the motif of the ruler's sanctity and the charisma of his power there reflected processes of mythologizing the leader, defined by the concept of the 'sacred ruler', are right [Skrynnikova, 1997, pp. 100–148].

Unfortunately, moving from the analysis of the ideological and social aspects of this cult to some specific issues, it should be stated that the problem of honoring the Central European and Muslim saints, the formation and development of their cults, their correlation with traditional Turkic beliefs were not a subject of deliberate and systematic study, if we do not count the wonderful work of D. DeWeese [DeWeese, 1994], where the historical tradition and folklore sources on the islamisation of the

Jochid Ulus are analysed in detail. It highlights the image of the saint Baba Tuklas, which, in the opinion of the author, is a key subject in the understanding of the Islamisation mechanisms of the Golden Horde, and demonstrates the implementation of Islamic motifs in the traditional archaic cults of the population of Central Asia [Ibid., pp. 321–516]. At the same time, the very image of Chinggis Khan and his descendants - the Juchids, as an essential component of the state ideology of the Jochid Ulus, are paid much less attention to, and the role of the associated range of images is less clearly highlighted.

The key elements of this tradition date back to the official Mongolian family history of Chinggis Khan - 'Altan Depter' ('The Golden Notebook') [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 1]. Typical narrative elements of it were the genealogy concentrated in chronicles (mythological - Chinggis Khan's ancestors from Alan-Goa and historical - Qabul Khan and his descendants), the brief biographical descriptions, related to genealogy, inclusion of 'small' stories (panegyric, didactic and other stories), a relatively weakly expressed (often in the form of event registration) chronological description, but the most important part of the historiography is dedicated to the life and activity of Chinggis Khan [Nekludov 1984, pp.223–241; Shastina, 1977, pp.462–483].

All Turkic pedigrees with a particular extent of completeness transfer this Mongolian tradition. The most complete version preserved in the Tatar historical collection at the end of the 17th century is 'Daftar-i Chinggis-name', where there are almost all the story elements that are present in the 'Collection of Chronicles' by Rashid al-Din, up to the mention of the progenitor Alan-Goa (in the form of *Alangu*). Direct borrowing of a part of this chronicle and its connection with some other Tatar sources are certain. However, it is unclear whether it is the result of a later compilation, or a part of early Golden Horde historiography that survived, but at the same time in the source there is no such element as a biography of Jochi Khan and his descendants (except Jani Beg, to whom a separate dastan is dedicated, which had been very significantly revised at a later time).

In other sources, where Golden Horde tradition has been preserved, apparently, more completely, there are no passages on the history 'of the golden race'. Most likely, in earlier versions of the Jochid historiography these motives have been presented to some extent, but, gradually losing their ethno-political relevance, they have been shortened or altered. Samples of a similar abbreviation of pedigrees are introduced in the versions of 'Chinggis-name' by Otemish Hajji and 'Genealogy of Turks' ('Shajarat al-Atrak')—[Otemish-Hajji, 1992, Collection of stories relating to the history of Golden Horde, 1941, pp. 202–209], where with some distinctions it is indicated that 'the greatest holder of the lucky star (sakhbkyran)', the great Chinggis Khan gave a part of his possessions—Desht-i-Kipchak and Khwarezm to his son Jochi. No other details about the majesty and the grandeur of conquest, undertaken by Chinggis Khan, can be found in the surviving Turkic tradition of a later period. They all seem to be left in the frames of the dynastic history of the Jochids, representing a striking contrast with the Mongolian tradition [Shastina, 1977; Neklyudov, 1984, pp. 223–241].

The version of processing is connected with the abundance of Islamic motives in the history. Its early stage is presented by Rashid al-Din who combines data about the ancestors of Chinggis Khan and the history of the Oghuzes - 'Oghuz-name' [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 1, pp. 80–91], where, at the same time, there is an Islamic genealogy of peoples, and the ancestors of Oguz Khan are associated with the prophet Japheth (Yefet).

In a somewhat revised form, this dastan got to the Golden Horde tradition, where it was supplemented by some new topical themes. All the pedigree of rulers is raised to Adam and his descendant Japheth. For example, according to Abu al-Ghazi 'The prophet Noah sent each of his three sons to different lands... Japheth was sent to the country of the North Land. Some people say that Japheth was a prophet, while others say he was not. Japheth left Juda mountain at the will of his father and set off to the banks of the Itil and Yaik rivers'. After Japheth, in the northern country ruled his son Turk

whom the father allegedly enthroned, telling the other sons, 'Treat Turk as your sovereign and obey him' [Kononov, 1958, p. 39]. After a series of other khans, including of Mughal and Tatar, who have no parallels in Rashids ad-Din's 'Oghuz-name', the ruler of turks become Kara Khan and after him—the son of Oghuz Khan. Thus, one of the peculiarities of the Jochids' historical tradition is cutting-off Chinggis Khan's 'Mongolian' ancestors, and the another—the inclusion of the eponyms 'Tatar' and 'Mughal' in the traditional Turkic and Islamic legends ('Oghuz-name'). And not only the eponyms, in the text there are indications that the power of Oguz Khan's military capability owned to 'the warriors of the Mughal and Tatar provinces' [Ibid, p. 45].

Another important aspect of these mythologems is the exaltation of the noble ancestral birthright to rule the Turks, starting from the legendary eponymic Turk to Oghuz Khan. In this sequence, Chinggis Khan seems to be one of the key characters. Public consciousness of Turkic-Tatar khanates assimilates him and adapts his character, making him a lawful successor and a heir of the great lords of the Turkic steppe. But his role is not so much related to the conquest of the world and the rule among Turks (for example, a number of stories emphasise that his main aggressive policy was aimed at other countries and regions), but to the transfer of authority over the Turks solely to his son Jochi [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 91; Kononov, 1958, p. 44].

Within the territory of the Jochid Ulus, this tradition was further developed during the period of the formation of an independent state. The predestination of the appearance of 'the golden clan of Chinggis Khan' and the handover of power to his son Jochi in the part of the state (Jochid Ulus), which included 'Khwarezm and Desht-i Kipchak, from the borders of Kayalyk to the remote places of Saqsin, Khazar, Bulgar, Alans, Bashkirs, Uruses and the Circassians, all the way to the places reached by the hoof of a Tatar horse' became its key element [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 204]. This is how Ötemish Hajji describes it: 'Jochi Khan was the eldest of his (Chinggis

Khan's—*I.I.*) sons. He gave him a large army and sent him to the vilayet of Desht-i Kipchak saying, 'Let it be a pasture for your horses'. He also gave him the vilayet of Khwarezm' [Ötemish Hajji 1992, p. 91]. According to the version of Abu-al-Ghazi, it is described in a similar way: '...Jochi and nukers belonging to him left Urgench for Desht-and Kipchak. The Kipchak people gathered and a battle occurred. Jochi Khan gained victory and defeated all the Kipchaks who caught his eye... The Kipchaks who dwelt between Itil and Tin were dispersed in four directions... Jochi Khan captured the Kipchak youth and settled in a Kipchak yurt. He moved his whole family here from the Mongolian country and everything he had received from his father. There were settlers in the Kipchak yurt from every Öz Beg urug'. Thus, Jochi performs two functions here - as the heir of the charisma of Chinggis Khan and the founder and creator of his own Jochid Ulus on conquered lands ['in these countries he established himself on the throne of the khanate and as ruler'] [Kononov, 1958, p. 44].

Apparently, this is a key mythologem of the developed Jochid political cult. Unfortunately, the subject of Jochi Khan is only slightly covered in the sources available to us, which seem to reflect a later stage in the development of the historiography. Some stories, possibly revealing the image of Jochi, can be found in a number of Persian sources created at the court of the Timurids, but they were significantly reworked and supplemented during the rule of the Shibanids. For example, the 'Genealogy of the Turks' ['Shadzharat al-atrak'] has three key motives: the legitimisation of Jochi as the eldest son of Chinggis Khan (this describes the well-known incident of the capture of Chinggis Khan's pregnant wife, Börte, by the Merkits, which cast a shadow on the legitimacy of the heir); the special love of Chinggis Khan for his eldest son (whom he loved more than all his male and female children), providing a widespread Turkic legend about a singer figuratively telling the Khan about his son's death as proof; and Jochi's younger brothers' (Chagatai and Ögedei) enmity and jealousy towards him [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, pp. 203–204]. Certainly,

there were no such incidents in the historiographical tradition of other Mongolian states, where other mythologems of power legitimisation come to the fore and other ties with the political cult of Chinggis Khan were emphasised (for example, in the states of the Chagataids and Hulaguids, in Moghulistan, the state of the Great Moguls, etc.).

The motif of noble origin is highlighted in the emphasis on Jochi Khan's receipt of ordination to receive power in the Ulus from Chinggis Khan. Attention is focused on the dynastic ties, as a reflection of the faith in the inheritance of charismatic qualities, and the consecration of the power of Jochi and his descendants with the cult of a person who will 'shock the universe'. In other words, the story line related to Jochi defines not only the inclusion of the political cult of Chinggis Khan into the Jochid political pantheon, but also marks the formation of a Golden Horde ethno-political mythologem. At a later time, the development of a Turkic historical tradition in the Jochid Ulus took place within the framework of this narrative paradigm. The genealogy of a certain descendant of Jochi with a short characterisation of the previous generations and a more detailed description of the biography of the khan (Jani Beg, Orda Khan, Urus, Abu'l-Khayr, etc.) or a noble karachibek (Mamai, Edigu) formed its basis.

The gradual enrichment of this tradition with Islamic elements (especially in the 15th and 16th centuries) by way of short insights (information on the adoption of Islam by Berke and Öz Beg, biographies of saints, etc.) and the restoration of the genealogy of khans and karachibeks [Edigu] up to the holy prophets is the main tendency of its development. This tradition was gradually built into the Islamic image of the world and historiography. Its closeness to folk and epic systems and the clear localisation of each clan (microcosm) within the empire of the Jochids (macrocosm) contributed to the circulation of this tradition and its introduction into the consciousness of the Turkic population [DeWeese, 1994, p. 321–408]. The 'Korenisation' of the history of the state, the emphasis of its local traditions and origins became another tendency. It was achieved by including

the history of tribes and clans, local saints, and popular heroes of legends and traditions into the state historiography.

Jochid Ulus united a considerable number of Turkic-Mongol clans between which a certain hierarchy took hold in the historical tradition and was established according to the genealogical proximity to the clan of Chinggis Khan. The creation of the hierarchy of clans headed by the Jochids in the Ulus of Jochi was interpreted not just as an institution of the state, but as an act of work arranging the macrocosm. The grounding of this historical tradition in a written form and later in an oral (folk) form made it authoritative and legitimate. This historical tradition worked out a basic set of mythologems and became the ideological justification of the formation of a new ethno-political 'Tatar' self-consciousness. It was mainly circulated among the ancestral and bureaucrat nobility (who were Islamised to a great extent) who were vassals of the Jochids involved in their clan and ulus system and who often led a nomadic life.

The creation of a Jochid (Tatar) historical tradition became the most important factor in the formation of the mental worldview and unification of various Turkic peoples, and the

cultivation of a Tatar ethno-political identification. Having achieved independence from the Mongol Empire, the Ulus of Jochi obtained the necessary mechanisms for the creation and design of its own power's historical tradition. After the official adoption of Islam as a state religion, it even found support in the plentiful opportunities of Islamic historiography and philosophic literature, having absorbed new motifs and symbols. Unlike a whole range of other Turkic states with a vague social structure and undeveloped state tradition, Golden Horde power ideology (a peculiar 'political theology') became a powerful burst of Turkic-Tatar self-consciousness. Its paradigm of ethno-political ideology turned out to be so authoritative that it consumed less adapted and weaker mythologems from previous epochs or absorbed them, partly developing them, and defining the further development of Turkic historical-political thought of late medieval Eurasian states and their peoples for many centuries. The Tatar historical tradition turned out to be so strong that after the collapse of the Jochid Ulus, it became an integral part of the local historical traditions of various Tatar states of the 15th to 18th centuries.

§ 3. Records management and paperwork culture

Mirkasym Usmanov

There was a highly developed normative management tool mainly represented by the **official record management**, which created various business documents, including acts in the Jochid Ulus which corresponded to the state's level of socio-political and economic development, its military-administrative system and efficient bureaucracy. Such documents, drawn up in the official offices of the Jochids by professional scribes, were intended to serve and satisfy the socio-economic, the administrative-managerial, and, therefore, the ideological and political interests and requirements of the upper echelons of power. At the same time, business documents—records management outcomes—are by their nature an integral part and important component of the multi-layered

written-communication culture. Therefore they had their prehistory, which was presented by different initial traditions.

Official records management developed from several sources, and over the course of separate periods, which corresponded to the complex and multicomponent origin of the state of Jochids. Each of them is noteworthy. In this connection it should be noted that despite the poor preservation of authentic autochthonous written sources on the history of the Jochid Ulus, part of the autochthonous documentary contains more or less significant material. It provides the opportunity to get an idea of both the sources and stages of development of the Jochid school of record management, which was originally one of the branches of

Mongol-Uighur paperwork culture. This refers to both the originals of the khans' yarliqs and messages of rulers of the Golden Horde themselves and Tatar Khanates, which separated from it, but continued developing its traditions [Berezin, 1851; Usmanov, 1979], as well as in the translations of similar acts into different languages [Pamyatniki russkogo prava, 1955; Zimin, 1962; Grigoriev, 2004; Lashkov, 1891; 1897; Vashari, 2002; Grigorievs, 2002, et al.]. The earliest texts of such documents preserved in translation were written in the **Uighur script**, in one of the dialects of medieval Turkic.

As it is known, the Mongols were an illiterate people before their state had been formed. However, the administrative-managerial needs of the developed state necessitated their adoption of a script. The script of the more civilised neighbouring Uighurs—the closest Turkic-language neighbours among the whole range of tribes and nations of ancient and medieval Central Asia—was chosen [Bartold, 1909, pp. 367–368; Meng Da Bei Lu, 1975, pp. 125–128; Kratkaya istoriya, 1991]. This is due to the fact that the language and script of the Uighurs, which had completely formed in the 8th to 10th centuries and continued the traditions of the ancient Turks, were a means of cultural communication among the peoples of Central Asia [Isiev, 1991, p. 225]. Therefore, the Uighur script adopted in the 10th century by Khitans, in the 11th century by Naimans and in the early 13th century by Mongols [Ibid., note 3] was easily circulated among these groups and withstood competition from other alphabetic systems [Kara, 1972, pp. 27–32]. Thus, it preserved the status of the **Khan's Tongue** for a long time. The fact that the Mongols adapted it to their language from the very beginning contributed to this [Meng Da Bei Lu, 1975, p. 128].

The active practice of Mongolian rulers, from Chinggis Khan himself to the rule of his great-grandchildren [Bartold, 1909, p. 367], of bringing literate Uighurs into service as teachers for their children, as civil servants of varying ranks, from common scribes to high officials, was also of great importance. According to the calculations of A. Kadyrbayev, the names of more than three hundred high-ranking Uighurs serving the Mongols are mentioned in sources.

The Uighur intellectuals of that epoch made a significant contribution to the circulation of different kinds of religious and literary knowledge among the Mongols and not only them [Kadyrbayev, 1991, pp. 235–243]. All this led to the fact that the Uighur script was holding its ground for a long time in Mongolia itself, in the Yuan Empire and in other uluses that were separated from the superpower—Jochi, Chagatai, and Hulagu [Ibid., p. 245].

Several factors contributed to the longevity of the Uighur script in the Jochid Ulus. For example, there was the factor of mastering the tradition of the Uighur script in the empire of the Mongols, which had grown by leaps and bounds by the 1230s and 1240s, when the territory of the possessions of the future state of the Jochids was being formed, where the economic, record keeping and management skills of the former united power of the Chinggisids continued to develop. So a significant part of the early paper notes, as well as the texts of yarliqs and messages of the early Jochids, were formulated with the help of the Uighur script.

The participation of Uighur princes and their armies in Jochi's western conquest (for example, the Turpan Idyk-kut of Barchuk), the presence of Uighur secretaries-bitikchis in the camps of Jochi and Batu [for example, Kurkuz—see materials by A. Kadyrbayev for more details] directly affected the formation of the early Jochid bureaucracy. The paperwork terminology of Uighur origin is evidence of this fact: a *bitik* (letter), *bitildi* (written), *bitikchi* (penman—that is, a secretary), a synonym of the latter one is *bakhshi*, etc. which was later replaced during Islamisation using local Turkic or Arabic equivalents [*yazyg*, *khafiz*, *katib*, etc.] [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 125–129, 267–270].

The following factor also was of great importance. The proportion of Turkic speakers in the army, and consequently the population of the future Jochid Ulus, increased during the advance of the Mongols to the West, beginning with the territories of Uighur-Karakhanid Eastern Turkestan, which means the turkification of the Mongols took place. So the early Jochids, or at least their clerks, were bilingual.

The **Uighur language** of the early 13th century underwent changes, passing through

ranges of the literary developed Karakhanid-Karluk world, and the layers of the Kipchak-Oghuz element, that is, it was enriched and became more complex. In the west of the empire, it was not identical to the Uighur language famous from Central Asian documents of the 9th to 10th centuries [see the samples: (Radloff, 1928)]. It was this written Uighur language that underwent changes and fell under the Karakhanid influence, and participated in the formation of the official Turkic language of the Golden Horde. This evolution and change of the Uighur language in the West under the influence of the Karakhanid language was what A. Kononov had in mind when he wrote that 'the literary language of the Karakhanid state' had been the basis for the literary language of the Jochid Ulus, which subsequently became the basis for the Chagatai language [Kononov, 1963, p. 65].

The following specific feature of the linguistic-graphical situation in the Jochid Ulus should be taken into consideration as well. Turkic regions, according to population and culture, such as Khwarezm, Bulgar, the Lower Volga Region, Crimea and a significant part of the North Caucasus were integrated into the future possessions of the Jochids. As a result, the proportion of forces in the future power irreversibly changed in favour of the Turkic language; it also appears that the above-mentioned role of Uighur officials in the bureaucracy of the empire's western ulus, which was united at that time, contributed to this situation as well. The fact that an overwhelming majority of early Jochid acts were written in Turkic [Pamyatniki russkogo prava, 1955; Borovkov, 1966; Usmanov, 1979, pp. 99–101], as well as peculiarities of the further development of the Turkic literary language in the Golden Horde support this conclusion. The strivings of some scholars [Grigoryev, 1977, p. 145] to qualify early acts of the Jochids as those written in Mongolian do not hold up to support, as has been proven in due course [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 94–97].

However, the script of the Uighurs turned out to be in a more difficult situation, unlike the position of their language. The Arabic script was mastered in Islamised regions—

Khwarezm, Bulgar, the Lower Volga Region, the Caucasus [Dagestan-Azerbaijan region]—long before the conquests and competed with Uighur rather successfully. Arabic script inscriptions on a proportion of early Jochid coins confirm this conclusion. In other words, the Uighur script failed to replace Arabic writing that was bound up with the local culture, despite its status as the khan's script. The position of the Uighur script was further undermined after the official adoption of Islam by the Golden Horde.

Apparently, the Mongolian language in the Jochid Ulus was in the same position. Certainly, the Uighur script and the Mongolian language were used a bit later, especially in correspondence with the rulers of Karakorum at first, then those of Khanbaliq (Beijing) and the Hulaguids who used the language and script of their ancestors longer than the Jochids. Coins with inscriptions in Mongolian can be found in Iran more often than in the Golden Horde [Tiesenhausen, 1889–1890, pp. 304–307]. Paizas, traditional 'guarding charters', were designed in a traditional way for which the exterior form was important. The Mongolian language and the Uighur script could be preserved longer in the everyday life of separate families for which bilingualism was typical (see more details: [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 100–101]). The texts of a birch bark manuscript from the Volga Region are evidence of bilingualism in the Golden Horde [Poppe, 1941].

It should be noted that the Uighur script was more widely circulated in the West of Eurasia than is stated in literature. It was also known in countries dependent on the Golden Horde and neighbouring states. For example, the original of Grand Prince Vasily Vasilievich's Letters Patent from 1435, discovered by M. Obolensky, contained an Uighur inscription in Mongolian letters. After being decoded by the specialist in the study of Mongolia, G. Gomboyev, and translated by the turkologist K. Faizkhanov, it turned out to be a resolution in Tatar reading: *bulai un gurduk*—'we have approved it in this form'—that is, 'we approve' which apparently belonged to a khan's bureaucrat. O. Kovalevsky confirmed the correctness of this reading and translation of the text on the authentic Russian charter, 'The same words have been used

by Kazan Tatars with the same meaning to this very day' [Obolensky, 1861, pp. 22–23].

M. Obolensky also uncovered the 1453 spiritual charter of Princess Sophia, the widow of Grand Duke Vasili, which also contained a Tatar resolution in the Uighur script: *alt-myshda yanbar aında* that is, 'in January 60' which corresponds to 6960 since the making of the world [Ibid., pp. 23–24] according to M. Obolensky. The publisher also regarded the inscription decoded by O. Kovalevsky and translated by A. Makhmudov as a resolution of Tatar (khan or horde-bureaucrat) origin [Ibid., p. 24]. On the contrary, A. Bobrovnikov claimed that these inscriptions belonged to the Russians themselves, who mastered the language and script of their feudal overlords [Bobrovnikov, 1861, pp. 24–25, 28]. Basically both parties are correct, as the facts of approval of Russian charters of the 14th century in Sarai are confirmed by recent studies on Russian diplomacy [Cherepnin, 1948, pp. 16–19, 29, etc.]. Such a phenomenon could also have taken place in the 15th century.

However, the authentic Russian dating of the second charter reinforces A. Bobrovnikov's opinion, because the facts concerning the real place of the Uighur script in Horde-Moscow correspondence of the 13th to 14th centuries, and therefore, the facts concerning the mastering of Uighur graphics in chancelleries of grand princes are confirmed by other data. For example, there was a whole box in the Royal archive of the 16th century containing 'old diaries of Batu from (Khan Batu.—M.U.) and other tsars; they have not been translated, as nobody can do it' [op. 1960, p. 32] [the italics is mine.—M.U.]. Apparently the former clerks of the grand dukes, who were able to read them, were not going to translate them. The fact that I. Berezin wrote that 'apparently both in Russia and Lithuania there were connoisseurs of Tatar and Uighur scripts' in 1850, while publishing an Uighur message of Toktamys, that is, before M. Obolensky's publications, is noteworthy [Obolensky, 1850, p. 44]. One can confirm that this script and language were known in other countries as well, for example, in Egypt and Turkey (for more detail, see: [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj

Ordy', , 1884, pp. 228, 251; Rahmeti, 1939, pp. 285–322; Usmanov, 1994, p. 125–130; 1979, pp. 112–114]).

Thus, the Uighur script was relatively widespread and it made enormous inroads into the official circles of the Golden Horde itself and regions in its dependence. It functioned in parallel with Arabic graphics, competing with it rather successfully until almost the third quarter of the 15th century. As can be seen from data of the inventory of the Royal archive, it went into disuse in the late 15th or the early 16th century, which was connected with the final confirmation of positions of Islam and Arabic graphics in post-Horde Tatar khanates [Usmanov, 1985], on the one hand, and strengthening the independence of Rus', on the other.

This was the fate of one of the main sources of Jochid bureaucracy, or to be more precise, the use of writing as its main instrument.

As for the paleographic peculiarities of the Uighur written acts of the Jochids, one can only judge them through indirect data because of the lack of originals [only their translations have been preserved].

For example, D. Banzarov who saw the original of Toktamys's yarliq message to Yagailo in 1393, wrote about the peculiarities of writing in that he used a clear Uighur type; in the paleographic respect it is distinguished by spelling precision and its type is close to the inscription of a stone plate found in Nerchinsk district and even closer to a paiza (of Abdulla)... in the calligraphic respect it yields to two letters of the Persian Chinggisids to the French King Philip I of Castile [Obolensky, 1850, p. 41].

V. Radlov, generally agreeing with the opinion of D. Banzarov, indicated that the penmanship of the letter to Yagailo belonged to a sure hand and it was tending not to the Mongol-Uighur variety of handwriting, but to Uighur-Islamic monuments [Radloff, 1889, pp. 4, 18].

As can be seen from the table 'Handwriting Samples of the Mongolian Script', there is an undeniable proximity between the style of a number of letters in the penmanship of the Golden Horde and Eastern Turkestan [Kara, 1972, p. 65]. This fact confirms my opinion concerning the direct influence of the writing and cultural tradition of Uighur proper (East-

ern Turkestan) on that of the Jochid Ulus [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 114–115].

A similar **tradition among Muslim countries and Islamic peoples of the Middle East**, mainly Iran, was another important source of the bureaucracy and clerical culture of the Jochids. The early Islamisation of a number of regions of the future state (Bulgar, Khwarezm), as well as the rapid growth of the political, commercial and cultural contacts of the Golden Horde with Islamic countries, especially Egypt, beginning in the time of Khan Berke, contributed to its penetration and the gradual removal of the Uighur element (for details see: [al-Kholi, 1962; Zakirov, 1966; Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1998] et. al.). For this reason more monuments of official bureaucracy in Arabic and Turkic have been preserved. The fact that the Golden Horde bureaucratic tradition and legal norms were developed in the post-Horde Tatar states, also contributed to their undamaged state. Therefore, there is an opportunity to study not only their contents but also their attributes. **Paper** was probably the one and only **writing material** in the Jochid Ulus (it is unknown if parchment was used or not). If the early Chinggisids were most likely to use Chinese paper, the Jochids mainly dealt with Central Asian paper from Eastern Turkestan. Because the manufacturing of paper, invented in Ancient China or Eastern Turkestan in the 8th century, was mastered in Samarkand [Malkin, 1940, pp. 19–22]; after Arabic conquests it was circulated throughout the Islamic world [Bartold, 1920, p. 353]. Therefore, the majority of early Jochid official acts are represented on polished Central Asian paper. Central Asian paper made from silky tows gained popularity. One can also find paper manufactured in the West, mainly in Italy, especially in later times [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 86–88]. We do not have any information on local paper manufacturing.

The Jochid clerks used *dyestuffs of varying colours* (the body texts of yarliqs known in originals are painted with black ink of different tints, from a blue-black to brownish one). Apparently, they used the various forms of production of black ink known in Islamic countries (they seem to have also used Chinese ink at an early stage).

Coloured dyestuffs were used along with black ink, including yellow, red and blue dyes. In addition, the yellow ones were derivatives of golden ink, or to be more precise, they replaced ink with a touch of gold. As a rule, invocations (theological messages), the word 'khan', and its pronouns with corresponding turns of speech were written with this kind of ink. Golden ink was produced from gold turned into powder and mixed with a sticky substance (egg-white) [Kaziev, 1966, p. 98]. Sometimes yellow paint had rather noticeable drops of the precious metal in its composition. The red paint was used for rubbing The **red tamga**, the blue [dark-blue] dye—for **Kok tamga** i.e. images of texts of official square royal seals. The so-called 'greasy paints' were used for this purpose [Usmanov, 1979, p. 89–91]. The last variety of dyestuff is connected with Chinese dye in its origin and consequently early Mongolian analogues [Kara, 1972, p. 117]. The writing materials of Jochid clerks are noteworthy as well. The inkwells were of various forms and made from different materials: from both metal and ceramics. For example, a bronze inkwell was found along with birch bark book dating back to the 14th century [Poppe, 1941, p. 81; Kara, 1972, p. 112]. Even faience inkwells have been found [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 91–92].

Various quills served as **writing tools**. Bird feathers [those of geese and swans] were good for small handwriting. Based on data from khans' yarliqs, cane **kalam**s were good for large handwriting. They received canes from southern countries, such as Central Asia, Iran and Egypt. Producing kalam was a kind of art which required great experience and knowledge [Kazi-Akhmed, 1947, pp. 116–119; Kaziev, 1966, pp. 35, 38–40]. A kalam which was ready to use was tested by writing a full stop [Kostygova, 1957, pp. 136–139]. First of all, a correctly and beautifully executed full stop was of great importance for Arabic-Persian scripts, in which more than 20 letters out of 32 have super- and interlinear dots; secondly, the width and height of separate letters were measured by the number of medium-size dots located close to each other.

Bone feathers were used in the Jochid Ulus along with bird feathers and cane kalam.s. The

discovery of such an instrument, a birch bark book, and bronze inkwell is evidence of that [Poppe, 1941, p. 81; Kara, 1972, pp. 110, 112]. However, the fact that a metal quill was invented in the Golden Horde is the most interesting for the history of paleography: one of these bronze quills with a cut at the painting end was found in Sarai-Berke, which was destroyed in the late 14th century. It is exhibited in the Hermitage with a faience inkwell [Kara, 1972, p. 112]. This is one of the earliest known uses of the metal quill not only in the Volga Region but in all of Europe, where the steel quill has only been used only since the 18th century [Lyublinskaya, 1969, p. 31].

'Soft' quills—brushes were used in the Jochids' chancelleries along with 'hard' feathers, mainly made from canes, bones, and even from metal. Apparently, they were used for writing large signs with theological messages, which were written with gold or a dyestuff that imitated it, as was noted above.

As can be seen from this brief overview, the Jochid clerks possessed a rich and diverse arsenal of stationery, writing instruments and materials, thanks to which they managed to produce highly artistic works of written-clerical culture.

In Turkic-Tatar chancelleries, officials paid special attention to the **external attributes** of documents, their form, material, and graphic look, as well as their legal design. Each traditional culture and the chancellery which followed its rules, created attributes which were typical only for that culture. It led to the fact that each state's chancellery was different from that of other countries, which in turn produced traditions which were typical only for them. A particular kind of bureaucracy was formed in the Jochid Ulus as a result of the organic integration of principles from several independent source. Authentic specialists from other countries understood this very well. For example, according to al-Omari and Al-Mukhibbi, al-Kalkashandi and al-Makrizi, who were well-informed on Horde-Egyptian contacts, a person who arrived from the Crimea and claimed to be an ambassador of Tokhtamysh was exposed as a liar by an Egyptian dignitary because the charter he brought did not correspond to the 'conditional rules of khan letters

in respect to the paper (apparently he meant its format.—*M.U.*) and the manner of narration' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, pp. 248, 251, 341, 350, 407, 414–415, 431].

As can be seen from descriptions of their originals, khan *yarlyqs* and messages looked like **long, narrow scrolls** consisting of several sheets glued together [from 2 to 6 sheets]; being approximately 17–30 cm wide and 20–200 cm long. Those of the Golden Horde and the earliest *yarlyqs* of Tatar khanates were prepared in this way [Usmanov, 1979, No. 1–2, 5–7, 11, 13–15, 18, etc.]. Later, as a result of the former tradition's decline, the ratio of width to length of scrolls changed as well, but this was a gradual process [Ibid., No. 35–37, 45, 51, 53, etc.].

The **handwriting** made up an exterior feature of khan *yarliqs* and letters—they were paid special attention in Jochid chancelleries, as well as in other Islamic countries (for more details, see: [Kazi-Akhmed, 1947, Sadik-beg, 1963; Semenov, 1940]). According to one art historian, 'The script had an aesthetic significance like in no other part of the medieval world as it did in countries of the Middle and East' [Weinmarne, 1974, p. 144]. Dozens of calligraphic scripts were developed and perfected in Islamic countries (they numbered more than 70 variants in the 19th century [Muradov, 1967, pp. 7–8]). The towns of the Jochid Ulus were characterised by 'a brilliant urbanistic oriental medieval culture, a culture of flowing bowls and mosaic panels on mosques, Arabic astronomers, Persian poems..., exquisitely *delicate ornamental patterns, and calligraphy*' in their golden age [Fedorov-Davydov, 1976, p. 118] [the italics are mine.—*M.U.*].

As the script of the authentic granted charters demonstrates, the main writing styles in the Ulus of Jochi and earlier Tatar khanates were the *Thuluth* and *Divan* scripts. Out of 39 authentic documents known to me, 9 are written in *Thuluth*, 22—in *Divan* in different variants and only 1—in *Nasta'liq*. Out of them, *Thuluth* is typical of the earlier period (*Thuluth* was probably used in those early granted charters that came to us in ancient copies, see: [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 32–41, No.5–7, 11, 18–21, 23]). The *Divan* script was used in both

the Golden Horde and post-Horde khan yarliqs [ibid., pp. 29, 31, 37–38, 43, no.1, 13–15, 26]. Later, there was a simplification of the script, which occurred in parallel with alterations to the previous document forms (reduction in their length).

A visible external indicator of official acts, together with the form of the document and the script, are also **corroborative**, that is **certification marks**—seal impressions. These marks were mainly of two types. The first one was the **Golden, Red and Blue** tamgas. These large square seals (approximately from 6x6 to 13x13 cm) were the sovereign's **royal** certification marks [ibid., pp. 143–150].

The second type was a small ring-like seal shaped like an almond. This seal certified the **identity** of the ruling house representatives: the khan and his close relatives. It means that square seals could belong only to the ruling Jochids, the almond-shaped ones—to all the members of the clan and the dynasty. A ring-like seal of the ruling person was different from the seal of the other Jochids, the khan's relatives, in the so-called trident tamga in the text, that is the Giray dynasty mark [ibid., pp. 140–143, 164–167].

At the same time, the use of the almond-shaped seal was a prerogative of not only the Girays but also of the early Jochids and other Chinggisids of later periods. There is evidence that Tokhtamysh granted to one Beg from the Shirin family (clan) the right to possess the *bademi* as an exception, that is the almond-shaped seal, 'the seal that none of the Begs had' [ibid., p. 171].

The legends of the seals, depending on their function and formal designation also had differences. The texts of the almond-shaped seals consisted of the name and patronym of the holder, a short title and a trident (sometimes). In square tamgas, the texts were longer: they consisted of kalam in Arabic (sometimes with a motto), an epithet-title, the name and patronym of the khan, wishing welfare to himself. So they contained from five-six to seven-eight expressions [ibid., pp. 140–167, Tables 12–13].

'Bold' paints of golden, red and blue, perhaps, black colours were used for the impressions of square tamgas. The impressions of the

ring-like seal were black. They were made by smoking metal matrices—the front of the ring on the fire.

Ring-like seals by origin are related to the daily life and legal norms of the heads in the Islamic countries of the Middle and Near East, and through them with the cultural tradition of the Ancient World. As for the external form and use of square tamgas, it is a way of depicting symbols as impressions directly on the document, but not as hanging elements (as was habitual in the West and Rus'), as they had other roots. As V. Grigoriev wrote, the proto-image of the Jochid square tamgas was the Chinese seal with the writing 'Zhuan'. The Jochid record clerks, in order to achieve sufficient likeness with them, 'made (...) a new type of Kufic writing that is seen only on these Mongol-Tatar seals' [Grigoriev, 1844, p. 343]. So the creative combination of the fundamentals and qualities of two absolutely different writing systems—the Arabic alphabetic script and Chinese hieroglyphs—resulted in a new type of Kufic script, different from its other styles. That is why it should be called the **Golden Horde Turkic** or **Turkic-Tatar Kufic** script, which differs from the styles of the current scripts from Middle Asia, the Caucasus, Iran, Arabia, etc. [Usmanov, 1979, p. 151].

The certifying function of square seals was expressed with their impressions usually made at the beginning or end of the text in the document. At the beginning, after the invocation and the addresser, on the right, opposite several lines, some space was left. If a long document consisted of more than two glued pages, at each seam there were new impressions of the same tamga. That is why each neighbouring page contained half an impression. As a rule, each page of a multiple-paper document was certified with an official seal. So the analysed marks, on a par with their main function and designation (to certify legally the authenticity and formality of a document in general) performed exclusively paperwork tasks: they certified the authenticity of some physical parts of the acts—each page of the document. In other words, the impressions of square seals were at the same time some kind of *countersignature* [ibid., 176]. These procedures were also seen

in records management in the other Chinggisid states. That is why it was impossible to tear some pages (parts) of the document out of the acts or to replace them with counterfeited text [Kara, 1972, p. 117–118]. This specific and subtly invented way of certifying documents come out of more ancient well-proven bureaucratic traditions, for example, the traditions of the Far East states, and first of all, China.

Violations of these rules, strictly typical for forming more or less early Jochid acts, are seen later in the Tatar khanates, when they started to develop new rules and traditions.

So in the formation and development of Jochid sphragistic art, there are traces of cultures and civilisations which differ by origin and history. Certain rules, often very severe, were strictly followed not only in external drawings but also in the preparation of documents themselves, that is texts. This can be seen in the khan's granted charters—the *yarliqs*, which differ by type. Their texts consisted of the following components, which in turn had some expressions:

an initial record consisted of the *invocation* (kalam), the *intitulation* (of the addresser), the *inscription* (of the addressee); in the messages to heads of other countries, the addressee is followed by the *salutation*, that is the greeting;

the main part included the *introductory and narrative part*, the *disposition* (the essence of the edict, order), the *sanction* and the *corroboration* (the warning about the breach and the textual certification of the presence of the seal);

the final record (eschatocol) contained information about the *date* and *place* the document was issued, and also the names of the *intercessors* and the *executives* registering the act (for more details see: [Usmanov, 1979, p. 184 et seq.]).

The formation and development of the structure, that is the sections and textual formulas of the Chinggisid official acts, and, so the early Jochid acts, took into account the experience of the Far East administrative traditions, especially the detailed Chinese traditions. The adoption of the latter into Mongol-Turkic life was done by Uighur correspondence clerks, who were more aware of the conditions, de-

mands, legal norms, customs and capabilities of the steppe nomadic world. Some time later, as needed, with changes to the religious and cultural orientation, they borrowed the experience and aesthetic principles of the clerical culture of the Islamic states, predominantly that of Iran and Middle Asia. This is clear from the materials of the overview given here.

The kalam formulas made with large scripts and dyed by the non-Muslim Chinggisids and early Jochids, named by researchers as 'preambles' [Grigoriev, 1975, pp. 161–162], could be both Mongol-Shamanic and Buddhist. After adopting Islam, the Jochid invocations naturally became Islamic. They could be different religious formulas. By making the sovereign's edicts look formal, invocations mainly declared the religious affiliation of the mentioned monarch. It means they did not bear any specific social or economic burden. Perhaps, it explains their absence in some *yarliqs*.

An addresser is obligatory for all Jochid *yarliqs*. He is presented with the formula **Toktamış sözüm**—'**My Tokhtamysh's Word**' (also possible: 'My Tokhtamysh-Khan's Word', 'Our Tokhtamysh-Khan's Word', 'My Great Khan Tokhtamysh-Khan's Word', etc. Here, the name of the khan is conventional).

The formula regularly drew the attention of researchers (both Russian scientists and Hungarian turkicologists [Fekete, 1957; Ivanics, 1975, p. 215]). **söz**—'a word', has the main meaning in the formula, which, being next to the name of the monarch and with the attraction of the first person (**-m: sözüm**—'my word') acquired a special significance: **a will, an order, a decree, an edict, a solemn statement of the khan**, etc.

The results of a special analysis demonstrate that such an addresser has a *type-determining* meaning that allows us to carry out the primary, that is the main stage in classifying the khan's charters. The presence or absence of the 'my word' makes it possible to separate proper edicts from other types, for example, *bitiks*, that is from messages to the heads of other states [Usmanov, 1979a, pp. 223–240; 1979, pp. 198–200].

The early Jochid addressers were usually written in bigger letters than in the main text. In

later acts, they were made (under the influence of the Ottoman tradition) as a sophisticated *tughra* [Usmanov, 1990; Ivanics, 1992], which was not found in early Jochid acts.

Comprehensive information about the administrative staff, different governors, officials, their direct and indirect responsibilities is provided with a detailed inscription that contains also a thorough list of all the possible people who are obliged to implement the edict; the messages included names of precise addressees, heads of other states (for more details, see: [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 206–218. Tables 15–18]).

In the main part of the granted charters, in respect of information sources, the most valuable was the disposition that included a list of all the possible taxes and duties in the tarkhan acts and the description of the administration object in the suyurgal and official acts. Information on exactly this component, together with the information about the inscription, gives more or less trustworthy information about the administrative system of the state, social relations between 'the uppers' and 'the lowers' of society (for more details, see: [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 233–247]). As the results of the analysis of the tax and duty nomenclature of the dispositions in different yarliqs show (recording of pair terms, defining synonyms and their frequency), in literature there was an artificial increase in a number of taxes and duties [Mukhamedyarov, 1962, pp. 144–159], and it was not a trustworthy reflection of reality.

The dispositions of the granted charters determined the rights and privileges of the charter holders. The sanction pointed to the certain limits on the rights of the granted and to the possible executives of the yarliq orders. They also included the possible types of punishment for violating the sovereign's will.

One of the most important points to which the Jochid record clerks paid attention was corroboration—a certifying formula at the end of the main part about the type of the seal, the impressions of which were presented in the yarliq [Usmanov, 1979, p. 247–256].

The Jochid record clerks were punctual in drawing up the eschatocol, which is the final record of the acts. This quality is clearly re-

flected in the information about the date and the place of their issue. They are present in all the acts without exceptions. At the early stage, the Jochids used a 12-year cyclic calendar, that is the 'animal' calendar, phonetically coinciding with the terminology of the Uighur chronology. Since the middle of the 14th century, after the official adoption of Islam, the documents were dated according to the Hijrah. The complete ousting of the 'pagan' calendar from Jochid records management and replacement with the Hijrah took place at the very beginning of the 16th century [ibid., pp. 256–271].

The formula of the datum in the Jochid official records management was a strictly obligatory and quite developed element. This feature is related to the quality of the roots of the traditions, for example, to the development of the Uighur paperwork culture, on the one hand, and the detailed elaboration of the Islamic records management, on the other hand. Perhaps, it explains the difference between the final record in the Jochid documents and the eschatocol of, for example, the Russian charters, where it is the least developed part [Kashtanov, 1975, pp. 111–112, 116]. That is why the researchers of the Turkic-Tatar acts, if they are not defective, do not have the goal to determine their dates, unlike the specialists of Russian diplomacy, who have to pay significant attention to the determination of the dates of the early charters [see: Cherepnin, 1948, pp. 13–38, etc.].

As noted, the yarliqs together with the date obligatorily contained the place the granted charter is issued or message drawn up. This created a record about the location of the khan and his headquarters at a certain time. (So the official secretariat with his record clerks always followed the khan as he moved around).

The text of the granted act ended up with a special article that was a peculiar paperwork certificate, that is a formula, informing about the *intercessors* and the *scribes*, who directly took part in making up the document (details see: [Usmanov, 1979 pp. 125–131, 267–270]). Such an article proves that the Jochid secretariats followed strict rules in drawing up and issuing granted charters and the executors were responsible for the validity and authenticity of the charter.

A complete written document was presented for approval to be given a seal impression, red or blue tamga, kept by a high-rank official, for example, by a chief of the Divan, that is the state secretariat. Later, the yarliq became valid.

The approved yarliq was rolled up, beginning with the end. That is why the initial part of the document formed the upper layers of the document. In the Jochid secretariats, sometimes a piece of morocco leather was glued to the upper part of the acts. It served as a kind of case. There are incidences when special cases were made for important documents. Such cases were used to keep, for example, a message of Ulugh Muhammad and the Uighur-written yarliq of the Turkish Sultan Mehmed II, drawn up according to the rules of the Chinggisid acts [Kurat, 1940, p. 6; Rahmeti, 1939, p. 286].

In order to keep yarliqs conveniently in the Khan's Divan until they were given to their holders, on the reverse of the initial part at the end of each document the names of the executive secretary and the future owner of the granted act were given [Usmanov, 1979, pp. 35, 38–40, no.11, 15, 19].

All the above-mentioned proves that in the Golden Horde there was 'a high level of records management (...), better organised than in Rus' and the European states of that time' [Demin, 1974, p. 519]. It was quite logical as the Turkic-Tatar official records management in the 13–16th centuries was set up as an organic confluence and a creative development of legal norms, some original components, which were the results of managerial knowledge from the developed civilizations from the Far East to the Near East.

The official granting was supposed to have taken place in the presence of powerful officials, probably sometimes the khan. With the dry crisp of new paper, the upper layers of the document are slowly unrolled. After the Arabic-language invocation, solemn and mysterious for many people, there is a little pause—a blank space follows; then as a monarch's voice, a brief and powerful addresser is heard—the will of the sovereign: **My word, the word of Khan Tokhtamysh!** Again there is a warning pause followed by a uniform citation of all the governors of the tumens, the chiefs, the princes,

the spiritual leaders, all possible officials, order watchers; here is the name of the yarliq holder, his privileges and rights. Brightly made letters are still moving at a steady pace, sometimes going up, as if flying into 'the blessed future, slender, solemn and light lines are also moving. The Divan is keeping silent, listening, probably on his knees, with the happy holder of the granted charter, who is thinking about his future.

This is the way of forming and giving 'blessed' granted charters, which with the help of talented scribes who excelled at calligraphy nicely combined standard and unique features, conventionalism and artistry, and often turned into authentic masterpieces of the written arts.

This was how powerful and mighty legal acts were created; the khan's yarliqs, which were not only witnesses but also accessories of welfare and luxury for the minority and of poverty and sufferings for the majority.

This was how granted charters became certificates of law and order in the field of social, economic, political relations, legal norms of their epoch, which created at the same time a respectful attitude among people towards documents. In the end, it was the reason for preserving a significant number of the granted charters in the private 'archives' of the descendants 300–400 years later. Precisely, this respectful attitude towards the script in general and towards documents in particular, created over centuries, was the reason that in the 17–19th centuries the Tatar population of Russia without having any national official structures or administrative institutions regulated their internal ethnic, social, economic, ethic and legal relations with the help of private acts [Minnullin, 1988].

So only due to the mentioned respectful attitude towards the documents, on the backdrop of dozens of Golden Horde towns razed from the ground, nowadays we have the preserved patterns of the Turkic-Tatar official acts of the 13–16th centuries, special written sources proving evidence about the high level of social, political, and economic life and features of the administrative and state system as well as the roots, formation, development and specifics of records management and paperwork culture—a very specific part of the Turkic-Tatar writing culture during the Jochid period, in general.

§ 4. Literary Language of the Golden Horde

Famuzha Nuriyeva

The period of the greatest political and economic might of the Jochid Empire was during the reign of the Khans Öz Beg and Jani Beg, when at the height of prosperity of the economy and trading central power was quickly strengthened and a united governing system was set up. Being supported by the khan's administration, dozens of big cities grew fast, with their unique, magnificent, expressive and even eclectic style. The adoption of Islam as the state religion was also completed, and it contributed to the further integration of the peoples, the formation of a united ethnos and left a deep imprint on all the Turkic peoples of Eurasia [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2000, pp. 61—62; Fakhrutdinov, 1995, pp. 108—110; Usmanov, 1985, pp. 177—185].

There is no doubt that the religious factor played a significant role in politics, ideology, managing social institutions, economy, trading, spiritual culture and arts. The Islamic principle of the confluence of the secular and spiritual components came into effect. It implies that a supreme governor is obliged to control the right way of all aspects of life, their correspondence to the divine law. Under these conditions, it is not a coincidence that most of the preserved Turkic hand-written works of the 14th century and the copies of them were represented by the religious and religious-didactic literature: 'Kysas al-anbiya' by Rabguzi, 'Nakhj al-Faradis' by Mahmud Bulgari, the dastan 'Djumdjuma Sultan' by Khisam Qiatib, 'Kisekbash kitabi'. The predominance of religious literature was determined by the demand for it as well as by the tradition born and constantly strengthened by the power of the Islamic clergy, its huge influence on all the classes of society and all aspects of life.

The materials known today allow us to characterise the Golden Horde as a state with a predominantly sedentary way of life and a high level of architectural culture. Research into historical works together with other sources (yarliqs, various messages) leads us to conclude that the urban class (merchants, crafts-

men, officials, clergy) had great importance in the cultural life of the Golden Horde populace. It played a significant role in the emergence of the need among society as a whole for spiritual values.

Research into the social and cultural life of the cities and other cultural centres of the Golden Horde allows to make two important conclusions:

1) In these centres the conditions were ripe for the formation of the oral colloquial koine, a language based on Turks, the native speakers of the dialects of the Kipchak language group;

2) The cultural environment, administrative centres and local governors, the Islamic education presented by madrasahs, libraries, ulamas, literate mullah created a base for the written supra-dialectal form of the language and for the creation of written literary texts of different genres and styles based on this language.

The Golden Horde sources are prosaic and poetic fiction literature, religious and juridical texts, known to Turkology for decades. They drew the attention of generations of Turkologists, beginning with V. Radlov. In domestic Turkology, a significant role in the development of the problem of literary traditions in the written Turkic languages and the declaration of this problem was played by A. Samoylovich.

The state of the united literary language and its changeability under the influence of vernacular dialects were the basis for the periodisation of the writing culture of the Turkic peoples within the Islamic civilization, developed by A. Samoylovich. He paid significant attention to the second period, Kipchak-Oghuz, as exactly at that time (not during the Chagatai period), due to the formation of Genghis Khan's Empire, there was evidence of a situation that was favourable for the development of a united literary language for all the Muslim and Turkic tribes of the Mongol State. Besides, exactly this period is related to the birth of the main modern Muslim and Turkic literary languages. The researcher directly pointed to the succession of

the modern Tatar language in reference to the literary language of the Golden Horde: '...the Kazan Tatar literary language, going through several periods of its development, has got its ancient roots, the Kipchak roots, not from the 15th century, as it is generally claimed, but from the earlier literary works of the Golden Horde, where the Kipchak linguistic elements are dominant. This is also the initial fate of the Crimean Tatar literary language' [Samoylovich, 1928, p. 21].

The further development of the conception of A. Samoylovich about the succession of a uniform book tradition was reflected in the works of E. Tenishev [1988, pp. 67–85; 1997, pp. 35–38].

A great specialist in the history of the medieval literary languages E. Nadjip, unlike A. Samoylovich, proceeds from the recognition of numerous literary languages, languages of different genetic roots and primarily mixed languages [Nadjip, 1965, pp. 3–8; 1970, pp. 87–92; 1989, pp. 244–249]. The comparative studies of the written sources, which appeared in Egypt and were made on the territory of the Golden Horde, which were based, first of all, on distinguishing their lexical specific characteristics, singling out lexemes by their linguistic attributes and their further statistic processing, led E. Nadjip to the following conclusions: 1) By the 14th century, the Kipchak-Oghuz literary language of the y-group had been formed, which was common for the Golden Horde and Egypt; 2) Together with this new literary language, the more archaic written language of the z-group was also used. E. Nadjip called it the Oghuz-Kipchak literary language of the Lower Volga and Khwarezm. Later, this language did not spread farther than the Volga Region, and in Middle Asia it was replaced with the y-language. In the Volga Region, it continued to exist until the early 1900s as a language of narrative works with mysterious contents [Nadjip, 1989, pp. 81–82].

In the history of Tatar linguistics in the early 1920s–the 1940s, linguistic studies of the language of the Golden Horde cycle sources are represented by a small number of works. At the same time, their description from the point of view of literature studies and the definition

of their place in the history of Turkic literature is represented very widely. The first Tatar scientists G. Rakhim, G. Gubaydullin (Gaziz), N. Khakim, and G. Sagdi amply used the texts of Turkic-Tatar literature, and included them into educational books. They also paid attention to the linguistic specific characteristics; it is seen in the research of S. Vakhidi, where observations in different styles are given: 'In the latter half of the 14th century, in the Golden Horde, there was a well crafted local literary language, different from the Uighur language and the so-called Chagatai parlance' [Archives 53–1].

In the studies of the Tatar researchers, the Golden Horde language is called by different terms: the general name 'Terki Tel' is usually used, which is Turki (by specification: *Bulgar Terkise*, *Kazan Terkise*, *Idel-buye Terkise*); the term 'Volga Turki', used in the studies of E. Nadjip [Nadjip, 1957, 17 b.] was easily taken into use by the scientific world; in modern studies, historians and philologists use the term 'Turkic-Tatar', restored by M. Usmanov [Usmanov, 1979, p. 17], who notes that the term carries some new and more concrete contents: Turkic by genetics and Tatar by appearance.

The studies of the Golden Horde sources use the term 'mixed language'. Turkologists understand under the term 'mixed' the presence of phonetic, grammatical and lexical elements that belong to a language of another classification group, in their opinion. Meanwhile, these linguistic elements are assigned to a certain group of languages or dialects (Kipchak, Oghuz, Uighur, Karluk). Often, instead of a mentioned language attribution, these elements are defined with geographical or areal terms: the Khwarezm literary language', 'the literary language of Khwarezm and the Golden Horde' [Inan, 1953], 'Eastern Turkic language' [Brockelmann, 1954], 'the literary language of the Golden Horde and Egypt' [Nadjip, 1965], or chronological definitions are provided: 'Ancient Turkic', 'Middle Turkic', sometimes socio-political ones: 'Mamluk-Kipchak' [Eckmann, 1964], the 'Chagatai' language [Köprülü, 1926].

Taking into account the situation in Turkology with the term 'mixed language' of the written source, in the attribution of the studied

text we prefer to speak about the correlation of norms and variations in the language of the given source instead of speaking about its mixed character. When classifying the language of the written source we start stratifying the text and singling out the fundamental and peripheral elements in it.

The texts of religious-didactic contents.

The written source '**Kysas al-anbiya**' by **Rab-guzi** (hereinafter the KR), written in 1310 in the northern part of Khwarezm. His ancient manuscript, which is kept in the British Museum in London, is dated back to 1489. It should be highlighted that this written source was extremely in-demand in the Islamic world, that is why at the present there are a lot of copies, up to 35 in the manuscript archives, not including manuscripts in private collections. The copies of the written source were found in a large number of places: the Russian Federation (including Tatarstan), Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, etc. It is clear that the scribes introduced a lot of linguistic innovations in these copies, and that is why our research is based on the oldest copy. An analysis of its language, in the end, allowed us to distinguish the following normative features in phonetics and graphics. Compare: the KR language includes a one-variation traditional writing of words with (alif) such as **اڭدڭ** *äḡḡü* 'righteous', the graphic variation carries a certain semantic differentiation: **اڭ** *är* 'man', **اير** *ir* 'warrior'. The labial harmony is also stably preserved, words with the **ḡ**-grapheme are the orthographic norm, the variation appeared in later copies. The **-q**-grapheme in the intervocalic position is stably preserved **ساقيندى** *saqyndy* 'thought', the combination **-ayū-**, **-uγū-**, **-yγy-**: **اڭيز** *ayyz* 'mouth', the auslaut **-y**: **ساريج** *saryy* 'yellow'.

The morphological features include a fundamental system of declinations related to the Uighur-Kipchak type.

Chronologically close to the KR is a manuscript of the other religious-didactic large-scale work '**Nakhj al-Faradis**' by **Makhmud al-Bulgari as-Sarai** (hereinafter the NF). Despite the small number of copies found (10), the mentioned source played an important role in the cultural life of the Volga peoples. It is particularly interesting in regards to studying

the history of public opinion in the medieval Volga Region, as its author relied on a great number of works (20 sources recorded) of famous Muslim theologians. The text is a combination of religious and ethic studies with the art form of its embodiment. Fascinating novellas and wise parables were aimed at developing loyalty to Islam and a high immunity to temptations lying in wait for a Muslim on the way to celestial bliss. Precisely this didactic tendency makes the text differ from the KR. All this together makes the NF language full of artistic techniques, synonyms, antonyms, phraseologisms, etc., and characterises it in general as close to the folk-colloquial form. The interaction of the literary norm and the folk-colloquial language is confirmed by the fact that the NF language, more often than in the language of the previous source, includes a variation in the phonetic-graphic forms of lexical units and in a set of grammatical indexes. However, here the adherence to a fundamental system, ascending to a stable writing tradition, can be seen. These fundamental features in grapho-phonetics include the succession and preservation of the labial harmony. In the NF, there are some cases in which these affixes are written with a deviance of the labial harmony (more often, the affixes of the past definite tense). In the stems with the hesitating vocalic anlaut, writing with the **ا** (alif) is more often replaced with the **اي** (alif yay). However, this variation is far from being consistent. The variation is also growing in the use of the **d~ḡ~j** with the predominant writing of the **ḡ**-grapheme: **قوزوغ** *quḡuy* 'well', **ايزى** *iḡi* 'owner', etc. The expansion of the function of the **-j**: **قايغى** *qajyu* 'grief', etc. proves the reflexion in graphics of the elements of colloquial speech. At the domination of the **-q-** in the intervocalic variation the variation *jaruyy* 'his light' appears. However, the combinations **-ayū-**, **-uγū-**, **-yγy-** are stably preserved, as well as auslaut **-γ**: **بوگون** *buγun* 'joint', **باغ** *bay* 'link', etc. A set of new phenomena includes a consistent reflexion of sonority and voicelessness in the affixes of the cases and in the affixes of the past definite tense. The declination system continues to reflect the Uighur-Kipchak declination type, and the low-frequency peripheral forms reflect the Oghuz declination type. It is

interesting to note that a lot of phraseological units, not only by content but also by form, are still found in the modern Volga languages, in particular, in Tatar. Compare: *irgä barmaq* 'to get married', *küz qamaşmaq* 'ripples in vision', *til tigürmək* 'to talk a lot', etc.

The analysis of the written source on the basis of the statistic processing of fundamental norms and peripheral elements demonstrates that the NF reflects the stable tradition of the Kara-Khanid-Uighur literary language. In comparison with the KR, its variation increases. In our opinion, this is related to its content aimed at a wide range of readers, on the one hand, and to a strengthening of the influence of the colloquial environment—the Kipchak koine, on the other hand.

The next chronological cut-off is dated back to 1369, and it is reflected in the language of the Volga Region '**Djumdjuma Sultan**' by **Khisam Qiatib** (hereinafter, the Dj), a work of religious-didactic content. It is evident that Kyatib was an outstanding poet of his time. It is seen even from the fact that he starts the given poem in an intriguing way by thinking over the frailty of all things existent on the earth, that all people turn into ashes in the end and live through the same torment for their actions, now matter who they were on earth. The poet, depicting the life and actions of his character Djumdjuma Sultan by artistic means, through his own perception, narrating on behalf of the character, managed to persuasively express the idea of humanism, the idea that the governor should take care of his people. The poem ends philosophically, with the statement that the Islamic religion is the most righteous religion.

The language of this written source maintains the Kara-Khanid-Uighur basis, which is expressed in its fundamental features: in the preservation of the labial harmony: كوزوم *küzüm* 'my eye', the voiceless -q- in the intervocalic position: جيقب *çyqyb* 'having coming out', the auslaut -γ: قوروق *quruy* 'dry', the traditional combinations -uγu-, -yyγ-, etc. It is notable that under the Kipchak fundamental declination type there is a formation of the ablative case with the affix -dyn. The past with the -dy is one of the most frequent tense forms that create the general background to a narrative.

As the text of the given work is known to us from the late copies, it is possible to presuppose that an obvious strengthening of the Kipchak features in its language is determined by the specific characteristics of the language of its latest scribes. However, on the general backdrop of the written sources studied by us, a picture is formed of the gradual progressive introduction of the Kipchak linguistic features, which are peripheral, into the traditional fundamental system of the Kara-Khanid-Uighur language.

The written source of religious and didactic content '**Kisekbash kitaby**' (hereinafter the KB) is dated to the period under consideration. The genre of the work is defined as the dastan, and this is how it is called by the author itself. While getting familiar with the content of the 'Kisekbash kitaby', it becomes immediately obvious that the plot coincides with the plot of the work 'Djumdjuma Sultan' by Kyatib, famous in the Volga Region, although the KB is simpler and not at such a high artistic and philosophical level as the Dj by H. Kyatib. The poetic dimensions of the studied dastan confirms once again the supposition about the time period of its writing: the Early Middle Ages, when the metre of arud was not approved yet in the Turkic poem [Akhmetgaleyeva 1979, pp. 56–57]. Although Ya. Akhmetgaleyeva considers the prosody in the 'Kisekbash kitaby' an incomplete arud, our studies show that there are no errors in the catalectic iambic hexameter. The abundance of copies demonstrates that the work was one of the popular texts in the Volga Region.

Like in the Dj language, in the language of the written source, the affixes of the genitive case and the past tense were not subordinate to the labial harmony, although in other cases they are kept relatively stable. In the alternation of the d~δ~j in the KB language, the use of words is one-variable: a) or only with the δ-attribute: اذاق *adaq* 'leg'; b) or only with the j-attribute: قویوق *qujuy* 'well'; the variable writing of words is not noted.

The fundamental declination system in the written source is comparable with the Kipchak declination. The described regular forms of the genitive, accusative, and dative cases be-

gin with a consonant in all the paradigms, but precisely in the nominal paradigm of the dative case there is a similar variation of the forms of the Kipchak **-ya** and the Oghuz **-a**. Used in the text, the ablative case with the **-din** is related to the Uighur declination type.

A typical feature of the written source is the traditional use of the past tense form with the **-dy**, in rare cases—with the **-mys** and the absence of the **-yan**.

Evaluating the language of the analysed works of the religious and didactic content, it should be noted that the set of isolated fundamental features characterises this language as a successor to the Kara-Khanid-Uighur writing tradition both in phonetics and morphology. Despite the obvious demonstration of the features of the Kipchak language system in all the analysed texts, it should be mentioned that they are peripheral in the language of the religious and didactic written sources. It is typical that first of all Kipchakisation was reflected in the declination system, which is proved by the data of the Dj and KB (for more details about the linguistic specific characteristics of these written sources see: [Nuriyev, 2004, pp. 48–193]).

Secular texts. Secular texts include the 'Khosrow-va-Shirin' by Qutb (1383), the 'Muhabbat-name' by Khwarezmi (1353), the 'Gulistan bi-turki' by Seif Sarai (1391). Secular texts were the subject of a number of studies by turkologists. Taking into account the achievements of our predecessors, we made an analysis of the mentioned texts by using the language stratification method on the fundamental and peripheral components.

The most demonstrative result of this approach is the classification of the fundamental language system of the '**Khosrow-va-Shirin**' by Qutb (hereinafter the KhSh), belonging to the Kara-Khanid-Uighur tradition, and two other texts by their fundamental forms belong to the Kipchak language system. The difference is explained, first of all, by the fact that Qutb, the author, being probably from the Volga Region, connected his literary activities with Sarai, and created this work at the end of his life by order of the governor Tini Beg. As literature specialists have discovered, the model for him was the work of Nizami, the

language of which was the classical literary Farsi. As the studies of Kh. Minnegulov have shown, many of the sides of the poem by Nizami were reflected in the work of Qutb. However, the KhSh is not a literal translation but a free retelling of the content of Nizami's poem [Minnegulov, 1993]. So we should pay attention to the obvious influence of the art form of Nizami's poem on Qutb's works. Besides, by giving his work to the Golden Horde ruler, traditional etiquette was evidently followed that presupposes a high poetic style vested in a poetic literary form of the language, which in the Turkic literature of that period came out of the Kara-Khanid-Uighur tradition. It seems that all these factors influenced the specific characteristics of the poem 'Khosrow-va-Shirin' by Qutb.

As for the '**Gulistan bi-turki**' by Seif Sarai (hereinafter the GB), this work is a translation of a famous work called the 'Gulistan' by Sa'adi. Sarai was well-known in the world of poets and scientists in the Golden Horde as a skilled master of poetics. That is why his friends recommended he would do the translation. It is known that Sarai was born in 1321 in the Volga Region and emigrated to Mamluk Egypt in the 1380s [Minnegulov, 1976; 1999a]. So his native language was a Kipchak language, but owing to his education he learnt the language of the Turkic classic literature of that period. That is why, in comparison with the KhSh, the conditions of the creation of the GB were different. In our opinion, it explains why the Kipchak language basis is traced in the fundamental system of the language of this source.

The history of the creation of the third secular source, the poem '**Muhabbat-name**' by Khwarezmi (hereinafter the MN) is the same. Khwarezmi was a famous poet of this time, who lived in the Golden Horde, in Sygnak, where he wrote the 'Muhabbat-name' by order of Muhammad Hodjabeg, who asked him to create the poem *bizniñ til birlä 'in our language'*, that is in the Turkic-Kipchak language. Khwarezmi took for as a model a plot popular in the East, which was a collection of love messages, vested in poetic form. Probably, being Kipchak by origin and carrying out the specific creative order of his patron, Khwarezmi (this is

a pseudonym, his real name is not known) created the work, the language of which is based on Kipchak. Like the works of other authors, the work of Khwarezmi is not a literal translation of the original but a free retelling of it.

On the backdrop of the latest two written sources, the KhSh language with its Kara-Khanid-Uighur basis contains a fairly large layer of Kipchak elements in its variable part on the level of peripheral features. As our analysis shows, in some cases the Kipchak elements start to become introduced into the fundamental paradigm and often acquire the status of a norm in the language of this source.

In the KhSh, the labial harmony does not form a united strict system anymore. A complex interrelation between a book tradition and a live colloquial language is observed which the variable writing of a huge number of words and word forms points to. Compare: بولوت *bulut* (17 times) ~ بولت *bulyt* (8 times) 'clouds'. Of the KhSh language, the elision -γ, -q is typical, and with the violation of the labial harmony: *jazuqluγ* ~ *jazuqly* 'sinful'. In many words the -δ-grapheme is typical, although there are double writings of the words: اذاق *adaq* (77 words) ~ اياق *ajaq* (20 words) 'leg'. Noting the relative stability in the auslaut -γ, there is variable writing with the omission of the final -γ. The declination is Uighur-Kipchak, and structurally ordered peripheral indexes are related to the Oghuz group.

The study of the language of the 'Muhabbat-name' by Khwarizmi is important as it is one of the links of a huge work studying the birth and formation of the Golden Horde literary language, its connections with the other literary languages of the Turkic peoples and the determination of the influence of its norms on the literary languages of later periods. As mentioned above, in this source there is a dominance of the Kipchak linguistic elements. The fundamental system of the declination is close to the Kipchak system, and the peripheral forms are close to the Oghuz forms. In the dative and locative cases, there are traces of the low-frequent Karluk group. The perfect is presented with two competitive forms -γan, -yp **tur**. Examples: çiçäk japraqлары jirgä tüşüptür 'the flower petals got scattered on the ground';

iki jaktu gävhar yälämga birgän 'he gave two light pearls to the world'.

The language of the poem is colourful, rich and figurative. The author skillfully uses various artistic means, in particular, epithets, comparisons and metaphors. Especially often, Khwarezmi takes advantage of comparisons while creating an image of an amazingly beautiful girl: *irür jüzi qujaş tek yäläm ara* 'her face beautifies her like the sun does the universe', etc. The poem is decorated with numerous artistic metaphors: *ysyryan danasi—zührä, jüzün—aj* 'the Venus is only a stone in your earring, and the Moon is your face', etc. (for details about the description of the linguistic specific characteristics of the mentioned literary written sources, see: [Nuriyeva, 2004, pp. 193–283]).

The above-analysed texts of the written literary language of the Golden Horde do not embrace the entire set of written sources of the Turkic-Tatar literary language of this period. Important sources are the Arabic-Kipchak glossaries, grammars, and also the translated literary works of the 13–15th centuries, created in the Mamluk Egypt for almost 250 years.

Among the sources of the region being studied, a special place belongs to the '**Codex Cumanicus**' (hereinafter the CC), which is the largest written source of the Kipchak colloquial language of the Golden Horde period as well as a wonderful written source for studying the history of the formation and development of practically all the modern languages of the Kipchak group. The advantage of this written source is that here the Turkic language is presented in Latin graphics, which allows the phonetic features to be reflected more precisely. The text of the written source is mainly aimed not only at colloquial speech but first of all at the availability of the language in the Turkic environment. That is why the written source is so valuable as a model for recording the colloquial style in the Kipchak dialects of the 13th century. It is evidenced, in particular, by the regular **j**-attribute: all the words are written in one way through **j**. There is a stable trace of voicing the intervocalic -q-, although there are cases in which it is preserved: *çygar* 'release', *saγγs* 'sorrow', *joqary baqyp* 'looking up', etc. The combination of -aγy, -uγy is regularly reflect-

ed as the diphthong **-uw**: *awuz* 'mouth', *buzau* 'calf'. There is a regular omission of the ending **-γ**: *bitti* 'letter', *jamau* 'swatch', *tau* 'mount'. In the declination, the genitive case is subordinate to the labial harmony, the accusative case has the formatives **-ny**, **-ni**, in the third person, **-yn** (17 times) and **-yny** (18 times) are almost equal, the dative case is presented with the affix **-qa-** and its respective harmonic variants, and the ablative case has the form **-dan**, **-tan**. The possessive-nominal declination system includes the widespread infix **-n-**. So the illustrative material of the dictionary demonstrates the clear Kipchak declination. The tense form on **-yp tur** is highly frequently, and the form on **-yan** and **-myş** is relatively rare. So the fully Kipchak language in the 'Codex Cumanicus' is proved.

In the 1990s, the research process embraced the written source of Islamic jurisprudence '**Irshad al-muluk va s-salatin**' (hereinafter the IM). On the last page of the manuscript, there is a record: *'Bu kitabyň vüciüdi zaýyfatlyf olan Allahyň rähmetinä mұxtaş qypçaq sojundan vä Xäñfi mäzhäbinä mänsul Bärkä ibni Bäräküz ibni Ögü tarafyndan jazylşynyn son ärmışi 789 sänäsi şäüval ajynyn jirminçi küniündä büjük Iskändärijä şährindä Illah onu här türlü afätdän korusunluqu bulmuştur'* 'This book is written by a weak and nice creator that needs God's blessing, native of the Kipchak surrounding, belonging to the Hanafi madhhab, Berke ibni Berakuz ibni Ogu in Great Iskanderia in year 789, the month of Shawwal, the 20th day (20 October 1387)'.

The source 'Khosrow-va-Shirin' was rewritten in Egypt by the famous calligrapher Berke Faqih. There were comments that some other manuscripts were also the work of Berke Faqih. Here, Berke emphasises that he is from Kipchaks and is known as a scientist, a poet and a translator in Mamluk Egypt. But the most significant part of his statement is his intention to write all his ideas in the poetic form by using the poetic metre 'Kutagdu bilik', but unfortunately he could not fulfill his intention. These words seem to us an indisputable proof of the fact that the Kara-Khanid-Uighur tradition for the Turkic speakers of the Islamic culture in the Golden Horde and in Egypt was not an 'abstract model', but was based on a real knowledge of

specific literary texts and, very notably, on the huge literary written source of the Kara-Khanid epoch 'Kutagdu bilik' by Yusuf Balasaghun, which was spoken about by Berke 200 years later. These arguments gave us grounds to use for our analysis the document of the Islamic jurisprudence 'Irshad al-muluk va s-salatin'.

This written source, consisting of the code of Sharia law, is a collection of fatwas, gathered from the works of famous and respected scientists, specialists in Sharia law, who were mostly adherent to the ideas of the Hanafi madhhab. The work includes the introduction, 29 books, 56 sections and 93 chapters. At the end, there is a chapter that contains 49 questions about Sharia law (fiqh), and a conclusion.

The analysis demonstrated that the fundamental language system of this work is organised on the Kipchak basis. It is obvious from the following features: the stable writing **ا** (alif yay), in the alternation of **d~δ~j** only the writing with the **j**- is kept, although there are cases of variations, keeping the voiceless intervocalic **-q-** is presented sporadically: **ا** *aqar* ~ **ا** *ayar* 'flow', and there is even the transition **-ayu>au**. Compare: **سوق** ~ **سوغوق** 'coldness', **توق** ~ **تاغوق** 'hen', etc. (for more details, see: [Nuriyeva, 2004, pp. 283–307]).

So the analysis of the two written sources shows their importance for the history of the Turkic-Tatar literary language of the earlier period, especially taking into account that in the 'Codex Cumanicus', the colloquial koine is a fundamental system.

Our research shows that the general line of development of the Turkic-Tatar language, beginning with the 13th century, is as follows. The writing literary language form of the Golden Horde period in its development in its literary centres at first is focused on the phonetic-graphic and grammatical norms of the literary languages of the Kara-Khanid-Uighur areal. It is quite explicable that the mentioned areals at this historical period remained the centres in which Islamic education spread, which included religious fundamentals as well as respective forms of the written literary language. The cultural life of the Golden Horde, beginning with the period of the formation of an independent state, was followed by the

strong influence of famous Muslim devoted theologians. That is why it is of no wonder that in the regional literature centres of the Golden Horde the important positions belonged to the literary written language, being based on the Kara-Khanid-Uighur variant of the Turkic written language, which fixed its positions also in the literature centres of the Golden Horde. At the same time, the main population of the Ulus of Jochu, both settled and nomadic, were speakers of Kipchak tribal languages, although among the residents of the Golden Horde there were Oghuz and Karluk speakers (for example, the Uighurs at the secretariats).

So the mentioned bearers of the Islamic civilization, due to the ethno-demographic conditions, found themselves in the dominant surrounding of the Kipchak speakers. The given ethnic situation was favourable for formation of the supradialectal koine in the cultural and trading centres, based on the Kipchak language elements. The influence and interaction of the old tradition with new linguistic processes are differently reflected in the languages of some written sources, depending on the genre of the written source (religious and didactic literature remained more stable, and secular literature accepted innovations faster), on the level of the education of the author and his affiliation with a certain literary artistic school, on the customer of the work, on specific conditions of the place of its creation, on the scribes, and their tribal affiliation and command of the native language. Our studies demonstrate based on the example of the isolated phonetic-graphic and morphological features and their statistic processing that every written source is a precise and live reflexion of the linguistic situation where it was created, and at the same time language is a source for characterising it. It can be stated that in the early written sources of the Golden Horde there is a stable Kara-Khanid-Uighur tradition, together with which the new variant of the regional literary language was being formed precisely in the Volga Region.

So the maximum number of the isolated phonetic features of the Kara-Khanid-Uighur tradition is given in the 'Kysas al-anbiya' by

Rabguzi, and the minimum in the 'Codex Cumanicus' and the 'Irshad al-muluk'.

The morphological characteristics of the languages in the written sources show that they are a reflexion of common patterns in the formation of the language in the Golden Horde period.

A review of the morphological categories leads to the following conclusions. The systematic study of declination in the language of the written sources and comparison of all data obtained from the analysis of each written source, with all the coincidences and differences recorded enable us to claim that precisely in the 14th century the initial transition from the Uighur-Kipchak declination into the Kipchak declination occurred. By classifying attributes, the Uighur-Kipchak and Kipchak declinations are presented with consonantal forms. The same forms are used in the possessive-nominal paradigm.

The Uighur-Kipchak declination is in the language of the 'Kysas al-anbiya' by Rabguzi, the 'Nakhj al-Faradis' by Mahmud Bulgari, the 'Khosrow-va-Shirin' by Qutb. The Kipchak declination is dominant in the language of the 'Gulistan bi-t-turki' by Sarai, the 'Muhabbat-name' by Khwarezmi, the 'Djumdjuma Sultan' by Kyatib, the 'Kisekbash kitabi', the 'Codex Cumanicus' and the 'Irshad al-muluk'.

Analysing the tense system in the language of the Golden Horde written sources shows that this system, together with stable fundamental components from the earlier stages of development of the Turkic languages and mostly reflecting the Kara-Khanid-Uighur tradition, in the Volga areal, like the system of declination, go through obvious changes by including in it new local regional Kipchak forms. Typically the language of different written sources depicts different stages of these dynamics (compare the NF and MN languages).

As for non-finite forms of the verb, of particular interest is the distribution of the participial forms in the attributive function in the language of different written sources. It should be noted that in the texts there are all the forms of the participles known in the history of the Turkic languages from the period studied: **-r**, **-yan**, **-an**, **-myş**, **-yu**, **-yuçy**, **-duq**, **daçy**, **-asy**.

As seen, among them there are some forms typical of the Oghuz and Uighur-Oghuz, Karluk linguistic groups and the language of the Kipchak group. The Oghuz and Uighur forms are the most peripheral among the non-finite attributive forms: **-an**, **-asy**, **-yu**, **duq**, **yuçy**, **-daçy**. The main rivalry in the attributive function is noticed between the highly frequent **-yan** and **-myş**. And in the language of some sources, their proportion by frequency usage is of interest. In general, the dominant form is **-yan**, although the form **-myş** is still perceived by the authors of the sources as its absolute semantic equivalent which could be used in literary texts.

In the field of impersonal substantive forms, the absolutely dominant form is **-maq**, the synonym of which is **-maya**. The form **-maq**, known in a set of Turkic languages, generally characterises the Turkic languages of the Eastern areal, and its fixation in literary written sources is related, probably, to the post-Kara-Khanid period. It became widespread, starting from the language of the Golden Horde and

Chagatai written sources. In the nine sources analysed by us only in the language of the KhSh, MN, Gb, CC, Sh is the new substantive form present **-rya**. It functions more often as the form of the supine, which means that it defines the goal of an action. Despite its low frequency, this form is regional, inherent to the language of the Volga Region, and some Turkic dialects of North Caucasus. So the analysed written sources show us the initial stage this form spreads in the languages of the Volga Region.

The linguistic analysis performed with socio-linguistic contents, on the one hand, allowed us to single out the sources of the Old Tatar literary language, being supported by an uninterrupted literary tradition of Turkic peoples, which came out of the epoch of the Turkic and Uighur khanates; on the other hand, it defined the role of the regional Kipchak koine, which being widespread within the borders of the Golden Horde enormously influenced the old literary written language. In the end, it led to the formation of the Turkic-Tatar literary language of the early period.

§ 5. Literature

Khatip Minnegulov

In the period of its existence (longer than two hundred years) the Golden Horde made significant progress not only in political, economic, social life but also in the spiritual field. The presence of centuries-long rich Turkic, including Bulgar-Khazar, traditions, the prosperity of cities, religious tolerance, good relations with a lot of states, especially with Mamluk Egypt, helped literature develop in the Golden Horde. However, unfortunately, a lot of the written monuments of that period for different reasons were destroyed or ruined. It is understandable as not only the books written on paper but also the magnificent Volga cities with stone and brick constructions were wiped off from the face of the earth by the conquerers.

The Golden Horde written sources known today are works of a varying nature and purpose. They include dictionaries, epitaph-

ic writings, official documents (the khans' yarliqs), scientific treatises, religious books, travelling books, fiction, etc. The overwhelming majority of the works are written in Turkic-Tatar, that is the language of international communication between the Golden Horde and a big part of Eurasia. There are works created in other languages. In particular, the dictionary 'Codex Cumanicus' (1303), compiled in Latin, and others in Persian. The poet Khwarizmi created his poems both in Turki and Farsi. It should be noted that famous thinkers, poets and travelers of the Islamic Orient, such as Qutb al-Din al-Razi, Sa'ad al-Din al-Taftazani, Kamal Khujandi, etc., lived and worked in Sarai for some years. In the travelling notes of ibn Battuta and ibn Arabshah, there are interesting facts about the spiritual life of the Golden Horde, about the high intellectual level of the Sarai scientists, and in

particular, about the mulammag poem writing contests in mixed languages (Turkic, Persian, Arabic).

The literature of the Jochid Ulus was created and developed not only on the territory of the Golden Horde, but in Mamluk Egypt too, as this area was ruled from the middle of the 13th century until the beginning of the 16th century by immigrants from Desht-i Kipchak—the Mamluks. Close political, scientific and cultural relationships existed between the Nile and the Volga. Many scientists, teachers and writers of the Golden Horde (Mahmud Sarai Gulistani, Seif Sarai, Berke Fakih, etc.) moved to Egypt for one reason or another, and continued their work there. Some time later, that is, at the beginning of the 16th century, the famous work 'The Turkic Shah-nameh' was created by Sharif or rather Tatar Ali Efendi in Mamluk Egypt [Islamov, 2002].

On the one hand, the literature of the Golden Horde continued the best traditions of the ancient Turkic and Bulgar written arts. The works of Iusuf Balasaguni, Ahmad Iasavi, Suyeyman Bakhyrgani, Kul Gali and other authors of earlier Turkic-language poetry were read and highly appreciated here. On the other hand, the Turkic-Tatar literature of the Golden Horde period developed in close conjunction with the written culture of the Muslim East. The works of Ferdowsi, Gazzali, Nizami, Attar, Rumi, especially Sa'adi, were read in the original and in various translations and with commentaries. The walls of certain Sarais were decorated with the poems of Sa'adi (cf: Tereshchenko, 2001, p. 11–12]).

As far as medieval literature was concerned, it must be borne in mind that there are no clear boundaries between the works of written lore and other kinds of written records; they often merge, the one leading into the other. Thus, for example, the piece of writing by Mahmud Bulgari 'Nakhj al-faradis' simultaneously deals



Muhammad Murad Samarkandi. Miniatures to the book by Ferdowsi 'Shah-nameh'. 1556–1566

with aesthetic, cognitive, religious and ethical themes.

There are numerous works in various languages on the literature of the Golden Horde. In particular, a significant part of the first volume of 'The History of Tatar Literature' (Kazan, 1984) is dedicated to this period (pp. 158–282). A great many facts and observations on the written tradition of the Jochid Ulus are contained in the book 'Medieval Tatar Literature of the 8–18 centuries' [1999, pp. 63–118], and in the monographs of H. Minnegulov, R. Islamov, and other authors.

The literary works of the Golden Horde are characterised by their variety of genres, their ideological and aesthetic richness and elegance of style and language. They are available in the original and in translation, in the form of prose and poetry, nazire (that is, responses in verse form), etc.

The writers of the Ulus of Jochi composed their works in the following genres: hikayat, kiyssa, dastan, poem, ghazal, qasida, rubai (quatrain), ode-madhia, elegy-madhia, fable, etc. There is also the poetic novel by Qutb entitled 'Khosrou-o Shirin'. The voluminous works of Rabguzi, Mahmud Bulgari and Seif Sarai are considered to exemplify the so-called 'box-composition' genre. In implementing their

artistic concept, authors freely handle materials of folklore and mythology, religious and historical books, the literature of earlier epochs and real life. For example, a poem by Berk Fatih depicts the fate of the author himself: his move from Desht-i Kipchak to Mamluk Egypt and his difficult life. Rabguzi uses a multitude of plots and characters from the Quran and the works of Arab authors.

The poets and prose writers of the Golden Horde deal with various questions concerning life and human existence. Of particular interest to them are moral and ethical issues, the meaning of life, the structure of society, the relationship between man and God, relationships of rulers and their subjects, love, etc. Secular motifs are frequently and naturally intertwined with ideas of religion and Sufism. Morality, intellect and knowledge are considered to be the main components of the aesthetic ideal. Living and working for the good of the people and creating a 'good name' for oneself—such is the meaning of life.

There now follows a brief description of the work of some of the most famous authors of the literature of the Golden Horde period.

Burhan ad-Din Rabguzi lived in the second half of the 13 to the first quarter of the 14 century in the eastern part of the Jochid Ulus, in Khwarezm. He is known for his book 'Kysas al-anbiya' ('The Tales of the Prophets', 1310), which was very popular among Turkic-Tatar readers. This voluminous work was first published in Kazan in 1859 and more than ten further editions followed. 'Kysas al-anbiya' contains various legends and tales about the prophets and their deeds, and affirms the norms and criteria of religious morality. Tadzheddin Yalchygul (1768–1838), Kayyum Nasiri (1825–1902), Gabdulla Tukay (1886–1913) used different motifs and forms of this writing in their works.

The life and work of **Qutb** (1297–mid-14 century) are associated with the Volga Region and in particular with Sarai. The only surviving copy of the poetic novel 'Khorosou-o Shirin' (1342) is preserved in the National Library of Paris. In the latter half of the 20 century it was published in Warsaw, Kazan, Tashkent and in other cities. 'Khorosou-o Shirin' by Qutb is

based on the work of the same name by Nizami [Minnegulov, 1993, pp. 158–162]. In it the poet praises the greatness of love, and affirms the ideals of beauty and humanity.

For Qutb as well as for Khwarezmi, love is the main element of the ideal of the perfect human being ('kamil insan') and the most important criterion for challenging his morality. The main idea of Khwarezmi's lyrical poem 'Muhabbat-name' ('Love Message', 1353) is that love gives purpose and meaning to a person's life. In his qasida the poet underlines the importance of a full-blooded life and the immortality of poetry.

Mahmud Bulgari (Mahmud ibn Ghali al-Bulgari as-Sarai al-Kardari) (1297–1360) was born in the neighbourhoods of Bolgar. He spent most of his life in the capital of the Golden Horde—Sarai. There he died. Mahmud Bulgari was a very respected man of his time: he was a theologian, a teacher and a writer. His work 'Nakhj al-faradis' ('A Way to Paradise', 1358) played a very important role in fulfilling the spiritual needs of Turkic-Tatar readers for over six centuries. There are numerous lists of this work. The oldest of these was created in 1360 in Sarai. Research on 'Nakhj al-faradis' has been carried out by Sh. Marjani, B. Yafarov, Sh. Abilov, E. Najip, Ya. Ekman, Kh. Minnegulov, F. Nuriyeva and other scholars. There are several publications on the study of this work (for example: [Mahmud al-Bolgari, 2002]).

'Nakhj al-faradis' consists of four chapters (babs), each of which contains ten parts (fasl). The first two chapters basically concern the life and work of Prophet Muhammad, his surroundings and first caliphs. The third chapter is dedicated to a portrayal of the qualities and deeds that bring us closer to God. And the final chapter is about the deeds that turn us away from the Divine Father. The book contains hadiths, commentaries on it and numerous hikayats-tales. 'Nakhj al-faradis' can be regarded as a manual of morality. The author affirms the concepts of kindness, fairness, generosity and modesty, and, by his use of antithesis, he strongly criticises their counterparts.

The dastan of Khisam Qiatib 'Djumdjuma Sultan' (1369) focuses closely on time [Minnegulov, 1993, pp. 158–162]. It starts with re-

flections on the 'evanescence of life', the transitory nature of human existence. The author enumerates the names of many legendary and historical personalities to prove his thesis of the caducity of mortal life. In the view of Khisam Qiatib, they all 'owned the world', but at the end of the day were compelled to leave all their 'riches, power and life' behind and pass into the other world. As an imaginative illustration of this idea, the author relates the tale of Djumdjuma. Typologically, his story is reminiscent of Dante's 'The Divine Comedy', and Ma'arri's, 'Message of Angels'. Khisam Qiatib believes that everyone is responsible for their deeds and actions, and the principle of 'you reap what you sow' is of universal relevance. Like Mahmud Bulgari, Khisam Qiatib is sympathetic to the ideas of Sufism. The most important things for the Sufis are not riches or power, but being grateful for small favours, a person's spiritual self-perfecting and godliness.

The works of **Seif Sarai** are considered to be the culmination of Turkic-Tatar literature of the Golden Horde period. Even during his lifetime he was an acknowledged and famous poet. Here is what a contemporary of his writes about him (word-for-word translation):

'Where in the world can you find a (man) as intelligent as Sarai Seif?!

Not knowing how to describe him, (the poet) pours out his heart.

If there is a man who does not like the style (virtue) of his poems, then

that man is foolish or has no soul in his body'.

According to modern science data it is believed that Seif Sarai was born in 1321 in Kamyshly in the Volga Region, studied and became engaged in literary work in the capital of the Golden Horde, and in 1380s emigrated to Mamluk Egypt. There he continued his work. He died in 1396.

The artistic legacy of Seif Sarai is familiar to us for two manuscripts: 'Kitab-i Gulistan bi-t-Turki' and 'Yadgyar-name'. The first of these was created in Mamluk Egypt at the end of the 15 century. It then made its way through the Crimea and Turkey, and then to Holland and today is kept in the library of the University of Leiden (No. 1553).

The 'Kitab-i Gulistan bi-t-Turki' consists of 373 pages. 'Gulistan bi-t-Turki' is on pages 3–356, the other pages contain poems by eight Turkic-Tatar poets (Maul Kazyi Muhsin, Maulyan Iskhak, Maulyan Khodja Maulyavi, Gabdelmazid, Ahmed Khodja Sarai, Tugly Khodja, Khwarezmi and Hasan ugly) followed by responses in verse (nazire) to each of these poems by Seif Sarai. In addition, at the beginning and end of the manuscript there are original poems, including ghazals by Sarai and other authors. A facsimile of the 'Kitab-i Gulistan bi-t-Turki' was first published in Ankara in 1954 by Turkish professor F. Uzlyuk. Other editions appeared later: based on the Latin script—in Budapest (in 1969, prepared by A. Bodrogligheti), on the Arabic script—in Kazan (in 1980, prepared by Kh. Usmanov, Z. Maksudova and R. Kadyrov), and others.

The other piece of work by Seif Sarai—'Yadgar-name' was also created in Egypt. The manuscript was brought to Middle Asia by one of the pilgrims in the 18 century. It has been known to the academic world since 1965 and is now kept at the Kh. Suleyman Manuscripts Institute at the Uzbekistan Academy of Science (No.311). The collection contains the poem 'Sukhail and Guldursun' and several poems by Seif Sarai, as well as the lyrical works of Ahmed Urgenji, Maulyan Iskhak and Tugly Khodja. All the works of Seif Sarai known to date, that is, all the texts (including poems by other authors that are contained in the manuscripts 'Kitab-i Gulistan bi-t-Turki' and 'Yadgar-name') are published in the collection of works, which appeared in Kazan in 1999 [Miñnegulov, 1999a].

The extant works of Seif Sarai are just a part of his artistic heritage, and the fate of the other part remains unknown.

In terms of its genre and structure, the main work of Seif Sarai, 'Gulistan bi-t-Turki' ('Turkic Gulistan', 1391), forms part of the group of so-called 'box-composition' works. There is no continuous plot and no single theme. It consists mostly of 'hikayats' (180 in total), 'nasihats' (instructions, 18), 'khikmets' (57) and other compositional units, which are written in a combination of poetry and rhymed prose. 'Gulistan bi-t-Turki' owes its 'box-composition' to the

didactic nature of the work. The aim of the author is to give instructions and advice on the most important questions of life and morality.

The main part of 'Gulistan bi-'t-Turki' is divided into thematic chapters: chapter 1 (bab) concerns the life of the rulers, chapter 2 is about the customs of the dervishes, chapter 3—the advantages of being content with little, chapter 4—the advantages of remaining silent, chapter 5—love and youth, chapter 6—old age and weakness, chapter 7—the role of education and chapter 8 concerns the rules of communication. Several pages of the book are given over to the traditional preamble and conclusion.

'Gulistan bi-'t-Turki' is based on the famous 'Gulistan' (1258) by Sa'adi. A comparative analysis of works by Persian and Tatar authors shows that Seif Sarai, as well as his predecessor Qutb, took a creative approach towards the original work, penetrating its emotional and vivid world. As a result, 'Gulistan bi-'t-Turki' became a monument of independent aesthetic importance, and enriched the Turkic-Tatar verbal art with humanistic ideas and new artistic forms and images.

The nazires of Seif Sarai are fine examples of the lyrics of the Golden Horde period. They were a source of inspiration for other authors as well. For example, the medieval Turkic-Ottoman poet Ahmad Dagi created a nazire based on one of the ghazals of Seif Sarai.

The poem 'Sukhail and Guldursun' (1394) affirms humanist ideals and exposes the injustice and despotism of society at the time of the author. The dastan begins with a depiction of the horrors of war. This is followed by a description of the harsh fate of Sukhail, who is taken prisoner. The daughter of the victorious 'shah', Guldursun, who falls in love with the captive, frees him from his dungeon and

together they flee her father's house. But on the way, suffering prolonged hardship and thirst, the girl dies. In despair, Sukhail stabs himself in the chest with a dagger.

The characters of the poem appeal to the reader by their beauty, faithfulness in love and courage in actions. Guldursun's deed is perceived as a great and noble act.

The literary heritage of the talented poet of medieval Turkic-Tatar literature Seif Sarai attracts the attention of literary critics, linguists, philologists and representatives of oriental studies around the world with its humanist content, aesthetic value and rich language. There are numerous articles and books in different languages devoted to this.

As in the dastan 'Sukhail and Guldursun', the aggressive politics of Tamerlane are exposed in the poems of the blind poet Ahmed Urgenji. The author considers him a 'villain', 'bloodsucker', and reminds him of his divine judgement.

Lyric verses of Ahmad Khodzha Sarai, Maulan Iskhak, Maul Kazyi Muhsin and other authors of Golden Horde are characterized by abundance of thoughts and feelings, perfect structure and elegant style. There are other works, related to the Ulus of Jochi period ('Kisekbash' is a very famous dastan; according to some researchers it can be referred to the Golden Horde times).

The literature of the Golden Horde is one of the cultural highlights of the many centuries of the Turkic-Tatar written culture. Its traditions were further developed successfully by such authors as Muhammad-Amin, Muhammedyar, Utyz Imyani, Gabdulzhabbar Kandaly, Derd-mend, Gabdulla Tukai and other poets (for the literary traditions of the Golden Horde refer to: [Minñegulov, 1999, pp. 64–88]).

Section VI

The Crisis and Collapse of the Ulus of Jochi



CHAPTER 1

Ecological, Socio-economic, and Political Crises

§ 1. Ecological Cataclysms

Iskander Izmaylov

Ulus Jochi was a medieval empire where a strict hierarchical structure of control over provinces and conquered peoples existed, a cruel mechanism which repressed any discontent. All this required keeping a large staff of officials, and the ongoing wars at the borders, internecine feuds and revolts of aristocracy required having a huge and efficient army consisting of nobility troops, which imposed a heavy burden on the population of the country.

But these considerations should not hide from us positive aspects of creating 'the world empire'. Ulus of Jochi was at its zenith once it emerged when long-term internecine wars and mutual raids, as well as the bloody conquest, were followed by the period of relatively steady peace, despite occasional clashes at the borders. Common laws, absence of numerous customs barriers and steady governance were perceived by the population as a big blessing. Travelers particularly note that 'merchants equipped with a tamga traveled everywhere, and nobody dared to bother them' [Fedorov-Davidov, 1998, pp. 38–39]. Free trade allowed for a faster exchange of scientific and technological innovations, their faster implementation in the production (for example, production of cast iron and firearms [Kirpichnikov, 1976, p. 77–78; Ryazanov, 1997]). Besides, the redistribution of the products within the empire led to their concentration in the hands of local nobility, for example, in Rus', in Bulgaria, etc. According to the archaeological materials the well-being of even common population was rather good, and concentration of the surpluses of goods and wealth in individual towns caused heavy growth of crafts, science and culture in them.

However in the latter half of the 14th century Ulus of Jochi faced challenges, and it had to undergo some changes in order to meet the requirements of that time period. During this period Ulus of Jochi was not only torn by the fight for the khan's throne, but also shaken by cataclysms, which led to violent Time of Troubles involving the entire society. It has been a long time since historians and philosophers came to the conclusion that any state, just like any social organism, went through certain development stages—emergence, zenith and collapse. Sometimes this cycle goes very slowly stretching out for centuries, sometimes it is extremely fast. The character and hidden mechanisms of this process are still unknown. Why were some states, which had emerged as a result of great conquests, destroyed only within one or two generations, and why did others, after shattering crises they had experienced, continue existing for many centuries? The answers to this question are of special interest when it comes to the states created by nomadic peoples. There are a lot of explanations for the reasons of collapse of nomadic empires, but all of them, to some extent, can be confined to the 'geographic' and 'social' theories. The first one gives priority to cyclic climate fluctuations, that is the periods of moisturizing and drying out (aridization) of steppes which, pulsating discontinuously, directly affect nomadic peoples, thus making them either thrive or decline. By synchronising the dates of historically known nomadic movements and the paleogeographical data, historians found striking coincidences which allowed them to conclude that there was a reason for these coincidences.

es. Among the researchers of this theory are such outstanding researchers as S. Huntington, J. Toynbee, L. Gumilev. However, the other theory, the social theory, has as many adherents. It is especially popular among local historians who established trends of development in nomadic societies depending on the changes in the social system. The dynamics of these processes are clearly demonstrated in the works of B. Vladimirtsev, I. Zlatkina, G. Fedorov-Davydov and many others.

No matter how attractive any theory is, one should not forget that history moves along a whole set of cause. These reasons, in every single case, give their specific constituent which affects the society. Apparently, in the situation when 'natural' is opposed to 'social', this problem cannot have a credible decision. For any people 'the forces' which threw it into the whirl of history were different, only the presence of these contradictory forces remains unchanged. With such understanding, natural and social factors do not seem to be antagonistic, but they complement each other, as though they 'were pushing' the society either to creation or destruction. No matter how fatal this view of the history of society appears, it allows us to depart from the historical concept strictly determined by social and economic reasons. Evidently, A. Toynbee was right in many respects. He pointed out that society constantly faces questions ('challenges') caused by ecological, demographic, social, economical and political factors, and depending on the answer society arrives at, it continues to develop or gets destroyed.

So, what were the main features of this challenge? The most common explanation of the collapse of Ulus of Jochi in Soviet historiography is the concept of the growth of separatism which was experienced by individual local feudal lords whose aspiration for power tore the country into conflicting areas. The mechanism of this process was clearly described by historians [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, pp. 109–144]. In their opinion, the major conflict was between various quite independent uluses and groups of nobles owning them and promoting their pretenders to the khan's throne. Their intention was to take hold of the central

administrative structures in order to get access to the treasury of the empire and settle its domestic and international policy for personal gain. All this weakened the central authority, and, thus, led to a decrease of international activity, which, in its turn, deepened the separatism of nomadic aristocracy which viewed military campaigns as one of the major sources of gaining wealth. [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950; Fedorov-Davydov, 1973; Egorov, 1980; 1985].

The social factor would appear, however, to be a rather superficial and external phenomenon in the circumstances when the country was stricken by systemic crisis; it became a trigger of the political crisis rather than its cause. And exaggeration of social and political events may have historians making a surprising conclusion: the central power slackened because of feudal separatism, meanwhile their main aspiration was to take hold of the Sarai's throne and, consequently, to ensure consolidation of the central power! One can barely explain the dramatic slackening of the Jochid empire and strengthening of centrifugal tendencies in the 1360s to 1380s by separatism alone.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a detailed account of all aspects of this problem due to lack of factual data, therefore we should consider the key moments, outline the major features of this process. First and foremost, apparently, one should point out the natural factors the most important of which was drastic drying out of the steppe area in the 14–15th centuries as was demonstrated by works of a number of geologists, geographers and even historians [Gumilev, 1966; 1966a; 1967a; 1989a; Alek-sin, Gumilev, 1997, pp. 8–22; 'Sud'ba stepej' (The Fate of the Steppes), 1997; Kulpin, 1998, pp. 77–105; 2004, pp. 128–131]. It should be emphasised that all agrarian societies including the Golden Horde always depended on climate fluctuations, in general, and weather conditions every year, in particular.

Ulus of Jochi in this respect was a territory which depended on climate changes to far a greater extent than many other countries. It is explained by the location of that country in the heart of the Eurasian continent and its being a zone of severely continental climate for which significant climate fluctuations and

lack of moisture are typical. As a consequence, the territory of Ulus of Jochi was exposed to aridization. No wonder, a considerable part of this territory was covered by steppes and semi deserts.

The steppe climate is an extreme natural zone for human life, in general. Apart from the natural severe climatic conditions such as dry and cold North-Eastern and eastern winds, the severe continental climate (usually cold winter with little snow and a hot dry summer) and a minimal amount of precipitation, at certain periods all these factors could act at the same time and their absolute values could approach the extreme point. The most important indicator of interaction of all these factors is the presence and distribution of water. According to the vivid conclusion of the ecologist I. Ivanov, 'the wide range of species and intensity of steppe life in its entire history, from Pleistocene to Holocene, was determined not so much by cold snaps and warmings, and thickness of top soil, but rather by the humidity level' (cit. by: [Kulpin, 2004, p. 129–130]). The aridization of the climate in Desht-i Kipchak resulted in a decrease in the amount of rainfall in summer and settling of cold winters with little snow which led to gradual covering of the once rich steppes with sand (for more details see: [Aleksin, Gumilev, 1997, p. 8–22]). The cyclic changes of climate which occur gradually and constantly could not have stricken a violent blow at the economy on their own. Evidently, a notable combination of several factors played a crucial role in that the consequences turned out to be so tragic. The major natural abnormalities, apparently, were not just the deterioration of climate and its aridization, but several bad years in a row—cold winters with little snow and frosts in spring, dry winds and summer heat which exhausted 'the resilience' of agriculture.

For all we know about the household of the population of Ulus of Jochi, basically its herd consisted of sheep and horses. When conditions for economic activity were favourable it improved the well-being of stock farmers and facilitated the growth of their herds. But gradually negative things developed as well. The increased number of stock, especially sheep, on the one hand, inflicted great damage on the

landscape (grass, even the lowest, was being trampled down and eaten), on the other hand,—the huge concentration of the stock mass prevented the stock farmers from moving fast and choosing the steppe pieces which were left intact. Due to lack of water and severe winters huge herds of sheep were unable to survive which caused mass mortality.

There was a great number of examples of similar ecological disasters in the history of Inner Asia. Thus, for example, the study of mass loss of stock in the 19–20th centuries in the area between Volga-Ural Interfluve demonstrated that the crisis was caused by many years of favourable natural conditions and consequently by a sharp increase of the number of livestock (from 200,000 to 5 million head), in which sheep amounted to 77%.

Most likely it was a similar crisis of over-production that the population of Ulus of Jochi faced when it started increasing the number of sheep in favourable climatic conditions. But the drastically increased number of sheep started exploiting the soil, leading to its degradation. The situation turned out to be critical when the years unfavourable for agriculture did not alternate with good years but followed one another. Speaking of what caused the agricultural disaster, a witness described the causes very vividly and precisely: 'in a bad harvest year, there was the result that their livestock was lost or (great amount of) snow and thickening of ice' [*Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordj*', 1884, p. 235].

These natural cataclysms inflicted severe damage on arable farming as well. The soil cultivation itself in this area of 'risky' farming was critical because even in relatively favourable conditions every third year in Inner Asia is considered to be an off year. But because the area of cultivated lands was constantly being reduced due to general aridization, the alternation of these adverse conditions was likely to lead to the disaster which inflicted a blow not only on the semi nomadic stock farming but also on arable farming. Contemporaries, particularly, give evidence of it. Thus, al-Ayni reported that in 1302–1303 '...Tokhta's lands experienced murrain, drought and soaring of prices, because they (the inhabitants) sowed

for 3 years in a row with no harvest, and that all their livestock died' [Ibid., p. 513].

Another evidence to it were notes of the secretary at the court of the Egyptian sultan al-Malik an-Nasir al-Umari (d. 1349) who gave a description of Ulus of Jochi based on the tellings of merchants and preachers who had been there. There is an interesting story of a witness in these notes: 'This country is one of the largest lands (abundant) in water and pastures, which gives high yields when (grain crops) are sowed in it, but they (its inhabitants) are a wandering and nomadic people which possesses livestock; they are free of (any) concerns regarding sowing and planting. Before it (this country) was conquered by Tatars it had been cultivated everywhere, now there are (only) remains of this cultivation... The fruits they have now are, actually, remains of what died out of the things planted by those who had been before them, such (people) who had passion for sowing and planting' [Ibid., p. 233]. This has been an evidence in favour of 'the destructive Mongol invasion which devastated Eastern Europe' for a long time in domestic historiography. But at present it is reasonable to look at this evidence from another perspective. Firstly, it contradicts with the available historical and archaeological data on the economy of the population of the East European Steppes from the 12th to the beginning of the 13th centuries which was mainly involved in stock farming, and only in some districts of the Don River Region preserved arable farming sites. Secondly, according to archaeological data we know about significant development of arable farming in the rural area of Ulus of Jochi which makes us doubt the evidence of 'having no concerns for sowing and planting'. Moreover, further, the same witness says that in the lands of Ulus of Jochi 'various trees, various fruits grow (namely): grapes, pomegranates, quinces, apples, pears, apricots, peaches and nuts' [Ibid.], which implies apart from simple cultivation possessing significant skills of arable farming, especially as regards to grapes growing. Further he notes that in the towns 'plenty of vegetables are planted, namely: rutabaga, turnip cabbage, and many others' [Ibid., p. 234]. In other words, it appears that the author describes a situation that was creat-

ed not a 100 years ago during the Mongol conquest, but in the 40s of the 14th century when, due to climatic abnormalities arable farming gradually degraded, but stock farming, under other conditions, was more viable and flexible.

At the same time the transgression (rising of the sea level) of the Caspian Sea began. As a result, its waves flooded a large part of the Volga delta and many settlements in it, having come close to the towns of the Lower Volga Region. According to the Italian geographer Marino Sanuto (1320), 'the sea rises every year by one hand and many good towns have been already destroyed' (cit. by: [Aleksin, Gumilev, 1997, p. 15]). The rising of the Caspian Sea level was recurrent in different decades and gradual during one century, but never catastrophic, marine deposits in a number of the archaeological sites of the Lower Volga Region being indicative of it. But one thing is doubtless that the high water of the Caspian Sea level was at the end of the 13th early half of the 14th centuries (for more details see [Ibid.]). In any case, the flooding of very fertile lands in the Lower Volga Region adversely impacted the arable farming area which facilitated erosion of the foundation of the economy of the Horde.

At the same time both Western and Eastern Europe experienced a horrible demographic shock. Good climatic conditions and improvement of the quality of life prompted the population growth. For example, the population in Western Europe in the 13th century almost doubled. Obviously, Eastern Europe experienced the same growth of population and, although the Mongol invasion inflicted great damage to the population, it continued to grow even faster. In the Golden Horde the population growth was induced by political stability, emergence of big cities and great number of settlements. It is difficult to say now how big the population of the Horde was, but there is no doubt that it reached the number of several million people. Worsening of natural conditions resulted in more frequent periodic food crises. Drought and famine followed each other. A number of Russian chronicles emphasise a relation between drought, famine and plague: 'In the summer of the same year there was a great drought throughout the land, and there was smoke in the

air and the earth was hot', and then there came 'high prices for bread and great famine' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11, p. 162]. They were followed by 'plague which took away great and strong people, and it came from the Lower Volga Region, from Bezdezh, to Nizhny Novgorod. The pestilence was great and horrible and covered all the cities' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 30, p. 113]. The relation between these disasters is not accidental but naturally determined.

The famine drove people to cities and towns where they even had to sell their children which is reported by Arab geographers [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 231, 235]. Concentration of people weakened by malnutrition in the towns of the Volga Region, the Crimea and Khwarezm turned out to be fertile ground for diseases. It is very likely that latent diseases in some regions which were inhabited by sick rodents spread out to the overcrowded towns where they gathered the mournful harvest growing up to pandemic of incredible proportions. The most horrible was the pandemic of plague which by the middle of the 14th century repeatedly came back to Dasht-i Kipchak mowing down the population, especially in overcrowded towns. A Russian chronicler wrote about this 'great murrain' under 1346: 'the plague was sent by God and attacked people in Astrakhan and Sarai and many other cities of the eastern

countries, it strikes representatives of different tribes (the Besermyans, the Tatars, the Obez, the Jids (Jews), the Fryaz (Italians), the Circasians) really fast, because there is nobody there to bury the dead' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 4, p. 57; 5, p. 225; 15, p. 57, 76–77]. The pandemic of 1346–1350 inflicted a tremendous blow on the whole of Europe. As estimated by demographers, in Europe the Black Death left up to 25% people dead, and in a number of densely populated places up to 90% of the population [Samarkin, 1976, p. 84–90].

For Ulus of Jochi this blow appeared to be especially severe. According to Ibn al-Wardi, the Arabic historian, geographer and contemporary 'villages and cities became deserted' after the plague which had occurred in 'Öz Beg lands'. He also writes that up to one thousand people died in the Crimea every day, and over 85 thousand inhabitants died there in total [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 498, 530]. According to these data the consequences of the Black Death's march along the Horde were catastrophic for the entire economic, demographic and social structure of the state. The damage inflicted on the cities and their neighbourhood in the Volga Region and the Northern Black Sea Region turned out to be especially irreparable. It can be said that this was when the decline of urban life started in the Lower Volga Region and the Lower Don river region.

§2. Black Death and its consequences

Uli Schamiloglu

It is known that epidemics and large-scale pandemics are an important factor in history. Particularly rich literature is dedicated to the social, political and economical consequences of the Black Death of the Mid-14th century in Western Europe [Gottfried, 1983, pp. 257–267; The Black Death, 1983; see the bibliography: Carmichael, 1986, pp. 166–175]. However, the role of this disease for the history of Central Asia has been rarely considered until now. Therefore any important data, observations and theories concerning the epidemic

in this region [McNeill, 1976; Dols, 1977] are worthy of appropriate consideration.

This is directly related to W. McNeill's hypothesis that the rise of the Mongol Empire gave rise to different circumstances which resulted in the transfer of the plague bacillus (*Yersinia pestis*) [Carmichael, 1986, pp. 6–7] to Europe in the 14th century. When the Mongol Empire was being founded one of the natural foci of the bacillus, probably, was located in the borderland between India, China and Burma, in the foothills of the Himalayas.

According to W. McNeill the Eurasian steppes between Manchuria and the Northern Black Sea Region were unlikely to be the place of its emergence, though he assumes that Mongol troops could have had contacts with this infected area even in 1252–1253. W. McNeill writes that spreading of the bacillus by people in the steppe regions was likely to have occurred shortly before 1331, that is the first year of a major plague outbreak in the Chinese province Hubei. This epidemic reoccurred in 1353–1354 sweeping widely throughout China [McNeill, 1976, pp. 142–145].

The spread of plague, however, was not limited to China. Both W. McNeill and M. Dols agree as regards the western direction of this outbreak through Central Asia [Ibid., pp. 144–146; Dols, 1977, pp. 35–50]. The gravestones of Nestorian burial sites near Lake Issyk Kul indicate that the plague outbreak occurred there in 1338–1339 [McNeill, 1976, pp. 145–146; Dols, 1977, pp. 48–50; for more details about these gravestones see: Thacker, 1967, pp. 94–107]. The information provided by Ibn al-Wardi (according to whom the plague appeared in 'the land of darkness'; this implied Inner Asia, see: [Dols, 1977, p. 40; McNeill, 1976, p. 144; see translation: Near Eastern Numismatics, 1974, pp. 443–455]) and Maqrizi (according to whom the epidemic first occurred in the lands of the great khan, then it reached Öz Beg's land, see: [Maqrizi, 1958, p. 773; Dols, 1977, pp. 40–41]), confirms that the disease occurred in Central Asia and raged there for 15 years. Then the plague struck the cities of the Golden Horde including Sarai and Hajji Tarkhan. From there it went through the Caucasus to Azerbaijan and Armenia. Major Italian commercial centres of the Crimea became the places which transferred the Black Death to the Middle East and Europe. Italian traders were drove out from Tana (Azak) in 1343, and twice, in 1343 and in 1345–1346 they were besieged in the fortified town of Kaffa. During the siege of 1345–1346 the plague appeared both among the Tatar troops and in the rest of the Golden Horde (Maqrizi indicates 742/1341–1342 as the date of the beginning of the epidemic in Öz Beg's lands [Maqrizi, 1958, p. 773]). Thanks to their strong resistance and, probably, the weak-

ened state of the besieging army, the Genoese managed to raise the siege. After that many Genoese fled to Constantinople spreading the infection. By 1347 the plague reached Italy and Egypt. Europe and the Middle East experienced its devastating effects [Dols, 1977, p. 40; McNeill, 1976, pp. 50–67; Gottfried, 1983, pp. 22–32].

Despite the absence of historical literature dedicated to the significance of the disease for the history of Central Asia, we can make some preliminary remarks regarding the effects of the Black Death on the Golden Horde based on studies of its impact in Western Europe, China and in the Middle East. Essentially, this avenue of research had already been proposed by W. McNeill who offered a number of hypotheses for the Golden Horde and other territories in Central Asia, although he did not develop them. The results of the effects of the Black Death on Ulus of Jochi can be combined into four classes described below.

A large-scale reduction of the population is one of the major results of the Black Death and other pandemics in history [Ziegler, 1969, pp. 224–280; Gottfried, 1983, pp. 134–136]. For example, it was estimated that in Byzantium the epidemic of the years 541–542 had reduced the population in the distribution areas by 20–25%, and during the period of 541–700 by 50–60% in total [Russell, 1968, pp. 174–184; Dols, 1977, p. 17].

The Black Death of the Mid-14th century had similar consequences. It is considered that in 1331, that is in the first year of the outbreak 9/10 of the population died in the province Hubei. During the second epidemic wave, in 1353–1354, according to the Chinese sources, 2/3 of the population died [McNeill, 1976, pp. 143–144]. The population of Egypt, probably, was reduced by 1/4 or 1/3 [Dols, 1977, pp. 212–223]. It was estimated that in Europe approximately 1/3 of the population died between 1346 and 1350 [McNeill, 1976, pp. 149–150].

There is no doubt that the impact of the Black Death on the population of the Golden Horde and the remaining part of Central Asia was equally severe. It has been already noted that the disease visited numerous population

centres in the Southern regions of the Golden Horde. Thus, Maqrizi mentions the reduction of population in the steppe area before the Black Death arrived in the Middle East. [Maqrizi, 1958, pp. 773–774; Dols, 1977, pp. 40–41]. According to Ibn al-Wardi, when the disease came to 'Öz Beg's land' (bilad Uzbek) in Rajab of 747 (A.H.)/October–November of 1346, the villages and towns were deserted. The qadi of the Crimea gives an estimate of 85 thousand deceased (see: [CWRHGH, 1884, p. 498, 530; Dols, 1977, pp. 51–52]).

Additional evidence is provided by the Rus' territory where in the cities, according to Russian chronicles, there were numerous occurrences of plague which resulted in high mortality (the significance of the Black Death for the history of Russia has become the subject of much scrutiny; see: [Alef, 1970, pp. 15–58; Langer, 1975, pp. 53–67; Alexander, 1980]). After its first occurrence in 1349 in Polotsk, in 1352 it came to Pskov, Novgorod, Smolensk, Kiev, Chernigov, Suzdal 'and to all the Russian land', having reached Moscow in 1353. In 1360 the plague visited Pskov again, and between 1364 and 1366 Nizhny Novgorod and all the large cities of North-Eastern Rus'. The sources report many recurrences of the disease which followed [Derbek, 1905, pp. 14–25; Alef, 1970, pp. 37–38; Langer, 1975, pp. 55–61; Alexander, 1980, pp. 12–15].

The emergence of the Black Death in the territories bordering with the Golden Horde implies that the pandemic left its mark there as well, because, rephrasing Gustav Alef's remark, the large-scale pandemic which devastated Rus' so badly could not be stopped by some Eastern iron curtain [Alef, 1970, p. 36]. Although many people think that the earliest wave of pandemic which burst out in 1349 came to Rus' from the West, it remains to be seen whether it could come from the South, that is from a plague stricken region of the Golden Horde such as the Crimea [Langer, 1975, pp. 56–57; Alexander, 1980, p. 13]. Besides, the Russian sources give valuable demonstration of several additional episodes of the spread of the Black Death in the Golden Horde in the 14th century. It is believed that the wave of 1364 occurred in Sarai [Langer, 1975, p. 57], and the outbreak

of 1374 struck not only 'the whole Russian land' but also the Golden Horde [Derbek, 1905, p. 23; Langer, 1975, p. 57]. It is assumed that the last wave of the 14th century struck the Golden Horde in 1396 [Derbek, 1905, p. 25; Alexander, 1980, p. 15]. Taking into consideration the evidence of the initial attack of the Black Death on the southern Golden Horde in 1346 (most likely it was the wave which spread out to the north in 1349), and evidence of the plague in other locations of the Golden Horde in 1364, 1374 and 1396, we consider it acceptable to assume that during that period the disease visited the majority, if not all the western territories of Ulus of Jochi (ulus Batu or Ak Horde is meant here).

Demographic Decline and Instability of the Political Structures. The initial wave of plague in Western Europe was accompanied by recurrent outbreaks of plague or other diseases which caused a long-term demographic decline. For England, it was recorded that the population had continued to decrease during the following 100–133 years, that is during 5–6 generations after the first wave. The British population reached the lowest point somewhere between 1440–1480, and only after this did it begin to recover slowly [McNeill, 1976, p. 150]. In the same way it is considered that the population of Rus' did not regain the level that preceded the Black Death until 1500 [Langer, 1975, p. 62]. The plague recurrences, by now it is a proved fact of life for Europe, Rus' and the Middle East [Ibid., pp. 55–61; Dols, 1977, pp. 223–231; McNeill, 1976, pp. 149–153], could also have caused the deterioration of the situation in the Golden Horde which was already bad. If such long demographic decline can also be applied to the Golden Horde, then in 1340s its population was likely to be only in the beginning of the long-term period of steady decrease in the sustainable population.

At the same time one should be careful when discussing the alleged initial reduction of the population of the Golden Horde or other regions of Central Asia by 20–45% (the figure for Great Britain) [McNeill, 1976, p. 149]. It was noted by the researchers that while some European communities experienced complete extinction, others, such as for example, resi-

dents of Milan, most likely, completely avoided this fate [Ibid., p. 147]. The reasons for these circumstances are complicated and could imply different directions of bacillus spreading (both by people and fleas). Historically, ports for merchant ships and nearby coastal areas were, evidently, most probable centres of the plague outbreak [Ibid., p. 149; Norris, 1977, p. 16]. All this gives a reason to believe that different areas of Central Asia were subjected to devastations to different extents, some of them even avoiding them. Such peculiarities of the plague's spread, including the fact that it affected the dense urban population, the less dense rural population and the least dense nomadic populations differently, were likely to result in demographic disproportions between different areas of Central Asia (we will come back to this later).

Another direct consequence of the plague's spread was the instability of the political structures which resulted from the demographic disaster [McNeill, 1976, p. 81; Gottfried, 1983, pp. 146–152]. One can also assume that available military personnel was reduced which affected the ability of the Mongol Empire to rule its territories [McNeill, 1976, pp. 168–170]. It is clear that demographic losses affected both the ruling classes and the lower social layers. This explanation was suggested due to premature deaths of members of the Mongol Yuan dynasty in China [Dols, 1977, p. 41]. In Moscow the Black Death is responsible for the death of the great prince Semyon and his two sons, his brother Andrey and Metropolitan Theognostus in 1353 [Alef 1970, p. 38].

Undoubtedly, for the Golden Horde, there is no reason to assume the complete collapse of centralised power in the period which followed the plague outbreak in 1345–1346 or earlier (see the most comprehensive overviews of the political history of the Golden Horde: [Spuler, 1965; Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 261 et seq.; Safargaliev, 1960, p. 101 et seq.; Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p. 145 et seq.; Kafali, 1976, p. 54 et seq.; Egorov, 1985, p. 207 et seq.; Halperin, 1985, p. 54 et seq.]). As is well-known, Öz Beg Khan (1313–1341) can be considered to have been one of the most successful khans in the history of the western part of the

Ulus of Jochi (Ak Horde). The reason for his fame was not only the length of his reign: Öz Beg managed the Tatar tribes with a firm hand, his efforts in the Islamisation of the state were successful, it was during his rule that a high Islamic culture began to develop, and he managed to preserve the integrity of the majority of his territories.

First, Öz Beg's son Tinibek (1341–1342) inherited the throne from his father, later his other son Janibek (1342–1357). Although, it was in the beginning of Janibek's reign that the plague first visited the western territories of the Golden Horde, it is clear that during most of the time that he held the throne there was stability in the country. For example, the model of tribal organisations, which I call the 'system of four beks' (see Section IV, Chapter 4 and [Schamiloglu, 1984, pp. 282–297; see the Russian translation: Schamiloglu, 1993, pp. 44–60]), functioned seamlessly. The two-year reign of his son and heir Berdibek (1357–1359), however, preceded the complete and absolute collapse of the centralised power in the Golden Horde. The time of 'Great Troubles' in the Horde as it is referred to by the Russian sources, has never been explained satisfactorily.

Usually the interpretation of the disorders in the Golden Horde which began in the late 1350s, only addresses political events: Berdibek's murdering his father in 1357, the murder of Berdibek by his own son Kulpa which followed in 1359, and then the murder of Kulpa, and so forth. Though this material could serve as plots for Greek tragedies, it does not seem to be convincing for understanding the main mechanism of the complete collapse of centralised authority in the Golden Horde. This was not something new that power went from hand to hand through acts of bloodshed: the long-term career of Nogai manipulating khans is an outstanding example of this.

As a rule, the political unity of the Golden Horde was maintained by the confederation of 4 major ruling tribes inside the state. Following Berdibek's death, the 4 main tribal leaders supported different candidates to the throne. For a long time this conflict could not be resolved internally, and as a result the political integrity of the Golden Horde was lost for good. It

appears that the death of a large part of the ruling elite influenced the Golden Horde even more than surrounding countries, such as Rus', because the central authorities in the Golden Horde relied on the agreement of different domestic ethnic social groups. The common fight for power could only be facilitated by a break in the continuity of the ruling hierarchies of Chinggisids and 'ruling clans'. The above mentioned argument about the reduction of military forces was likely to facilitate the destruction of centralised power as well. It is clear that the Black Death should become one of the factors which we consider when investigating the collapse of many traditional political structures of the Golden Horde in that period.

The third important consequence of the Black Death which should be considered is the cultural and technological regression [McNeill, 1976, p. 107; Gottfried, 1983, pp. 141–156]. In urban centres of Western Europe the waves of plague impacted harmfully large concentrations of craftsmen, traders and scientists. The cities of Golden Horde were similarly centres of attraction for highly educated people or people with highly developed labour or crafts skills (see Section IV, Chapter 1 of this edition). As has been already noted, when the Black Death attacked the urban regions of the Golden Horde, it must have had especially destructive outcomes for these population layers. W. McNeill assumed that the decrease in population, most probably, was a more important factor of the decline of urban centres in the western steppe areas than Tamerlane's (Timur's or Aqsaq Timur's) campaigns. He offers an interesting observation: while the urban centres in Anatolia and India recovered quickly from Tamerlane's campaigns and the migration of craftsmen, this was not the case with the cities of the Golden Horde [McNeill, 1976, p. 169].

There is also evidence which allows us to assume that, just as it was with the Latin literary language in Europe, the development of the Turkic literary language and even literacy in the Golden Horde was discontinued specifically by technological decline [Schamiloglu, 1992, pp. 157–163]. Most probably, the closest parallel to the decline of Latin as a literary language is considered to be a remarkable ex-

ample of the technological decline of the Turkic funerary inscriptions from Volga Bulgaria. In this region early Arabic script inscriptions in the Arabic and Turkic languages on coins, gravestones, etc. date back to the 10th century while the latest inscription is dated back to 1357 (see: [Róna-Tas, Fodor, 1973, pp. 38–49]). In the city of Bulgar the earliest gravestone is dated back to 1271, and the latest ones—to 1356 [Mukhametshin, Khakimzyanov, 1987, p. 120]. At that time there were two separate Turkic languages and dialects here which were used in such inscriptions: one of them was the Bulgarian language, whose closest contemporary relative is the Chuvash language, and the other was a language which can be considered as the ancestor of the contemporary language of Kazan Tatars (see: [Khakimzyanov, 1978; Khakimzyanov, Izmaylov, 2006, pp. 621–628]). By 1356–1357, only one decade after the first report of the Black Death in the Golden Horde, the practice of burial inscriptions in this northern area of the Golden Horde suddenly came to an end. At the same time the Volga Bulgarian language ceased to exist as a written language. This information should be considered to be an argument proving that the Black Death had a strong impact on the northern territories of the Golden Horde including Volga Bulgaria.

Migration of the Population Due to Demographic Reasons [McNeill, 1976, pp. 169–173]. As has been emphasised, different geographic areas could experience the plague outbreaks differently. Most likely, some areas avoided its consequences completely. Also, it is possible that the majority, if not all the western territories of the Golden Horde were devastated by it and, evidently, lost from between 20 and 45% of their population (judging by the experience of other regions of the world) or even more. Unfortunately, we know little about the consequences of the plague in the eastern half of the Golden Horde, known as Kōk Orda (the Blue Horde), or in other regions of Central Asia. It is quite acceptable that certain regions of Kōk Orda were not harmed by the pandemic as much as the territory of Ak Horde was. If this is the case, it can explain those migration tendencies which occurred in the latter half of the 14th century.

Berdibek's death was followed by two decades of anarchy and the disintegration of the Golden Horde's power. Although the clan leader and ulug karachibek Mamai gained supreme power among puppet khans, he himself remained no more than the leader of a single 'ruling tribe', as later would be Edigü, or Tamerlane, Mamai's contemporary in the Chagataid Khanate. Later none of the Chinggisids from the western half of the state seemed to come to power in the western territories of the Golden Horde.

The slackened Golden Horde began to experience the growing resistance on the part of the subject Russian princedoms and faced the Lithuanian expansion to the South (1362, 1399). Meanwhile, from the 1360s to the 1370s, Tatar tribes were attacking from the East. First Urus Khan, and then Tokhtamysh led campaigns against the central territories of the Golden Horde. The details are not so important to conjure up the circumstances of this process. It is enough to note that when in the 1380s, partially in the 1390s, Tokhtamysh became actually and legally the ruler of the western territories, he was supported by the confederation of the four 'ruling tribes' which consisted of the clans Shirin, Argyn, Baryn and Kipchak. It is proved that these four tribes migrated to these territories by the end of the 14th century together with Tokhtamysh [Kafali, 1976, pp. 31–47, 101–114]. The same four tribes will later form

the ethnic social basis of the Crimean, Kazan and, partially, Kasimov Khanates.

The importance of this fact becomes clear if we admit that initially the confederation of the 4 tribes in the Golden Horde was likely to be quite different. The four tribes of the nomadic Great Horde in the 15th century were Qiyat, Manghit, Saljigut and Qongirat. If they are to be considered the last remains and direct extension of the earlier population of the Golden Horde, they should also be considered to be the initial clans of the Golden Horde. The change of ruling clans can be seen as a remarkable example of migration of the population from the east to the areas devastated by the Black Death. Most probably, other migrations of the population in the steppe areas during the period of 1350–1500 can also be explained by the tendency to migrate to regions affected by the pandemic.

In conclusion it should be noted that the hypotheses of the consequences of the Black Death proposed by us go beyond the usual and traditional historiographical interpretations of the history of the Golden Horde. It becomes clear from our analysis that the pandemic of the Mid-14th century led to a period of intensive economic transformations in Central Asia which merit further investigation because the Black Death was not the only recorded outbreak among the diseases which had significant influence on Asian history.

§3. Economic and socio-political crises

Iskander Izmaylov

The economic decay in Ulus of Jochi was in many ways caused by the crisis of trans-Asian trading. Three circumstances were unrelying this unprecedented system of Eurasian trade, the important part of which lay in the territory of Ulus of Jochi.

Almost all the major trade routes involved not just a road, but strictly organized infrastructure. The first element was the creation of a system of continuous communications: yams (jams), postal way stations with horses and caravanserais. The messengers, clerks and other

authorized functionaries, proceeding with official business, could rest there, get fresh horses and supplies. Usually yams had a distance of 30–60km between each other, that is day-long trip on every important trade road, connecting different cities and ports of a country, covering the whole territory of Ulus of Jochi. During the foundation of the Mongol Empire the creation of yams was part of government measures on the cultivation of reconquered lands, it provided a fast trouble-free postal service to the farthest limits of the empire. Coachmen's du-

ties were considered to be some of the most important, release from which was specially determined in tarkhan yarliqs, for example, for members of the Russian clergy. Besides purely state interests, such as providing rapid expansion of important state information to the all ends of the country, the system of yams along with caravanserais, which appeared close to them, formed the most important trade roads of the country, where caravans with goods could safely and without any hindrance move from ports of Crimea to Karakorum and Khanbaliq. A vivid description of the road from Kaffa to Sarai, and from there to Urgench, and from there to India was made by a traveler and geographer Ibn Battuta in the beginning of the 14th century. Those roads were not only for material goods but also for information, cultural (religious in particular) and technological. Not for nothing did caravanserais often serve as a waqf of some sufi community, and and vice versa holy places began to appear around those caravanserais, mosques and meeting houses (khanaqah).

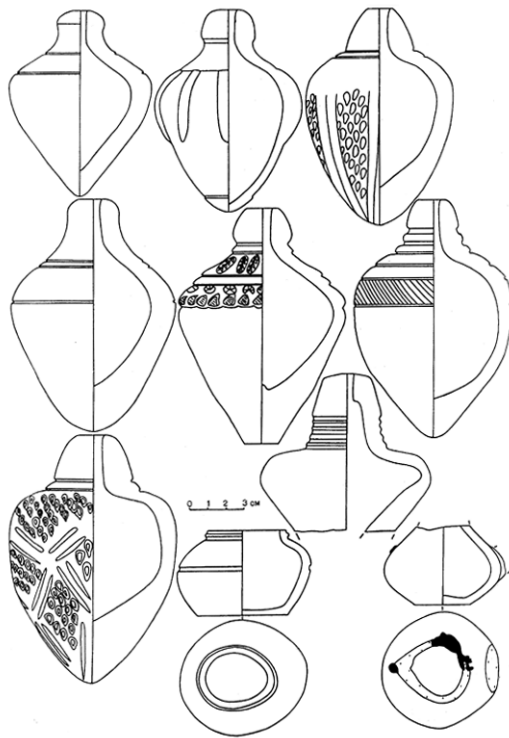
At the same time, yams served as nodes, connecting the vast empire into a single system. They not only served Khans but also ensured the safety and security of the main roads. The Florentine negotiator F. Pegolotti, describing the trade roads of Eurasia, said: 'The road from Tana to China is, according to merchants who travelled there, safe enough during the day and the night; but if a merchant had died on that way, all his property would be transferred to the king of the country he died in, taken by his officials, but if his brother or a close friend were with him and said, that they're brothers of the deceased, they would also share the property, and in such way it would be preserved' [Pegolotti, 1936, pp. 21–23]. Safety and almost complete security of merchants and their goods all the way from the Black Sea Region to China contributed to a sharp increase of trade in Eurasia. In many ways, already established trade conditions also played to its advantage it. The old traditional trade roads from the Levant to the Northern Mediterranean region ceased to function after several consistent defeats of Crusaders in Palestine and Syria at the end of the 12th century, and regained the importance

in the 13–14th centuries, due to the Mongol invasions and wars between the Hulaguids and the Egyptian Mamluks.

The main trade road, starting in China, going through the Horde, was a way for many products demanded by Western Europe: condiments and spices, dye, silk, cotton, precious stones, grain and slaves [Petrov, 1995, p. 60–91]. That flow of goods of extreme value for European markets, enriched intermediaries and served as the foundations of welfare of all the cities of Desht-i Kipchak. Not only were trade duty revenues to the treasury connected with trading, but also the well-being of numerous servants: caravanners, guides, guards, owners of caravanserais, craftsmen etc. Moreover, many workshops were producing items for sale and processing the semi-finished products. They all were very conscious of any changes in trading activity.

Another important condition was the creation in Ulus of Jochi of a somewhat stable monetary-fiscal system. Already in the mid 13th century, its own monetary-weight system was formed here, the basis of which constituted a silver dirham (yarmak) weighing 1.56g. Later, this system was organized by Tokhta Khan in 1310/1311 and, in a changed condition, existed till the country's collapse and, in some regions, even after it. At the same time, copper coins, proportional to the value of a silver coin, were minted. They circulated within the country and outside of it and in some states (for example, in the Grand Principality of Moscow) it became the basis of the emerged monetary-weight system. The stability and solvency of Ulus of Jochi's traders contributed not only to strengthening their connections with the Mediterranean, but also to the emergence of progressive forms of credit-fiscal systems such as banks and bills. In a similar way to China's yuan, paper money—government bills—probably circulated on the territory of Ulus of Jochi.

The universal weight system also contributed to it. There was a typical eastern system in Ulus of Jochi, its basis was mithqal, consisting of 100 ritles (455.7g). One tenth part of a ritl was 4.68g and matched the usual Sarai dirham. Its weight of 1.56g consisted of two daniks weighing 0.78 g. each, and their weight



Pottery spherical cones.
Ukek. 13–14th centuries.
(according to L. Nedashkovsky)

is 1/6 of a mithqal. That is, a usual mithqal was 144 dirham weight standards. Consistency and comparability of monetary-weight systems with weighing systems of the East made the market of the Golden Horde open to cooperation with other countries, attracting merchants from around the world.

The strengthening of monetary-weight system along with the stabilisation of trade made gains from trade an important part of the national budget. Some historians even think it was the main source of replenishments of the state treasury [Gubaydullin, 1994, p. 69]. Over the years, customs fees, the so-called tamga and duties, probably ranged on the prevailing market conditions, the method of sale and the variety of goods. In the 13th century tamga probably did not exceed 10% of the transaction value. But already in the end of the 13–the beginning of the 14th centuries, it was clearly reduced, and in the Black Sea Region it reached 3% [Grigorievs, 1990, p. 92]. Given the huge goods turnover from own products and, especially, transit trade, one can

only assume truly colossal profits for the state treasury and local authorities.

The largest shopping centers of transit trade were the ports of the Northern Black Sea Region, being a source of huge profits. For example, the decree of the Venetian Senate on December 30, 1343 emphasised their importance, pointing out that 'in those areas (our) merchants derive the biggest benefits and profits, as there was the whole source of goods' (quote from: [Karpov, 1990, p. 302]). This is not surprising, because the turnover of Italian merchants in the Black Sea Region alone has reached hundreds of thousands of ducats, and was about one third of the total turnover of, for example, Genoa. The profit of foreign trade and the amount of customs duties in the Ulus of Jochi was unlikely to have been calculated accurately, but it is clear that it was a very significant part of the Ulus of Jochi's budget.

Alongside this, the involvement into eurasian trade made the economy of the Golden Horde conditional on the world trade market fluctuations. But if the Italian trade republics could change their trading trends, for Ulus Jochi a slash in the goods turnover with the countries of the Mediterranean region was an irreplaceable loss.

The decline in world trade began in the 1340s and peaked in the latter half of the century. It was caused by a number of reasons, including the Rebellion against the Mongolian Yuan dynasty in China, the unstable situation in the Middle Asia and Moghulistan, plague, unrest in Anatolia after the decline in the Ilkhanid dynasty, and the outbreak of the war between the major Mediterranean trading powers Genoa and Venice. All this led to the restriction of trade turnover between the East and the West, drastically undermining the economic situation of the Lower Volga cities.

Another component of the crisis was the breakdown of the monetary-weight system of the country (see more: [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, pp. 15–17; Muhamadiev, 1983, pp. 81–118]). In the 1370 the coining in the Lower Volga Region was growing scant and could not provide the country with silver coins. Judging from the monetary buried treasures, the number of local minted coins increased, whilst in the

first half of the 14th century coins from Sarai al-Jadid and Gulistan prevailed. Another consequence of the Black Death and environmental crisis was the increasing amount of buried treasures, which indicated the people's aspiration to save money and not place it in circulation. According to G. Fedorov-Davydov, most monetary treasures were buried in 1360s-70s, between the reforms of 1310/1311 and the 1380s [Fedorov-Davydov, 1960]. This resulted in removing silver coins from circulation and the increase of copper and cut coins, and also coins of smaller weight. All this was a sign of a deep crisis in trading-monetary relations in the state, having turned from the advanced trading country into the conglomerate of territories of subsistence agriculturists. And although some stabilisation happened from time to time, and even some revival of trade, this increase was not stable until the 1380s.

Only at the end of the 14th century did the crisis slowly began to cease, reviving world trade [Karpov, 1990, pp. 60–63, 300–331], but it only contributed to some stabilization of the situation in the Ulus of Jochi, because during the Time of Troubles the infrastructure of trans-Asian trade routes was totally destroyed.

The strengthening of the clannish aristocracy power and the growth of regional separatism. Socio-political processes, of course, cannot be overlooked too. Over the 100 years of its existence the Ulus of Jochi not only went through the formation, but also reached a high level of social development.

Complicated processes were taking place in the country, leading to the feudalisation of its territory, and already in 14th century there were several defining features of advanced feudalism, which is characterised by the decentralisation of power and possessions [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, pp. 109–138]. For a long time this system was balanced by a strong centralised power and was stable enough, but under unfavorable conditions, it quickly began to transform and disintegrate.

According to written sources there clearly was an increase of power, as of ulusbeks, as of Tatar clannish nobility, who stood behind ulusbeks,—the owners of smaller fiefdoms—

iqta and suyurgals. Their economical power was based on advanced pastoralism and agriculture, and also on having a share of state taxes and other incomes, and their political power was based on the influence of their clans in the imperial system. A strong judicial and administrative authority within the subordinate uluses gave this important financial and political leverage. Moreover, many large feudal holdings became tarkhans in the latter half of the 14th century, that is the owners of unconditional holdings, free from almost all taxes and tribute to the Khan [Ibid., pp. 124–134]. The material resources of some of them were truly colossal. That is, according to Arabic sources, some Emirs of large fiefdoms, had an income of 100–200 thousand golden dinars from it and could maintain an army of 5 thousand well-armed horsemen [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 244]. Besides the extensive holdings and the large number of troops, Tatar aristocracy, united in clans, had its own representatives at court and in the capital's officialdom, so that clans also had solid revenues from collecting taxes and duties. According to historical data, the number of high emirs, who gathered on kurultai, ranged from 50 to 70 [Ibid., p. 168]. Clearly, these Emirs were the top layer of Tatar clan aristocracy.

Alongside this, new trends in the social life of the country began to take shape in the 14th century. Ulusbeks oftentimes transformed their fiefdoms, including towns and nomads, into semi-independent holdings. On the one hand, small feudal holdings and towns, which were the base of the Khans' power, began to fall under the authority of more powerful emirs and ulusbeks, as they saw it the only chance to mitigate the effects of environmental and social actions. On the other hand the number of clans increased and their place in clan hierarchy remained secondary. They were power-hungry, but their ambitions were restrained by the existing system of 4 clans. The representatives of these clans, using the power of tradition, the resources of the treasury of the Horde and the armed forces of the empire, did not allow other clans, not among the ruling ones, to make claims to increase their status.

Basically this ethno-political system was stable enough and provided the continuity and stability of power in Ulus of Jochi. Its unity could not be shattered even by the attempt of Nogai to usurp the power in the latter half of the 13th century. However, as a result of the Black Death epidemic, it was, obviously the ruling clans who took large losses and began to lose their power. Their weakening made the other clans want to take their place. However, in Ulus of Jochi's existing political and ethno-social system, it was possible to attain to power only if the clan could produce a Khan, related to them one way or another. The system of 4 clans, which in usual conditions made the state stable, in contexts of plague and natural disasters became a reason for cruel power contests and a source of political deconsolidation. Obviously, a number of clans began to fight for power, using the nomination of its own Sultan from the Jochi clan as a pretext, in hope of using him to push the other clans aside and wrestle into a leading position at court. But, as there were a lot of claimants, and nobody had support from large noble clans, this ended in chaos and full destruction of the authority of Khan's power. Thus, describing the situation in the country after the death of Berdibek, the historian Ibn Khaldun wrote: 'There also were (except for Mamai—I.I.) several (other) Mongol emirs, who shared the management of domains near Sarai; they disagreed with each other and ruled on their own. Thus,

Hajji Circassian took the lands of Astrakhan, Urus Khan his appanages. Aybak Khan did the same. They all were called military emirs' [Ibid., p. 289].

And with it, contrary to the opinion of several historians [Egorov, 1985, pp. 56–58], the desire of Horde emirs for separatism in the mid 14th century should not be overstated. Nevertheless, the majority of them fought amongst themselves exactly for the throne of Sarai.

Another consequence of the weakening of the central government and a number of epidemics and environmental crises was the collapse of the internal connections in the country. In fact, in context of those catastrophes and political cataclysms, the number of prosperous regions (Crimea, Khwarezm, Mukhsha, Bulgaria) turned out to be in a political vacuum and forced autonomy. Having fewer environmental crises than the Lower Volga Region, they kept their economy stable or recovered from the plague rather quickly. Under the conditions of disintegrating internal communications and naturalisation of economy they at least needed a single state, tending to isolation. In some cases the separation of the central government was based on the old and half-forgotten tradition of the former regional unity. Not without reason did the country start to fall apart under conditions of internecine feud into old boundaries, which obviously, had some economic and cultural foundation, namely Crimea, Bulgaria, Muhsha and Khwarezm.

The aspiration to decentralisation had also found support in semi-independent vassal regions, which had always had a strong tendency to be separated from the Horde. This could be most clearly observed in Rus'. It was precisely then that there was not only the strengthening of power ready to resist the 'tsar of the Horde' but also the ideological justification of this struggle for liberation from the power of the 'infidels'.

In terms of economic and political crises in the country, in the regions some forces appeared and were established, forces seeking to fight in order to maintain their control; but they were able to gain an advantage only in the beginning of the 15th century. Until then, since there remained the united political power (the Khan and his administration) and economical connections (trading, the singly currency system), Ulus Jochi remained united.

CHAPTER 2

'Great Troubles'

Iskander Izmaylov

The fight for the Khan's throne, started by several Chinggisids, served as a political cause for a centrifugal explosion. Each of them had claims for the state of ancestors and numerous detachments of allies. The degradation of the natural environment, the decline of farming and pastoralism, the decay of trade and cottage industry, a reduction of tribute and spoils of war income in the Volga Region, the disorder of monetary circulation, weakening the power and influence of central government, which served as the backdrop for increasing the power of individual clans and their aspirations for political leverage—all this pointed to a growing crisis. These were the forces questioning the further existence of the Empire, and all the attempts to answer the call of age were unsuccessful.

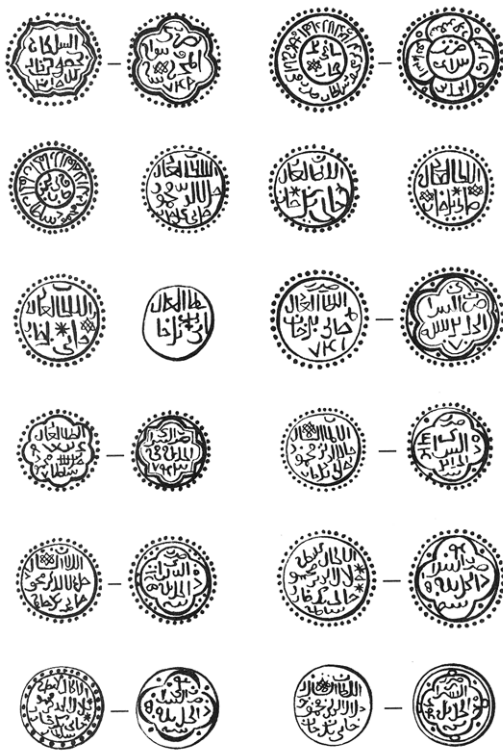
The ensuing catastrophe, as it seemed, was not presaged. In fact, the years before the 'troubles' were characterized by the strengthening of the Horde and major foreign policy success.

After long years of bloody, but mostly fruitless rivalry, which started back in days of Khan Berke, Tatar armies under the command of Janibek reached the Kura River in 1358, crossed it and invaded Southern Azerbaijan. Iran was having troubled times and its central power was weakened after the overthrow of Hulaguids power. Local rulers could not organize an effective resistance. The Janibek's troops rushed to the south and captured Tabriz easily. For the first time in 100 years of the resistance Khans of the Horde were able to capture the whole Azerbaijan, which allowed them to append a rich region to their possessions and at the same time take a key part of the Great Silk Road. Possibly, it was the desire to establish control over all the branches of the trans-Asian trading road, that pushed them to start the war with Iran. Leaving his son Berdibek, and a

30 thousand-strong army, in charge of a conquered province, Janibek returned in the Horde. Here he fell to a deadly illness. Learning about it, Berdibek left his host and his subordinate province and hurried to the capital.

After his father's death, autumn 1357, Berdibek acceded to the throne. Some eastern authors, peddling rumors, possibly not unfounded, accused Berdibek of killing his father. His position was quite precarious, as some emirs were against him. Attempting to strengthen his power, he resorted to repression. Berdibek, according to contemporaries, summoned all tsareviches and killed them at once, having no mercy even on his 8 months old brother [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 129, 234].

He ruled for almost 3 years and died, it seems, in the summer 1359. Russian chronicles (Simeon's, Rogozhskiy's) simply informs of his death: 'The same summer tsar Berdibek died, Kulpa acceded to the throne' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 13, p. 100]. However, the latest, Nikon Chronicle informs that Begdibek and his karachibek Toglu-bey (Toblu-bey), were killed as a result of a conspiracy in the 1359 [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 10, p. 230–231]. It is possible, however, as V. Egorov argued, that Berdibek died naturally and the conspiracy was started by his karachibeg Toglu-bey to set a Khan on the throne, who would be in the hand of the beks [Egorov, 1980, p. 182]. However it may have been, Khan Kulpa was no marionette in the hands of karachibeks. He managed remorselessly to suppress the opposition of the nobility and establish himself on the throne of Sarai. His rule, judging from coins, minted in his name, spread over the whole Ulus of Jochi. Hard to say what his real politics were, but in any case there was a clear increase of discon-



Coins of Jani Beg (Sarai-al-Maqrus, Sarai al-Jadid) (by G. Fedorov-Davydov)



Coins of Kildi Beg, Myurid, Khair-Bulat, Aziz Sheikh, Bulat Hoja, Tulunbek Khanum, Circassian-bek (Sarai al-Jadid, Azak, Gulistan Hajji Tarkhan (by G. Fedorov-Davydov)

tent among the ruling clans. That court aristocracy started a new conspiracy. As a result, in the beginning of winter 1359, Khan Kulpa was deposed and killed, after only 5 months rule. According to Russian chronicles, Khan Kulpa 'killed by Nawruz, along with his sons Michail(?) and Ivan(?)' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 100]. Nawruz became the new Khan.

Thus, in the 60s of the 14th century, the bloody wheel of internal war started to spin in the Golden Horde. The throne of the khans, having become a subject of contest between different clans from the White Horde and Blue Horde, began to pass from hand to hand very quickly. The important reason, starting this power merry-go-round, was the fact that there were no direct heirs left after the repressions of Berdibek, but there was a large group of Sultans, having different degrees of relation with the Jochid family. This provided a pretext for

some clans to set up their claimants. During the period from the 1359 to the 1380, Sarai had at least 17 khans (some took the throne several times), and about some of them historians know almost nothing but a name on the coins minted coins, and they still argue about their historicity and the order of rulings [Egorov, 1980, p. 190–192; Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 88–89; Grigoriev, 1983].

Nawruz, according to the coins minted in his name, put up a fight with Kulpa in the 1359, when he started to mint his own coins in Azov. Having the advanced uluses of the Black Sea Region as his base, he, apparently, easily captured Sarai-al-Jadid, where he held up until the spring 1360. The power of Nawruz, according to coins minted in his name, spread over the whole territory from Khwarezm to Crimea and Azov. He even managed to bring order in domestic affairs. In particular, he summoned Russian princes and gave them new yarliqs for

their sovereignty under his name: 'prince Nawruz was reigning and all the Russian princes came to him, and he gave them their principalities and they returned to their lands' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 100].

Alongside this, the power of the new Khan was unstable, as he did not have enough legitimacy, and the clans in support of him did not have uncontested power. Apparently, there was no unity among the court nobility, which provided an enabling environment for intrigue and conspiracies. It should be mentioned, that eastern authors not for nothing blame emirs for supporting Kulpa, as they, for the sake of their ambitious plans, sought to set up the Sultan, who had little claims for Jochi's throne. Nawruz had equally small claims. It is possible, that he was just a nominal ruler, and the power belonged to the nobility of the capital, grouped around the widow of Öz Beg Khan, Taidula Khatun. The setting representative of the Jochi's sideline on the throne itself was one more sign of looming political crisis in the country, where no legitimate rulers were left, not the prestigious authority or the united system of ruling classes. There were decay, destruction and mistrust everywhere.

The critical point for the further history of Ulus of Jochi was that in the East of the country, in the Blue Horde, which was evidently less damaged by plague. There ruling classes not only preserved power but wanted to spread their power to the whole country and push away the traditional ruling classes of the White Horde. Numerous sultans from the Jochi's family, descended from his sons Shiban, Tuqa(y)-Timur and others, were an indication of this battle.

Obvious enough, those Sultans formally had better claims for the throne than the represents of sidelines descended from Batu. However, the traditional succession to the throne in Ulus of Jochi, did not assume the succeeding of 'left hand' sultans from the Blue Horde. Such change could happen only when the clans from the left hand would rotate ruling classes and push aside the traditional ones. This could have happened only through amilitary coup. Obviously, as a reason for this, they used the questionable legitimacy of Nawruz Khan and the

slogan of a contest against the usurper of the throne, which should belong to the oglans of 'Altyn Urug'. It is possible, that a split amongst ruling classes of the White Horde had contributed to it and some of them asked Chintay Khan of the Blue Horde for support, suggesting him for the throne. He, however, refused and sent his brother Orda Sheykh to the Horde and also several oglans with a host [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 130]. The latter Nikon chronicle also informs of some rumors of this events reaching Rus'. They can hardly be trusted, but they give the information of some Horde princes starting 'secret meetings with Zayatsk tsar Khidyr', against the tsar Nawrus from the Volga and starting a conspiracy against him' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 10, p. 232].

However it might be, but Orda Sheykh not only entered the capital peacefully, but also, apparently, positioned himself as a power, able to bring peace to reconcile the warring fractions. However, in the spring 1360 he moved Nawrus out of power and set ogan Hyzr on the throne, the son of Sasy-Buka. Russian chronicles fairly accurately indicate, that 'the same spring (136–I.I.) some tsar from the East came to the throne of Volga, named Hidyr and became the prince of the Horde, and Nawrus tsar was killed by him' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 100]. The new Khan resorted to repressions not only on the former ruler—his son Timur and even khanbike Taidula [Ibid.] were executed—but against the heads of clans who supported him, 'in love and harmony', and also against 'people of Mualbuzin [where] a lot of Tatars were killed' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 10, p. 232]. Those 'Mualbuzin's people' could be matched with the name of the influential karachibek of the 1350, Mogul Bey. In that connection it can be assumed that major repressions affected the clan nobility, evidently, grouped around Taidula and karachibek Mogul Beg (Movlu-Bey), and the former ruling clans, first of all Naiman and Kiyat clans. It is possible that they were forced to run away into their ancestral uluses, located in the Azov Sea Region and Crimea, where they found a leader in usulbeg Mamai,



Coins of Kulpa, Nawruz, Khizr, Timur-Hoja
(Khwarezm, Sarai al-Jadid, Gulistan)
(by G. Fedorov-Davydov)

who, according to Ibn Khaldun, overthrew the Crimean ruler Temür Qutluğ and seized this ulus.

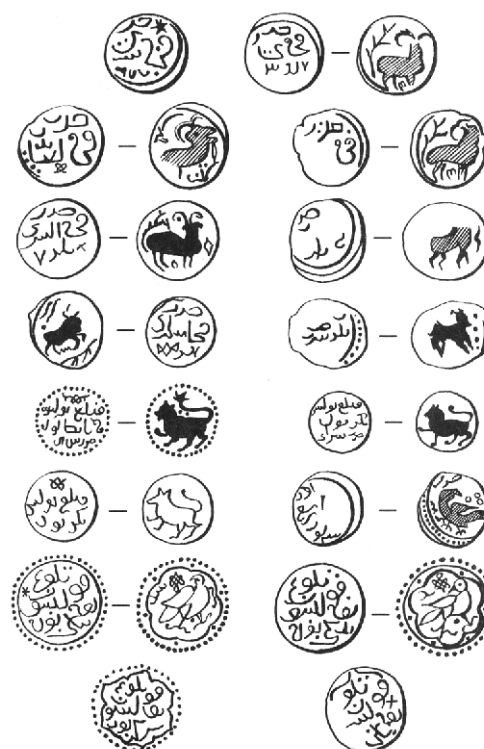
The appearance of the new Khan, lack of unity amongst the nobility of the White Horde and the existence of a large host from the Blue Horde somehow stabilized the situation in the country. In his days, the government strengthened and has been recognized by all the Volga Region uluses. Khidr (Khizr, Khidyr) Khan conducted an active policy, having made several Russian princes come to him for yarliqs on reigning and also deliver to his trial ushkuiniks, who wasted Juketau (Zhukotin) on the Kama River in the Bulgar ulus (wilayah) in 1360. He ruled in Sarai for about a year, but in the spring 1361 he was killed as a result of another rebellion. According to the chronicler 'there were great times of trouble in the Horde, tsar Khidyr was killed by his son Timur-Khwaja, who began to rule on the 4th day' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 101].

However, Timur-Khwaja had, although he got to the throne stepping over his father's body, a mere semblance of power, and only in Sarai and its closest surroundings. Taking advantage of the situation, ulusbek Mamai moved his army against him. Russian chronicles say, that 'Mamai, the prince of the Horde, took the other side of the Volga River; he supported the tsar named Abdullah' [Ibid.]. Evidently, having captured Sarai, Mamai proclaimed Abdullah the Khan, probably some descendant from Öz Beg or Berdibek. The power of the Khan was nominal, as his karachibek Mamai had a firm grip on the reins of power. Ibn Khaldun writes about it eloquently: 'Mamai set up a son of Uzbek as the Khan, named Abullah' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 390]. However, Mamai and Abdullah, having no support from the nobility, retreated to Crimea to gather strength for new campaign against Sarai.

Mamai should be described with more detail as he was a key person in the fierce war of the uluses for almost 20 years. According to the sources we have, which are, by the way, very few compared to the role Mamai played in the life of the Horde, he was from the nobility of the right hand ('wing'), although he was not a Chinggisid. There is information about him belonging to the Kiyat clan. The throne of khans, having become a subject of the war between Mamai, the aristocracy from the capital and Tatar clans of the Blue Horde, was changing hands so fast that even contemporaries could not always follow the order of changing reigns. Historians know almost nothing about many khans of that time, only the names on coins minted by them. Mamai reached the height of power, most likely, in the days of Berdibek Khan, when he not only married his daughter, but also became one of the high emirs, 'regulating all the affairs' of Khanate [Ibid., p. 389]. It is unlikely that he bore an office of ulug karachibek, as V. Egorov supposed [1980, p. 185], because his name was not mentioned amongst karachibeks, who signed state Horde-Venetian agreements and yarliq for the Russian Metropolitans. Most likely, he was a vizier and, definitely, took this office in the end of the reign of this khan. He succeeded, it seems, later, during

the time of court intrigues, when the line of palace coups and purges removed the top layer of the aristocracy. In those conditions he managed not only to dispose of many competitors in the fight for the influence on the khans, but also became the ulusbek of Crimea. During the coup, which set Khyzr Khan on the throne, Mamai, it seems, escaped death and retreated to Crimea with his clan. Most likely, in the 1360s, the western part of the White Horde, centered in Crimea under the command of Mamai, became a stronghold for traditional ruling clans and last representatives of the Batu lineage. The very fact of being married to the Khan's daughter made Mamai a relative to the Khans with the honorable title of 'gurgan', authorizing him with significant rights, excepting the right to the throne. It is not surprising, that there were in his court 'The Horde and Tsarinas all with him', according to Russian chronicles [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 71]. In Soviet historiography he was disparagingly called 'temporary' and his role in history is usually assessed in the light of the outcome of the Battle of Kulikovo, that is purely negative. But if to approach his person with an open mind, it should be accepted that he was an outstanding statesman, a smart and crafty politician, who managed to preserve centralization in terms of the time of troubles and tried to resist centrifugal aspirations.

Within his domains in the western part of the White Horde he took steps aimed at the stabilization of the economy and the expansion of trade. As a result of his military campaigns in Azov in 1362–1363, a significant influx of slaves was noted, which caused a decrease in the prices of 'live goods', but lead to the stimulation of trade [Karpov, 1991, p. 193]. This was also matched by some trading privileges, given to Venetian emissaries in 1362 [Skrzhinskaya, 1973, p. 116]. It is characteristic that one of his domain centers was the city of Shehr al-Jadid (Yangi-Shehr), which is located in the Transnistria and corresponds to with the ancient town of Old Orhei. Its very name—'the New city' was meant to sound like the name of the capital 'Sarai al-Jadid', and show the political independence from the Blue Horde Khans' power.



Anonymous pulis of Sarai. Mid-14th century
(by G. Fedorov-Davydov)

His foreign policy was dictated by the desire to prevent or ease the pressure from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and preserve the vassalage of Russian principalities. To some extent he succeeded. Losing a number of domains in the Western and Southern Rus', he managed to keep a part of his privileges in those principalities and formed a profitable alliance with Grand Dukes Algirdas and Kęstutis of Lithuania. But he could not hold on to Transnistria, which was slowly passing to Moldovan hospodars.

The main goal of his military and political efforts were Sarai and the Volga Region, which he tried to bring into his subjection. During the 20-year war against them all, however, this he was never able to achieve.

Moreover, having the forces of his supporting clans exhausted in a fruitless struggle, he began to steadily lose power in the regions. Gradually he was turning into an obstacle to practical tendencies for unity, which came from the Blue Horde which had been the main

driving force of the decay of the country. This resulted in defeat and the bitter fate of a hounded fugitive in his own ulus. Despite the tragic end, his fate had long been a guiding light for many people who wanted to reach the heights of power in the Ulus of Jochi. But all this was to happen after two decades.

Evidently, in the end of the summer 1361, Mamai, having expelled oglans of 'the left hand' from Sarai, reached the height of his power, placing a youth obedient to him on the throne as Khan. However, this did not secure him more authority amongst the aristocracy of the capital, who still did not want to accept his supremacy for some reason and subsequently schemed against him. Then he returned to the Crimea, from where he began his fight for the unification of the country. That was when the real 'times of trouble' in Ulus of Jochi began.

Mamai with his henchmen did not have enough power to overwhelm the Blue Horde armies and bring the nobility of Sarai into their power. But the Tatar clans of the Lower Volga Region could not unite the country either as they were also lacking in internal unity. At the same time both Mamai and his opponents fought and schemed against the Blue Horde oglans, seeking to preserve the traditional structure of the state. This multilateral conflict kept in suspense all the participators of this historical drama, causing new military campaigns, rebellions and conspiracies, which divided the state, tearing it apart with irreconcilable differences and leaving it twisting in a bloody internecine feud. Paradoxically, but the fact is that Mamai, trying to centralize power, objectively contributed more than other politicians of the time to the degradation of the Khan's power and acceleration of centrifugal tendencies.

After the step-back of Mamai, the period of interregnum begun, when, according to the eastern sources, in charge was probably some Qutlugh-Timur. But in the autumn 1361 the nobility of Sarai once again summoned the oqlan from the 'left hand', proclaiming Ordu-Melik (or Ordu-Sheikh) as Khan. Written sources have nothing on his origin, and historians argue if he was a brother to Chimtay Khan of the Blue Horde, who put Khyzr on the throne, or a son of Khyzr Khan. In any case, he obvi-

ously was under the protection of the Khan of the Blue Horde and the nobility of the capital. Evidently, he managed to push Mamai back to Crimea and occupy Azak, where coins were minted in his name. Ordu-Melik Khan united almost whole empire for a short period of time. At any rate, all regions but Crimea accepted him. Yet in a month the nobility of the capital once again began to intrigue against him. According to the Rogozhsky Chronicler, 'Ardemalik was put on the throne and reigned for a month and they killed him. And the Great Troubles began in the Horde, and killing of old princes of Sarai and Kogui and many others' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 71]. The author of 'Anonymous of Iskender' has more information on this events, though his data is rather confusing: 'Emirs agreed for Orda-Sheikh to rule for one year. After that one of unknown and dull-witted men said: "How so the urug from the White Horde (should be Blue Horde—I.I.) will sit on the throne of rulers of the Blue Horde (accordingly this should be White Horde.—I. I.)". In the middle of the night he finished his business with a single strike of his knife. On the morrow, when emirs learned about it, they, on his false indication slaughtered and executed several innocents...' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 130].

After that Sarai emirs in the end of the autumn 1361 'for the sake of their kingdoms... having agreed (between themselves), put a stranger on the throne, saying that he was Kildibek, the son of Janibek Khan' [Ibid., p. 129]. It can be concluded from this mention made by Muin ad-Din Natanzi, the author of the 'Anonymous of Iskender', that a veteran court historian was surprised by the appearance of a man with very questionable claims on the throne. Apparently, Russian chroniclers shared that opinion, as they carefully noticed, that one of the Khans was 'named Kildibek, they say, the son of Janibek' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 101]. This venturer typically used the name of Janibek. On the one hand, calling himself a direct descendant to this Khan, he clearly tried to indicate that he will use his principles in his politics and will contend for a strong government. On the other hand he

clearly opposed himself against the contenders from the Blue Horde, protecting the traditional clan system and the order of succession to the throne in the White Horde only by oglans from the 'right hand'. It can also be an indirect evidence of the end of the other branches of Batu dynasty descendants in the White Horde.

At first, Kildibek had indeed increased his power, extending it to the Volga Region, Azak and Muhsha, successfully fighting against Mamai. A difficult situation had developed, when there was a war between Mamai and Kildibek in the Ak Horde and both of them simultaneously acted against Murid, a new protégé of the Kok Horde emirs, who had come from the Trans-Volga region and took a part of the Lower Volga Region where he began to mint his own coins, pointing to Gulistan as the place of the minting.

In the difficult situation, Kildibek Khan had decided to strengthen his positions and to reduce dependence on the clan aristocracy. He, like his predecessors, had chosen repression against emirs who were disloyal to his authorities, as a universal tool for that, 'and a lot of them were beaten' [Ibid]. According to Natanzi, he 'found a pledge of his life to be the death of the emirs; secretly he called one of them and forced him to work that each attack the other' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 129–130]. All these actions, of course, did not contribute to the internal stabilization, but only exacerbated the struggle between different clans and factions of the aristocracy in the Golden Horde.

The Kok Horde emirs took advantage of this again. Their henchman Murid Khan, a relative of the Kok Horde governor, Chintay, and brother of Khyzra took Sarai al-Jadid in autumn 1362. Kildibek fled to the Volga-Don Steppes, and in the summer of the following year, gathered his supporters, marching onto the capital. The Rogozhskaya Chronicle reports about further developments, 'Murid stood on one side of the Volga, and Kildibek on the other, and there was slashing between them and Kildibek was killed' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 73]. Therefore, because of the battle Kildibek 'was killed'

[Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 101]. However, this victory did not bring the expected autocracy to Murid.

In the autumn of 1362, Mamai marched against him again; Mamai 'brought tsarevich Abdullah' with him. In the battle on the right bank of the Volga ('to be Mamai and Murid slashing over the Volga' [Ibid.]), Murid's troops were defeated, and he retreated to the beyond the Volga. Sarai al-Jadid was recaptured by Mamai, but this failed to bring him final victory. The only real result of this campaign was the recognition of his 'tsarevich' as a 'king'. There was outbreak of plague in the Volga Region, and he, categorically not using the support of the capital aristocracy, retreated to the West. Murid had managed to repulse Mamai's claims and established himself in the capital and in the region behind the Volga River. It is hard to say whom he relied in this struggle on, but beyond the eastern forces, some clans of the Ak Horde explicitly supported him. Actually, the country was divided into three large parts. One area was the European part of the Horde to the west of the Volga, where Mamai ruled on behalf of the Khans—in Russian chronicles it was called 'Mamai Horde' the second area was the Lower Volga Region with the center in Sarai al-Jadid, called 'Murotova Orda'; and the third area was lands of the Kok Horde. Of course, in reality there were many more parts. They periodically appeared, were conquered or fell apart, especially on the outskirts of the country.

Since that time, a long period of decline begins in Ulus Jochi, leading to collapse of the unified state. The outbreak of civil strife and loss of developed areas, such as Bulgaria, Khwarezm and Muhsha, also brought deterioration of financial situation and a deepening recession in trade and cottage industry with it. Because of the danger attack, regular activity of caravan routes ceased and, therefore, import of raw materials and craft products for export disrupted. There was a gradual decline of agriculture and desolation of sedentary settlements in the Volga Region. Capital cities were walled. In the wake of the central government weakening, the rulers of Rus', Bulgaria, Muhsha, Khwarezm and other uluses strengthened their independence. In conditions of interne-

cine feud, it was these rather steadily growing regions which had become objects of khans' struggle for the payment of tribute, manipulation of contenders for power and punitive raids. All these actions were destroying customary order and enjoining the defence of land against the encroachments of self-proclaimed rulers of the Horde.

In 1361 Khwarezm had completely fallen away from the Horde; the local Sufi dynasty began to rule there [Fedorov-Davydov, 1965, p. 183–184]. At the same time, due to the khans' repression against the clan aristocracy, it moved with its' clans from the center to the outskirts. Here they met the support of the local nobility and created their own separate ownership, sometimes even starting to mint their own coins. Among these emirs it is possible to distinguish Tagay, who ruled in Beljamen, and in the early 1360s went to the North, where, according to the Russian Chronicles, 'He took the Nuruchad (Ulus of Muhsha—I.I.) country to himself, all of those living and dwelling there' [Priselkov 1950, p. 378; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 101]. Here, while remaining safe from the turmoil in the centre of the Horde, he founded his principality and made frequent raids into the neighboring Russian principalities. Only in 1365, after an unsuccessful raid into Pereyasavl Ryzansky, information about him ceases. Perhaps taking advantage of the defeat, the local beks simply toppled him. Another emir ('Prince of Horde') Bulat-Timur, apparently the son of a famous ulusbek Toglu-bey, 'Took Bulgar and all cities along the Volga and uluses, and took away all the Volga way' [Ibid.]. In fact, becoming the ruler of semi-independent ownership in 1360–1366, Bulat-Timur held power in Bulgar until 1367, when he being defeated in the struggle with the princes of Nizhny Novgorod, 'from there fled to the Horde', where he was executed by order of Aziz Sheikh Khan. Constantly growing disintegration of Ulus of Jochi was not the only consequence of the 'zamyatnya' (turmoil). At the same time, its prestige plummeted as a global power. Taking advantage of the turmoil, neighbors began to break apart its territory. Thus, the Lithuanian Prince Algirdas, having the detachments of Mamai's ulusbeks

defeated in the Battle on Blue Waters in 1363, occupied the whole of South Rus', and later all the Prut-Dniester Interfluvium fell under the power of the Moldavian Principality.

In these circumstances, various adventurers and outlaws raised their heads. The North-Eastern Russian principalities, being under the rule of the Golden Horde, received one mark after another of Horde weakness. This was demonstrated by almost unpunished attacks of ushkuiniks (river pirates) in 1360, 1366, 1374, and 1375; in the latter case, they had been fighting for the entire Volga River region, and only the ruler of the Cherkes town managed to destroy them in Haji-Tarkhan. Another important indicator of the inability of the Horde to control Rus' was litigation on the great reign yarliq. In 1362, having examined the dispute between Dmitry Ivanovich of Moscow and Dmitry Konstantinovich of Suzdal; the Khan's ambassadors awarded the yarliq to the Prince of Moscow. On hearing this, Mamai hastily sent a messenger with the yarliq to the same Prince in the name of Abdullah. Then, in spite of his decision, Khan Murid pointedly conveys the yarliq to the Suzdal Prince. Dmitry Konstantinovich did not manage to keep this title, but the new Khan Aziz Sheikh who came to power in Sarai, seeking to adopt a power hierarchy acceptable to him in Russia, again, ignoring the Abdullah yarliq, provided the yarliq into Suzdal and proclaimed Boris Konstantinovich to reign in Nizhny Novgorod. These steps provoked a harsh response from the Moscow Prince Dmitry Ivanovich and Mamai. This confusion contributed to the growth of Russian vassal princes' discontent, whose ownership had not only become the plaything of khans changing with kaleidoscopic rapidity, but were subject to attacks of warring contenders for power in the Horde. These actions were destroying the strong procedure for approval of principalities, introducing an element of instability, and had provoked a desire to defend their own lands from all encroachments from the outside. The apotheosis of this was the war of the Moscow Prince Dmitry Ivanovich against Mamai (1378–1380) [Kuchkin, 1980; Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 88–99; Gorsky, 2000, p. 80–118].

The complexity of the situation was also that Russian principalities, less affected by

the Black Death pandemic and environmental disasters, began to grow, extending their ownerships due to the annexation of lands on the left bank of the Sura and Pyana rivers, in Meshchera and Mordovia. Weakened Muhsha rulers, not getting any support either from Sarai or from Mamai, could not resist this 'creeping' expansion. By 1380, a significant part of the Tatar lands in this region was captured by the Nizhny Novgorod and Ryazan principalities, and in 1382, 'Tatar places' as a part of the Ryazan land were specified in the charters of the treaty [Duxovny'e i dogovorny'e gramoty', 1950, p. 29].

At the same time, the traditional partners saw that Ulus of Jochi's credibility had decreased. The sultans of Egypt, who had recently declared their vassalage to its khans, at that time almost ceased correspondence. Mamai, who tried to have the correspondence, received letters, in which the Egyptian Sultan, humiliating him, wrote about himself as his 'parent' and not 'brother', as it was customized on the protocol [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 350]. Undoubtedly, being well aware of the situation in Dasht-i Kipchak, the Egyptians did not want to be bound by an alliance with one of the contenders for power...

The internecine feud continued. Certain Khair-Bulat (Khair-Pulad, Pulad-Hoja, Pulad-Timur) acted against Murid in 1363. He squeezed Murid out of Sarai into Gulistan and was proclaimed Khan. At the end of 1363, information about him ceased, and the last coins, minted in his name, were dated September 1364. Muin ad-Din Natanzi, telling juicy details of the cause of his death, noted that the protagonist of the plot against the khan was ulug karachibek Ilyas Ibn Toglu-biy [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 130]. If we put aside the salacious items, it cannot be excluded that the ruling clans had simply decided to shift the strengthened khan, in order to prevent the possibility of the clans from the East to push them out of power. At the same time, obviously, Khair-Bulat took the entire Volga Region, including Gulistan. However, his reign was short-lived. In 766 AH (1364/65), the protege



The Khan and his confidants observe the army crossing the river. Miniature from the book 'History of Abulkhair Khan' by Masud Kuhistani. Transoxania. Mid-16th century.

of Mamai, khan Addullah minted its own coins in Sarai al-Jadid. Nevertheless, he could not stay long at the helm. Apparently, the Sarai aristocracy once again teamed up and drove him to the Cis-Volga Steppes.

At the end of 1364, Aziz Sheikh, a protégé of Kok-orde, son of Timur-Hoja, once again became a Khan. He stayed in Sarai for a long time, almost until 1367, a fact which can only be explained only by the support of the Sarai aristocracy. Like many of his predecessors, he led a grueling struggle with Mamai, who had taken a massive attack onto the possessions of his enemies. Mamai's troops occupied the entire North Caucasus, where coins were minted on behalf of Abdullah, in Majar, 767 AH (1365/66). However, in the next 768 AH (1366/67) coins under Abdullah were minted in Sarai al-Jadid. Always ready to disclose the behind the scenes details of the private lives of Ulus of Jochi khans', the 'Anonymous of Iskender' author gives muffled hints at some

supposedly 'bad things' that khan Aziz Sheikh loved to do and which had led to mutiny against him [Ibid.]. Most likely, the Mamai offensive had caused a split among Sarai nobility that led to the overthrow and death of Aziz Sheikh.

The result was the weakening of the Lower Volga Region clans' power. Coinage in Sarai virtually ceased, and we have no other information sources. 'Anonymous of Iskender' reports about a short reign of Hajji Khan, the son of Erzen, the ruler of the Kok Horde, after the Aziz Sheikh death [Ibid.], but this is the only information about this Khan. It is not clear even where he ruled. It is possible that he was proclaimed Khan in Kok Horde, but had not the slightest influence on policy in Sarai.

Mamai was dramatically gaining strength. In 1370, his daruga Achi Hoja, together with the armed force of Dmitry Konstantinovich, the Prince of Nizhny Novgorod, besieged Bulgaria and, having displaced the local emir Hassan, appointed as Sultan 'Sultan Bakov's son', a vassal of Mamai, as governor ('set on the principality') [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 18, p. 109]. Thus, Mamai's power was established all over the Volga Region, where he put all the previously semi-independent rulers under his control. Practically he became the ruler of the Ak Horde. However, during the apex of his power, there were some internal processes in his ownership that had weakened it. Details of this are unknown, but since the early 1370s he was starting to wane. In 1370, news that 'Mamai had put as tsar another Mamat Saltan in his Horde' reached Rus' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 92; 18, p. 109]. The fate of Abdullah, the former khan, remained unknown, but in the realm of Mamai they started to mint coins in the name of the new Khan Muhammad-Bulak, 'Fair Sultan, Mohammad Khan' [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 96].

After nearly five-year period they started to mint coins on behalf of Tulunbek Khanum, in Sarai, in 772 AH (1371/72) [Frähn, 1832, p. 22, No.179; Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 191]. The scarcity of these coins and the lack of any information on this ruler in written sources led to the appearance of conflicting versions in recent studies; the versions concerned the origin

of Tulunbek Khanum and interpretation of her name (from reading it as a male name [Egorov, 1980, p. 201] to recognition of an error in the date and comparing her with the wife of Toktamysh [Grigoriev, 1983, p. 43, etc.]). Whatever it was, subsequent events showed that the 'Mamai Horde' power in the Lower Volga Region had been considerably weakened, and he had to win it again in 773 AH (1371/72).

Hajji Tarkhan became a new centre around which Mamai's opponents would circle, where emir Hajji Circassian had been ruling since 1374 [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 389]. Russian chronicles contain information about this Lower Volga ruler, dated 1375; they called him 'a Hajji Tarkhan prince named Salchei', who destroyed the Novgorod ushkuyniki (river pirates) of Ataman Prokop, who were ravaging Kostroma and the Volga shore [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 18, p. 117; 25, p. 192]. The person of Salchei in Russian chronicles can be correlated with the Hajji Tarkhan emir, who had been producing copper coins on behalf of Circassian bek here, in 776 AH (1374/75) [Frähn, 1832, p. 22, 182; Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 191]. According to the Ibn Khaldoun's reports, Hajji Circassian, having gathered significant forces, 'went onto Mamai, conquered him and robbed him of Sarai', forcing him to leave for the Crimea [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 391]. Because of this victory, he united under his rule the entire Lower Volga Region. However, his power was more apparent since he constantly had to fend off the other contenders for power in the area. In the east, he fought against Aibek, and possessed the Saray-Jük alternately with him, in 1373–1374.

A new invasion by the powerful troops of the Kok Horde put an end to Circassian's power in Sarai al-Jadid. Relating the distant events of 776 AH, Ibn Khaldun says that Urus Khan of the Kok Horde, from the Tuqa-Timurid clan, turned against Hajji Circassian. The Khan managed to subordinate Sarai under his power after a series of setbacks [Ibid.]. Probably, the most famous coins of Urus Khan, which represent the Sarai mint [Savelyev, 1858, p. 437 et seq., No.433 et seq.; Muhamadiev, 1983,

p. 95–96], could have been minted in the first half of 1375. One of the descendants of Shibān, who had ruled in Saraychuk, known for coin legends under Alp-Hoja name, supported the troops of Urus Khan in the Trans-Volga region [Savelyev, 1858, p. 419 et seq., No.418]; and the writings of Eastern authors called him as Aibek (Ilbek, Ilban, Ilsan, Ilpac) [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 391; 1941, p. 54 et seq.; Sheibaniade, 1849, p. 69; Hafiz-i Tanysh Bukhari, 1983, p. 76, etc.].

The period of Khan Urus' stay in the Lower Volga Region did not last more than a few months, as his goal obviously was his henchmen's affirmation there. In the next year 777 AH (1375/76), they minted coins on behalf of the eldest son of Alp-Hoja, Kaganbek, in Sarai al-Jadid [Frähn, 1832, p. 22, No.183; Yanina, 1954, p. 447, No.108]. He ruled briefly, and after 2 years, Arabshah Khan replaced him. Russian chroniclers had recorded this event under 1377, when 'some Tsarevich, named Arapsha had crossed the Volga River from the Blue Horde' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 18, p. 118; 25, p. 194]. Genealogical construction of medieval sources call Arabshah the son of Bulat (Pulad) [Sheibaniade, 1849, p. 69 et seq.; Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 55; Materialy' po istorii Kazaxskix xanstv, 1969, p. 35; Hafiz-i Tanysh Bukhari, 1983, p. 76, etc.], who, in turn, was a brother of the aforementioned Alp-Hoja. Known coins of this issuer had been produced in Sarai al-Jadid from 779 to 782 AH (1377–1381) [Savelyev, 1858, p. 430 et seq., No.427 et seq.; Yanina, 1958, p. 447, No.109; Fedorov-Davydov, 1978, p. 46, No.156]; this allows us to confirm that Arabshah kept control over the Ulus of Jochi's capital until the Toktamys' accession to the throne of Sarai (at the end of 1380). The struggle between the different dynastic factions in the Lower Volga Region in the late 1370s is reflected in the passage of al-Jannabi, the Arab author, 'Then was the Time of Troubles (Smutnoye Vremya) and turmoil between the emirs began to intensify and voices were split in Dasht-Kipchak. Some were for Urus Khan, one of Chinggis Khan's Descendants, the others were for Toktamys',

and some for Abav-Arab-oglan (that is, 'tsarevich' (prince) Arabshah.—I.I.)' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 537].

Weakening of the 'Mamai Horde' and the Kok Horde Khans' invasion into Rus' (for example, Arabshah in 1377, etc.) caused a surge of anti-Horde activity in the Russian principalities, which was observed in the Mid-1370s. The Muscovite princes had so increased in strength that, in 1377, they conquered Bulgar, which before was in the sphere of Mamai influence. Under conditions of political destabilization, Mamai's response was limited by organization of campaigns into Oka and Sura River Regions, designed, rather, only to back up diplomatic pressure. The Mamai's requirement for the 'Russian vyhod' tribute payment in the previous volumes served the formal reason for the further aggravation of relations with Moscow principality [Skazaniya i povesti, 1982, p. 18, 53]. Pereyaslavl program of Russian principalities unification under internecine feud in the Golden Horde developed in the late 1370's into the idea of the necessity of the 'Mamai Horde' forces' complete defeat. Anti-Horde policy orientation of some Church circles becomes more visible.

In a sharp weakening of his power, Mamai began to have internal political difficulties. It is not impossible that some of the Tatar clans supporting him were ready to compromise with the Kok Horde khans. However, Mamai forestalled them, having another change of khans conducted in 1379. The former khan together with his confidants were executed and a new ruler stepped in his place, who was known in the coin legends under the name 'Bulak' or 'Tulyak'—the second interpretation is more acceptable [Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 97]. A later version of Mamai's murder of his own tsar is described in the Patriarchal chronicle, 'Volga Horde's wicked and proud knjaz' (prince) Mamai held the whole Horde in his rule, and he smote many princes and kings, and put his own king under his own will. In addition, many people were confused and none trusted him, and he smote many more princes and alputs in his Horde. Also he killed his own king...' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 11, p. 46]. The same name, that is submitted in the form of 'Tyulyak',

is mentioned in the text of the Khan's *yarliq* from 1379, granted to Metropolitan Mikhail (Mityai) [*Pamyatniki russkogo prava*, 1955, p. 465], and a similar name 'Telyak' or 'Tetyak' is contained in the 'Tales' of the Kulikovskiy cycle [*Skazaniya i povesti*, 1982, p. 20]. Contrary to V. Egorov's opinion, there is no reason to assume that this is a derogatory naming of Mamai, who allegedly proclaimed himself a Khan, as in all the Chronicles he is referred to as the 'Prince of the Horde'. In addition, the Chronicles contain a direct reference to the Khan from the clan of Chinggisids' presence in the 'Mamai Horde' on the eve of the Battle of Kulikovo [*Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 3, p. 376].

In preparation for a decisive battle, Mamai tried to consolidate his authority in the Lower Volga Region, which is evident from the coins of Tulyak Khan minted in Hajji Tarkhan in 782 (1380/81) [Savelyev, 1858, p. 418, No.416]. Although Mamai had managed to assemble significant forces, attract some mercenaries from Genoa, and had gained support from the Lithuanian Prince Jagiełło (see: [Begunov, 1966, p. 507]), he suffered a crushing defeat at the Battle of Kulikovo and escaped to his ulus (for more details on the battle, its political roots and consequences, and its military aspects, see [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 289–294; Safargaliev, 1960, p. 132–136; Grekov, 1975, p. 127–164; Kulikovskaya bitva, 1980; Kirpichnikov, 1980; Danilevsky, 2001, p. 270–312]).

Mamai tried to prepare for a new campaign in the Black Sea Region, but history did not provide him with an opportunity for revenge. His plans to prepare a new army failed due to an invasion from the East, 'from the Blue Horde'—Khan Tokhtamysh's troops—who by that time had seized a majority of the territory of the former Ulus of Jochi. The meeting of two rivals on the Kalka River ended with 'Mamai's princes' switching over to the side of the new Khan, 'dismounting their horses, they humbly beseeched Tokhtamysh, and swore feal-

ty to him according to their religion' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4, p. 83; 15, p. 141; 18, p. 130; 25, p. 205]. Undoubtedly, the above-mentioned Qutlugh Buga and his son Ilyas were among the latter ones, who were later to be granted influential positions in the ulus administration of Crimea. The treason of his own troops forced Mamai to flee to Crimea, where he hoped to get help and protection from the Genoese, with whom he was bound by treaty. But the residents of Kaffa assessed the real state of affairs and decided to do away with Mamai rather than enter into conflict with the new Khan.

These events, full of conspiracies and battles, with many rulers coming and going, create the sense of a dizzying fall down a mountain. Indeed, this was a time when the state was rapidly descending into the abyss and hanging on at the very edge. The years of the Great Troubles, two decades when the whole Golden Horde spun around in a bloody whirl, passed a fateful turning point that would eventually divide its history. From then on, the actions of the politicians, no matter what goals they had in mind, were dictated by a combination of objective reasons and the interests of the people. But the actions gradually came down to fighting for unity or watching the country break apart. And, although the strict logic of necessity provided itself a path, there were still those who dared to challenge it.

Meanwhile, the striving for a united country, and the revival of its greatness, did not lose its historical inertia. Khan Tokhtamysh (1380–1396), who based his position on the military forces of Tatar clans, which were strongly consolidated in Kok Horde and Sarai, pressuring the former rulers, represented these interests. By ascending to the throne, he sent his ambassadors to all the Russian princes, telling them about his return and that he had reascended the throne, and how he defeated his opponent and their enemy Mamai, and went and took the kingdom of the Volga' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 141].

CHAPTER 3

Attempts to Stabilise the Ulus of Jochi at the End of the 14—Beginning of the 15th Century

§ 1. The reign of Khan Toktamysh

Ilmur Mirgaleev

During the reign of Khan Toktamysh, the Tatar elite actively pursued the policy of turning the Golden Horde into a world power. Toktamysh was famous by the late 1370s (the history of his struggle for power is discussed in detail in the book: [Mirgaleev, 2003]). According to written sources and numismatic data, in 782 (1380/81) Toktamysh had all the territory of Ulus of Jochi completely under his authority. Al-Askalani informs us that 'in 782 he conquered the land of Desht, and Chingisid Toktamysh killed the khan who had ruled (there) for 20 years' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 452]. During the whole year of 1381, Toktamysh was occupied with reinstating the institution of government on the territory of the Ulus of Jochi. Persian historian Abd al-Razzaq Samarqandi wrote that 'his power grew stronger and he raised the banner of elevation' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 191]. Soon all felt the strong arm of the new khan. Lithuanian Prince Jagiełło began to pay tribute for the Russian and Tatar lands in the Golden Horde that he had conquered during the time of troubles [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 354; Bartold, 1968, p. 566; Safargaliev, 1996, p. 404]. The expansion of western neighboring states was halted.

In 1381 Toktamysh sent ambassadors to the Russian princes demanding they go to Sarai. But an ambassador 'went as far as Nizhny Novgorod and returned, and didn't go to Moscow' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 8, p. 42]. Toktamysh Khan probably wanted to discuss the situation in the Russian ulus

in general, to improve relations after the years of trouble and to increase the size of the tribute. The question about debt payments in recent years could have been raised too [Gorsky, 2000, p. 109]. The princes of Nizhny Novgorod and Ryazan accepted the khan's demands, but Dmitry of Moscow did not want to submit to any changes.

Toktamysh acted with resolve. The Russian merchants who had been trading in the Volga Region were apprehended so that the campaign would have the element of surprise, and after this he 'went secretly, unexpectedly and skillfully with all his forces'. The Tatar army advanced rapidly, 'because they moved very quickly' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 23, p. 127]. Vladimir, Suzdal, Pereyaslavl, Moscow and a number of other cities were taken [Solovyov, 1960, p. 289–290]. According to some Russian chronicles, the grandson of Aldirdas the Lithuanian, Prince Ostey, tried to organize the defence of the city. But when the Muscovites found out that 'the tsar came to execute his slave Dmitry, and escaped today', and that Toktamysh 'didn't come to destroy his ulus, but to save it' and wants to 'be gracious' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 442], the defenders let the Tatars into Moscow. But despite the promises of the Khan, the city was robbed and set afire. Dmitry was forced to recognize the sovereignty of the khan of the Ulus of Jochi. He was allowed to return to Moscow only after fulfilling all of Toktamysh's demands [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 4, p. 90; 16, p. 130; 18, p. 134].

After that 'peace', the sons of the Grand Princes were sent to Sarai as hostages [Ver-nadsky, 1997, p. 274; Gumilyov, 1997, p. 202], and the princes themselves took part in the khan's military campaigns [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 25, p. 218; 35, p. 30]. In Russian chronicles it is noted that in 1384 'there was a huge tribute, fifty per village. They gave gold to the Horde then and in Novgorod gave black beaver' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 18, p. 135; 20, p. 205; 23, p. 130]. After 1382 the tribute 'was almost doubled' [Safargaliev, 1996, p. 393]. A specific number was even mentioned in the IV Novgorod Chronicle: 'the tsar took 8000 silver' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 4, p. 90]. A. Gorsky suggested that this number was a tribute for two years (from the territory of the Grand Principality of Vladimir) [Gorsky, 2000, p. 108]. Undoubtedly, the Russian ulus began to regularly pay tribute to the treasury of the Horde at the rate stipulated by Toktamys. In 1382 the bishop of Sarai was relocated to Moscow [Belozerov, 2002, p. 24]. He had been given the right to represent Tatar authority in the ulus of Russia, and he was supposed to control the Russian princes.

From 1380 to 1385, Toktamys was mostly concerned with his internal state problems. He implemented a number of political and economic reforms, including the unification of the money and weights system. All his actions show that he offered the society of Ulus of Jochi an ideology of unity and greatness of the country, which he called 'Ulug Ulus', that is, 'Great State' [Berezin, 1850, p. 38]. Artisan production and domestic trade started up again thanks to the restoration of order in the country. As noted by archaeologists, during the rule of Toktamys, the economy (including trade) experienced a boom in the Golden Horde cities [Fedorov-Davydov, 1960, p. 113–114; Fedorov-Davydov, Vajner, Muhamadiev, 1970, p. 112; Rtveladze, 1972, p. 45].

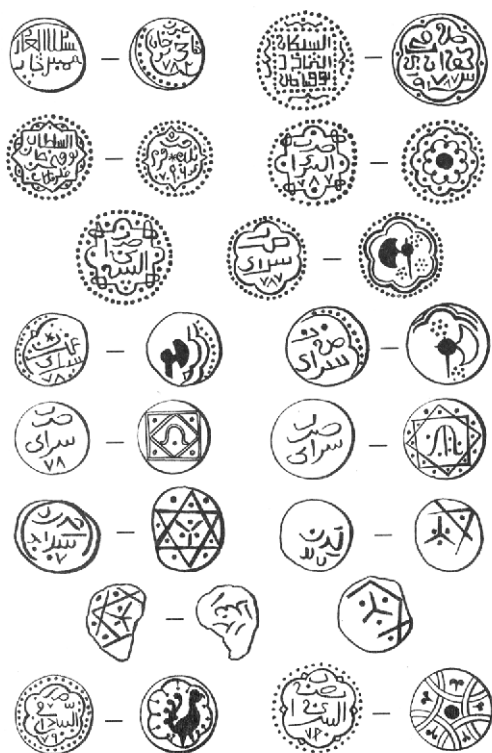
The changes also affected the social system of the country. Tatar clans that helped raise the authority of Toktamys were granted more rights. Emirs and Begs who had been on his side confirmed their immunities with tarkhan yarliqs. Later, new feudal lords rose to prom-



Coins of Khan Toktamys (Azak,
Orda al-Muazzam, Orda al-Jadid, Crimea)
(by G. Fedorov-Davydov)

inence [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 109]. Shibanids and Tuqa-Timurids from the Jochids actively supported the khan, and among the Tatar clans there were Manghits, Kungrats, Crimean feudal lords and emirs of the cities, especially Sarai. Later in the Tatar Khanates the karachibiys were represented mainly by such clans as Shirin, Baryn, Arghyn, Kypchak, Manghit, Jelair and others [Velyaminov-Zernov, 1863, p. 209; 1864, p. 411–420; Khudyakov, 1996, p. 674–675; Shamiloglu, 1993, p. 45], most of which had originated from the Kok Horde [Ötemish Hajji, 1992, p. 115]. Toktamys needed faithful servants and large financial resources. That's why, on the one hand, he confirmed the rights of the old feudal lords, and on the other hand, actively distributed the suyurgals to his new supporters, of course, in exchange for serving the central authority.

After instituting order internally, the government of Toktamys began to carry out an



Coins of Khan Toktamish
(Hajji Tarkhan, Khwarezm, Crimea, Sarai)
(by G. Fedorov-Davydov)

active foreign policy. Here they pursued two aims. First of all, they wanted to normalize relations with other states and to see that trade flowed smoothly. After reaching this economic goal, Toktamish tried to raise and strengthen the significance of the northern transcontinental trade route, which passed through the territory of Desht-i Kipchak. The second goal was to bring Ulus of Jochi onto the international stage. Friendly relations were restored with the Mamluks [al-Kholi, 1962, p. 15; Zakirov, 1966, p. 93] and the Ottoman Empire. In his letter to Gazi Murad, Ulug-Muhammad stated that 'Toktamish-khan had friendly relations with your great-grandfather Gazi Bayezid Bek, they sent ambassadors to each other' [Kuratt, 1992, p. 350–353]. By 1385 Toktamish had established friendly relations with all the neighboring states, including Moghulistan, Transcaucasian states and Tamerlane. But then the latter began laying claim to the heritage of the Hulaguid dynasty, and Toktamish's foreign policies radically changed.

As M. Safargaliev rightly suggested, Tamerlane's conquest of Iran and Azerbaijan dealt a blow to Golden Horde trade [Safargaliev, 1996, p. 405]. The political aspect of the changes to Toktamish's foreign policy was that if Tamerlane conquered Iran and the Transcaucasian states, then the border of Tamerlane's empire would have stretched along the entire southern and sou-eastern borders of the Golden Horde.

Toktamish used military force in his foreign policy for the first time in 1385. According to Ibn Khaldun, in 784 (1382/83), Tamerlane conquered Mazandaran [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 392], taking advantage of the fact that the death of Sultan Uvays in 1374 prompted a struggle for supremacy between his sons. Aksak-Timur (Tamerlane) laid claim to the territory of Ilkhanate and, beginning in 1380, began to systematically conquer it. At that time Toktamish started paying particular attention to his foreign policy regarding Transcaucasia, trying to negotiate with Ahmad Jelairid, although he couldn't control all his possessions.

In 1385 a battle between Ahmad and Tamerlane took place near Sultaniya, and Tamerlane was victorious [Grekov, Yakubovsky, 1950, p. 331]. Ambassadors of Toktamish that had been sent to Ahmed ended up at Aksak Timur (Tamerlane). According to Thomas of Metsoph, Toktamish 'sent a messenger to khan of Tabriz Sultan Ahmed's son to conclude friendship and peace. And Tamerlane offended him with his evil and snide gesture'. Outraged, Toktamish sent his troops. However Tamerlane avoided meeting them and departed [Thomas of Metsoph, 1992, p. 360]. The reason he retreated was not just that 'more important business' had appeared, but also he was reluctant to fight against the Tatar army, having not completely defeated Ahmad.

The Tatars took control over the northern regions of the Jalayirid state. Judging by the coins, cities like Shamakhi, Shabaran', Makhmudabad, Gushtaspi and Baku were subjects of the Golden Horde [Savelyev, 1858, p. 319, 322–326; Markov, 1896, p. 484–487; Pakhomov, 1926, p. 59; 1938, p. 45, 74; Fedorov-Davydov, 1960, p. 157, 163–166, 173]. After capturing Tabriz, the Tatar army 'started to

march toward Maragha, turned back there and, passing through Tabriz again, devastated the lands of Marand and Nakhichevan' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 98]. The Spanish ambassador Clavijo states that Toktamyskh 'robbed many lands, destroyed cities and lands, but also partially restored them for himself... having finished all this robbery, especially in the lands belonging to Tamurbek, (Totamikh) and returned to Tartalia' [Clavijo, 1990, p. 143]. From this it would appear that the army of Toktamyskh took control of the territory of the Jalayirid state that had not yet been conquered by Tamerlane and devastated the lands that the Middle Asian emir had already managed to take [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 392].

Toktamyskh immediately sent an army, which reached the Samur river, but was crushed. Emir Tamerlane didn't want to aggravate relations with the Golden Horde and released his prisoners [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 110, 152] as, at that time, Ahmad had gathered his forces in Baghdad against him. The army of Kara-Muhammed, the ruler of the Anatolian Kara Koyunlu Turkomans, which were known as Tamerlane's greatest enemies, were in southern Azerbaijan, and the army of Mamluks, who had actively helped Ahmad Jalayirid, were in Syria. In response, Toktamyskh decided to open up another front, in Middle Asia itself. In alliance with Qamar al-Din, the emir of Moghulistan, they attacked simultaneously from the north and the east of Transoxania [Safargaliev, 1996, p. 406]. Zayn ad-Din reports that in 789 (1387/88) the army of Toktamyskh 'arrived in the Bukhara and Samarkand regions and devastated the capital' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 98]. Qamar al-Din and the military leader of the Tatars Ak-Hajj oghlan invaded Transoxania through Turkestan. Aksak Timur at that time was at war with the Jalayirids. The joint army scattered, Toktamyskh's troops conquered Tashkent, Karshi and a number of other cities, and started besieging Bukhara and Samarkand [Ibid., p. 154]. In February 1388, Tamerlane ar-



Tamerlane.
Reconstruction
by M. Gerasimov

rived there himself with all his troops. The allies retreated, 'some of them went to Khwarezm, and some headed to Desht-i Kipchak' [Ibid.]. The Golden Horde, which had laid siege to Samarkand, was destroyed by Tamerlane's troops that had arrived and they were forced to retreat. Pursuing them, Tamerlane reached Khwarezm, destroyed the city, and enslaved all the residents [Ibid., p. 155].

In the late autumn of 1388, Toktamyskh organised a new campaign. According to the Russian Chronicles, the Tatars 'fought his far city, and could not defeat it and returned' [Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei, 11, p. 121; 18, p. 139; 34, p. 141]. Tamerlane couldn't continue the war, because an uprising had begun in Khorasan and Moghulistan [Safargaliev, 1996, p. 408–409]. According to Persian sources (Shami, Yezdi, 'Iskander's Anonymous' and Samarkandi), in 1388 Muluksarbadar and Hajjibek rose up in Khorasan and joined Toktamyskh [Materialy' po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii, 1978, p. 106; Materialy' po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii, 1939, p. 523]. 'Hajji-bek Javuni-Kurbani, believing that Toktamyskh had defeated



'Tamerlane's stone'. 1391. Hermitage Museum

Tamerlane, formed an alliance with Mulyuk Serbedar and Isa Turkman, fortified the city of Tus and started to mint coins and read khutbah with Tokhtamysh's name' [Materialy' po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii, 1939, p. 523].

Aksak Timur was in a complicated situation. But at this time the Golden Horde was experiencing political complications, which prompted Tokhtamysh to return to Sarai. According to Tatar numismatic materials, Bek-Bulat established himself in Crimea. His known coins were minted in Crimea, Azak and Horde from 792 to 794 (1389–1392) [Fraehn, 1826, p. 357–358; Markov, 1896, p. 491; National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, No.2949; Ivanov, 1996, p. 12; Savelyev, 1858, p. 334–338; Fedorov-Davydov, 1960, p. 157–173]. In 1388 Bek-Bulat led the troops on the Caucasian front. While Tokhtamysh-khan fought against Bek-Bulat, in the summer of 1390 Tamerlane captured Shirvan. The latest coins of Tokhtamysh, minted in the cities of Shirvan, dated from 792 [Markov, 1896, p. 487]. Tokhtamysh couldn't retake Khwarezm, but actually lost Shirvan and his cities of the Kok Horde and encountered political instability in the Golden Horde. One of the key causes of the foreign policy failures at the end of the 1380s to the end of the century was the struggle of the anti-Tokhtamysh party of the Golden Horde feudal lords

By the end of 1390, Aksak Timur's troops had come right up to the borders of the Golden Horde in the Caucasus and had taken control of Derbent fortress. It's not known if there was a connection between Tamerlane and

Bek-Bulat in 1389, but considering that in his letter, Tokhtamysh wrote about a secret relation between the rebels and Tamerlane [Berezin, 1850, p. 37], perhaps such a connection existed also in 1389. After putting down the rebellion in Middle Asia and Iran, Tamerlane gave orders to prepare for a new campaign against the Golden Horde. The Russian Chronograph

notes that Tamerlane intended to wage war on deserted lands, allegedly 'sowing millet six months earlier to feed a multitude of troops' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 22, p. 421]. According to all Tamerlane historians, Aksak Timur (Tamerlane) prepared for this campaign very scrupulously [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 158–159; Khaund-Emir, 1836, p. 477; Boudaq de Qazwin, 1836, p. 441].

In 1389–1390, Khan Tokhtamysh was in a difficult situation. Further events show that Tokhtamysh and Bek-Bulat reached a compromise before the Battle of the Kondurcha River. According to Tatar numismatic material, Bek-Bulat's ulus was eliminated only in 794 [Fraehn, 1826, p. 358; Markov, 1896, p. 491], therefore, most likely, in the spring of 1392. According to Tokhtamysh's letter [Berezin, 1850, p. 37], and the information of Ibn Khaldun [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 392–393], Sharaf ad-Din Yazdi [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 168], and Mirkhaund [Mirkhaund, 1836, p. 461], Bek-Bulat took part in the Battle of the Kondurcha River on Tokhtamysh's side. Having lost the Transcaucasian territories, the towns on the Syr Darya River and Khwarezm, Tokhtamysh decided to withdraw from the war. He had to deal with internal problems.

The battles of 1391 and 1395 had an enormous direct effect on the course of all Eurasian history. Practically all researchers point out that Tamerlane's attack was fateful for the Golden Horde (for the battles of 1391 and 1395, see

[Mirgaleev, 2003a]). At the beginning of 1391, Toktamyskh Khan's ambassador came to Aksak Timur to offer peace [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 112, 159]. However, sources mention that it had already been decided to continue the campaign, and that's why an ambassador had been left in the camp as a guide, but in our opinion, however, Tamerlane's answer ('let him send Ali-Bek to us') [Ibid., p. 113] was sent to Toktamyskh to disseminate false information, so he didn't discover the invasion immediately. As can be seen from Toktamyskh's further actions, he did not expect Tamerlane to invade through the Kok Horde, believing that the Chagatai would not dare to cross the vast steppes. That's why all the preparations must have occurred on the Caucasian border.

According to Abd al-Razzaq Samarkandi, Tamerlane gave orders to gather an army 'of previous and new number' [Ibid., p. 191]. He increased the size of his army. Based on the Karasakpay inscription, we believe that it reached 300,000 warriors [Pope, 1940; Ponomarev, 1945]. Tamerlane's army moved rapidly. Nevertheless, his invasion was discovered quickly. Khan Toktamyskh 'reported immediately in all directions, gathered an army of the right and left wing' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 164]. Trying to gain time, the scouts and guard detachments of Toktamyskh turned up daily, and didn't let their enemy relax [Charmoy, 1836, p. 116]. They lit numerous fires, demonstrating that there was a large army ahead [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 113] and they burnt the grass.

The main battle took place on 18 June 1391. At first Toktamyskh took the initiative. His army surrounded the enemies on either side of their flanks and entered from their rear, bringing Tamerlane's army into disarray. But the betrayal of some of the troops changed all Toktamyskh's plans. Tamerlane's army consisted of independent corps that operated autonomously. Flank vanguards and rearguards of his army organized a good defense, and all the centre, right and left wings attacked the centre of Toktamyskh's army and defeated him [Charmoy, 1836, p. 121].

Only Muhammed of Andrinople wrote specifically about the losses of the Golden Horde, giving a number of 'more than one hundred thousand people' [Mouhammed d'Andrinople, 1836, p. 505]. Tamerlane's losses had to be significant too. As for the reason the Tatars were defeated, the element of surprise played a significant role, by keeping Toktamyskh from using the full military potential of his state and allies. Still, the main reason behind Toktamyskh's defeat was that 'his great emirs were predisposed towards Tamerlane' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 209]. This reason was also given in the official version—Toktamyskh's letter to the Lithuanian Grand Prince [Berezin, 1850, p. 37].

After the Tatar army was defeated, Tamerlane turned back and his army scattered, robbing, burning and capturing people. It seems that Aksak Timur's main goal for himself in this campaign was to attack the human resources of Desht-i Kipchak. Toktamyskh absconded to the northern outskirts of the Bulgarian Ulus, and when 'his peace was restored, gathered his troops and called on the support of his people, who helped him' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 470]. Toktamyskh vigorously set about punishing traitors, who 'headed to the frontier lands and established themselves there' [Ibid., p. 393]. In early 795 (1392/93) 'they were executed, so they would not... do harm again' [Berezin, 1850, p. 21–22]. One of the main traitors, Bek-Bulat, who left the khan during the battle and attacked the capital, was executed [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 393].

By the summer of 1392, Khan Toktamyskh had completely restored his authority over the Golden Horde. He spent the whole of 1393 addressing internal issues and restoring the international contacts of the Golden Horde. Previous agreements with Lithuania were confirmed in 1392 [Berezin, 1950, p. 37]. Agreements were also reached with the Ottoman Empire [Kurat, 1992, p. 350–353]. At the beginning of 1394, Toktamyskh's ambassadors also arrived in Egypt with an offer to be one 'hand against the rebellious criminal Timurlenk' [Collection

of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 363]. The Golden Horde, Ottomans and Mamluks tried to coordinate their efforts against Aksak Timur. They held talks on creating an anti-Tamerlane alliance with the participation of these great states. In the chronicle of Ibn Tagribirdi it was stated that Toktamys, the Ottoman ruler Bayazid, the Mamluk sultan Barkuk, the emir of Sivas Ahmad Burkhan ad-Din, the ruler of Kara-Koyun Kara Yusuf, the Jalayirids, the ruler of Mardin and the Turkmen Emirate were members of the anti-Tamerlane alliance [Takkush, 1998, p. 382–390]. But right during the negotiations, Tamerlane attacked one of the main initiators, Toktamys, and forced the Tatars out of active international politics.

In 1394 the situation on the Caucasian border of the Golden Horde became very tense again. Aksak Timur's troops attacked Georgia in order to seize the Dariel Gates [Istoriya Gruzii, 1962, p. 258]. And the Golden Horde troops, going through Derbent, moved against the enemy's rear [Safargaliev, 1996, p. 419] and cut off Tamerlane's army from all the communication supplies, threatening to leave it surrounded. Aksak Timur had to retreat [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 173]. He stopped in Northern Azerbaijan to spend the winter and ordered the recruitment of additional troops. Russian chronicles note that Tamerlane gathered 'from all... countries... numerous detachments' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 8, p. 65; 24, p. 160–161; 25, p. 222].

Trying to gain time and escape Toktamys's vigilance and, according to Sharaf ad-Din Yazdi 'to create an excuse', Tamerlane sent ambassadors with an offer of peace [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 174]. According to Nizam ad-Din Shami, Khan Toktamys 'was inclined towards peace and friendship' [Ibid., p. 119]. But his ambassador who was sent subsequently discovered the invasion of the enemies. Toktamys 'sent vanguard troops to protect the crossing of the Koy-su River' [Ibid., p. 119, 175] and began to gather other troops. The Tatars guarded every crossing and built fortifications. The whole army received an order to gather near the Kuray River. Khan

Toktamys came from Sarai with the existing army and established himself on the left bank of the Terek, preventing the enemy from crossing. But, Ruy González de Clavijo relates that Tamerlane was particularly clever and crossed the Terek River, crushing the Tatars' fortification structures [Ruy González de Clavijo, 1990, p. 144].

On 14 April 1395 the two armies faced each other. None of the sources give any details about the size of either army. Some historians suggest that Tamerlane had approximately 300,000 warriors [Khizriev, 1982, p. 49]. Turkish historian and traveler Evlia Çelebi, based on Tatar stories, stated that Tamerlane had 'three times one hundred thousand' troops [Çelebi, 1979, p. 142]. Given that Tamerlane had increased the number of rearguard corps and other military units and the fact that, after the battle, his army fought on the territory of Ulus of Jochi for another year, we can assume that it was greater than in 1391 and reached up to 350–400 thousand people. There were supposedly slightly less Golden Horde troops. According to Ruy González de Clavijo, 'it was a great and glorious victory, because Totamikh (Toktamys—I.M.) had an enormous army, and it was one of the greatest battles that Tamurbek had won, even, they say, more (important) than that with the Turk' [Clavijo, 1990, p. 144].

According to different sources, the battle lasted three days [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 442, 448, 454, 466; 1941, p. 207; Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 11, p. 159]. On the first two days Toktamys had the initiative, and the Tatars nearly captured Tamerlane himself [Khizriev, 1982, p. 51]. According to Ibn Arabshah, before the third day of the battle, a commander of the right wing left Toktamys [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 465–466], likely bribed by Tamerlane. The left was also very weakened, which is why Toktamys sent some right wing tumens to the left wing. But it didn't help. The Tatars were destroyed at the end of the third day of the battle, and the army scattered. After the battle of 1395, Toktamys 'went towards Bulgar to a wooded area' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 178].

The victorious Tamerlane started to systematically devastate and destroy the Ulus of Jochi's military potential, first of all, by devastating Golden Horde cities. Russian chronicles note that Aksak Timur 'made a big fight and many rebels came to the Horde... many a quarrel happened, many were killing and achieving victories, conquering many enemy detachments and having unearthed many cities, killed many people... and went through all the Tatar land' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 5, p. 247–248]. Evlia Çelebi saw many cities destroyed by Tamerlane even in the 17th century. He noted that 'Khan Tamerlane reduced this region to ruins and debris, and its people were burnt at the stake'. And he talked about Sarai, the ruins of which in the 17th century could be 'seen from a distance of a two-day walk', with particular anguish. Tamerlane 'destroyed and devastated this stately city so much, that it was worthy of regret, and

he killed and hacked its residents to pieces', [Çelebi, 1979, p. 109, 135]. The testimony of Evlia Çelebi is confirmed by much archaeological data [Rtveladze, 1972, p. 42–47; Egorov, 1997, p. 72–76; Fedorov-Davydov, Vajner, Muhamadiev, 1970, p. 68–171; Fomichyov, 1981, p. 219–241]. Majar, Azak, Hajji Tarkhan, Sarai al-Jadid and many other cities were destroyed. Evlia Çelebi, most likely based on some Tatar sources, even mentions a specific number: 'there were 170 large cities at all ends of Desht-i Qipchaq. All the cities mentioned were destroyed by the powerful Khan Tamerlane' [Çelebi, 1970, p. 143].

Timur wanted to leave the country as devastated as possible. His army worked on destroying cities for over a year and killed the residents. When the spring of 1396 came, Tamerlane gave the order to retreat and went to Iran through the Caucasus, taking plundered goods and captives.

§ 2. Edigü and His Time

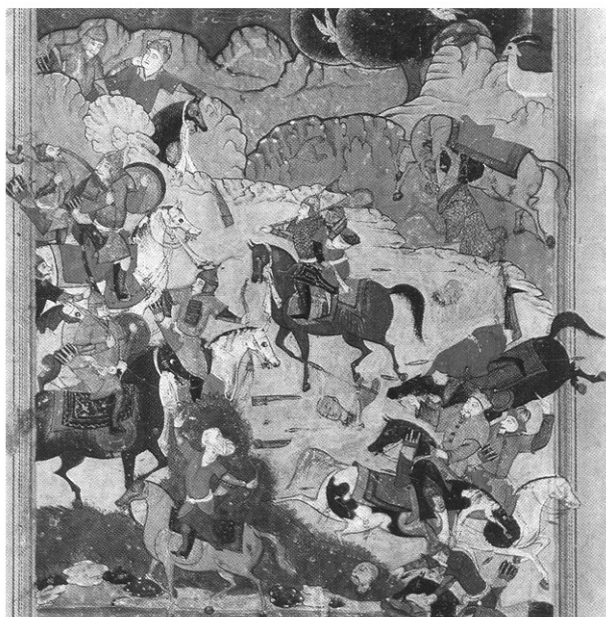
Iskander Izmaylov

Tamerlane's invasion had basically destroyed the Ulus of Jochi. Cities laid in ruins, day-to-day life for many people had been shattered. After the military campaigns and devastation, hunger and diseases set in. The plague returned again, which raged till 1405 in some parts of the country. Ibn Arabshah gave a very vivid description of these events: 'the residents of Desht who had prospered are now impoverished and devastated and deserted, destitute, and suffer from unbearable perversions. It has reached the point where if someone would travel through it (Desht) without a leader or head, than they, due to the devastation of the (region), would definitely perish while they were traveling. In summer the winds blow the sand and hide and sweep the way for a traveler, and winter snow, falling there, gathers on it and covers it so that all the land of it (Desht) is wasteland and its houses are deserted, its camps and watering places are abandoned, its routes, in all like-

lihood, are dangerous and inaccessible' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 470–471].

A single state ceased to exist, because Khan Toktamysch had escaped to the borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, leaving it to fend for itself. As a result, the country ended up divided into several uluses. Khan Toktamysch established himself in the Black Sea Region, Tash Timur (Bash Timur)—in Crimea, Koyurchak (Kuyurchak)—in Sarai and the Lower Volga Region, and Timur Qutlugh ruled in the Trans-Volga Region (for another, obviously, distorted picture of historical events see: [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 174]). The positions of the rulers in these uluses were unstable, and their borders were amorphous and changeable. It seemed that under these conditions the break up of the Ulus of Jochi was unavoidable.

But some political figures didn't want this to happen. There was a small chance left to preserve the integrity of the state. From 1395



Timur's battle with the Turkish Sultan Bayezid. Miniature.
Iran. 15th century.

to 1397, it appears that the whole Kok Horde was united under the rule of Sultan Temür Qutlugh (Temür Qutlugh) and his ulug karachibek Edigü. It was here that human and economic resources were preserved that would become the core around which Ulus of Jochi would consolidate. In 1398, Edigü led troops in an invasion of the Lower Volga Region. After conquering the city of Sarai al-Jadid, Edigü declared Temür Qutlugh khan. In a short time, they defeated Koyurchak, then subdued the North Caucasus and Azak, forcing Toktamysch to escape to Kiev, to the court of the Grand Prince of Lithuania Vytautas. By the end of 1393 and beginning of 1399 their troops had seized Crimea, taking the main port city of Kaffa, which one of Toktamysch's sons had been defending. Several years later, Spanish Ambassador Ruy González de Clavijo, describing these events, wrote that 'Edigü attacked the city of Kaffa, because Totamikh's son (that is, Toktamysch's.—I.I.) had escaped to Tamurbek' [Clavijo, 1990, p. 144]. In spring 1399 the entire Jochid State was united under the rule of Temür Qutlugh.

Next came an epoch in which Edigü was to be the main character. The fate of this extraordinary and controversial Turkic-Tatar military leader and statesman is a vivid illustration of

the complex and controversial period of history of the Ulus of Jochi from the end of 14th to the beginning of the 15th centuries. His life and actions against the backdrop of the epoch often drew the attention of contemporaries and historians (for more details see: [Fakhretdin, 1996, p. 110–114; Bartold, 1963a, p. 797–804; Yakubovsky, 1947, p. 30–45; Safargaliev, 1960, p. 178–195, 227–229; Grekov, 1975, p. 223 et seq.; Izmailov, 1992a; 1994; Seleznyov, 2001]). And the epic poem created in his honour has been preserved by many Turkic peoples that were the successors of the people of the Ulus of Jochi. It has also become the subject of much scrutiny [Isanbet, 1940; Zhirmunsky, 1974, p. 351–386; Urmanche, 1999]. The role and the importance of Edigü has been an object of political manipulations and defamation repeatedly in the history of the Tatars (for more details see: [Le-

ushin, 1996, p. 85–95; Izmailov, Gibadullina, 1996, p. 96–114; Iskhakov, 1997, p. 194–205]).

By 1398 Edigü was a mature person who taken a thorny path. He was born, possibly, in the Aral Sea Region no later than the mid 1350s (for other points of view see: [Muhamedyarov, 1967, p. 474; Seleznyov, 2001, p. 55]). His family belonged to the Manghit (Ak-Manghit) clan, the upper aristocracy of the Kok Horde. His father, emir Baltychak (Balynmak) was one of the karachibeks of Urus Khan and his son Timur Malik [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashhixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 133]. For reasons that remain unclear, Edigü interrupted his career at the court of Timur Malik and escaped to Aksak Timur, where at this time sultan Toktamysch was also hiding. Trying to put a loyal person on the throne of the Kok Horde, emir Tamerlane provided him with military support. After a series of campaigns, battles and defeats in 1377/78, Toktamysch conquered Sygnak and was declared khan of the Kok Horde. Former khan Timur Malik was executed along with a few of his emir confidants, among whom was Edigü's father. But Toktamysch left his son Timur Qutlugh alive and even made Edigü his atalyk. Judging by eastern authors, at that time Edigü was one of Toktamysch's authorised

representatives. According to Ibn Arabshah, a historian who treated him favourably, 'emir Edigü was one of Toktamys's main emirs of the left side noblemen who were elected at the time of disasters to resolve them, and among those of sanity and intelligence; his tribe was called Kungrat' [Ibid., p. 457]. His military and diplomatic talents contributed to the growth of Toktamys's authority among the clan aristocracy and to his final victory. Most likely he also took part in the campaign against Mamai (1379–1380), and then in the conquest of Moscow as well (1382). However, at that moment his relations with the khan deteriorated. There is a hypothesis that Toktamys preferred the representatives of the traditional Ak Horde aristocracy to him. In any case, Edigü, believing that his efforts were not appreciated, organized a conspiracy in which he involved a few sultans, including his young pupil Timur Qutlugh. The conspirator's plans were uncovered and in the winter of 1388/89, Edigü and a few Jochids had to escape to Samarkand. They subsequently spent long years away from their homes. Forgotten and neglected, the exiles spent a few years at the court of Aksak Timur. But there Edigü encouraged the Asian ruler to start a war against Ulus of Jochi [Ibid., p. 459].

They had a chance to return in 1391, when the emir, in command of a huge army, headed through the deserts of the Aral Sea Region and steppes of the Trans-Volga Region against Toktamys. Edigü and other sultans of the Kok Horde took part in this campaign and, with the sultan's rebels 'of the left arm', was in the battle at the Kondurcha, contributing to the defeat of the Golden Horde khan. Tamerlane wanted to preserve his power over the lands of the Kok Horde, but Edigü didn't allow him to do that. He betrayed his patron once again. When Tamerlane went back to his own lands, he stayed there. Edigü headed armies of his supporters and occupied Saray-Jük. According to the author of 'The Anonymous of Iskandar', Temür Qutlugh and Edigü 'stayed behind Tamerlane and returned with the desire to (take away) the Öz Beg ulus... When they received news that Temür Qutlugh had arrived, all the tribes began to stay behind (him), Chintek and his en-

tourage escaped, and Temür Qutlugh took the kingdom, and Edigü the emirate' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 133]. Diplomatically balanced between Tamerlane, to whom ambassadors were sent with the assurance of allegiance, and Toktamys, who was gaining strength, and whose sovereignty was formally acknowledged by Temür Qutlugh, Edigü managed to protect his possessions from participating in the military escapades of this khan. Waiting for Tamerlane to leave the devastated Volga Region and for the country to plunge into turmoil, Edigü once again entered into a power struggle in the country in 1397. Several victorious campaigns allowed him to unite the country again in the beginning of 1399. Russian chronicles state that Toktamys, 'tsar of the Great Horde', had just sent his ambassadors to all countries, notifying them that he had 'defeated the evil' caused by the invasion of Aksak Timur, when 'some tsar named Temür Qutlugh came suddenly and drove him out... [taking] the throne of the Horde and Sarai' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 448].

By then, Edigü had become, in fact, a ruler with unlimited power, ulug karachibek under a young khan. All his previous life and actions were only steps to the summit of power, for the sake of which he fought, conspired, betrayed former allies, remained indifferent to his father's death, endured privations in campaigns and ate the bitter bread of expulsion. He reached his goal and could finally start to do what he wanted, to restore the supreme power of Ulus of Jochi. It is an irony of history that all his previous struggles with Toktamys served to destroy the centralized empire, and then, after taking power, Edigü began to fight to strengthen it, implementing policies to put down separatism.

Meanwhile, indomitable Toktamys retreated to the possessions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania together with his Horde—relatives, warriors, their families and numerous wagons and herds. According to a chronicler, he 'fled from the Horde to Kiev with tsarinas and two sons' [Ibid., p. 449], and according to Polish historian Yan Dlugosz, he had a few thousand warriors [Dlugosz, 1868, p. 495]. He presented

himself there as the rightful leader of the Golden Horde and offered Grand Prince Vytautas an alliance against Edigü. In return for military assistance, Toktamys̄h was ready to make certain territorial concessions, and also to acknowledge Vytautas' right to Pskov, Novgorod and Muscovite Rus. According to the author of a record in the Novgorod IV Chronicle, 'Vytautas boasted to the Horde, saying, 'Let us go to capture the Tatar lands, defeat Tsar Temür Qutlugh, divide his tsardom and possessions; and make Tokhtamys̄h the tsar in the Horde, and I will reign in Moscow, in all Russian lands, and Veliky Novgorod and Pskov will be mine too'. This alliance assumed mutual military assistance. 'After conferring with Toktamys̄h, Vytautas said, "I will make you the tsar in the Horde, and you will make me the great prince in Moscow and all the Russian land" [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 4, p. 103; Priselkov, 1950, p. 450; Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 11, p. 172; 15, p. 458]. Taking advantage of the favourable situation, Vytautas was able to secure support from the Teutonic Order, which sent its military detachment in exchange for a promise to yield Pskov to them.

A completely new balance of power was beginning to emerge in Eastern Europe. If Vytautas could have managed to beat Edigü and restore Toktamys̄h's authority, then they, together with the Order, would have been able to crush Moscow and make Lithuania the centre of the union of all the Russian principalities. Grand Prince Vasily Dmitriyevich of Moscow kept an eye on the preparations of his warlike neighbor and mortal enemy with utmost concern, but could do nothing to prevent it. He had no armed forces capable of resisting the forces of Lithuania, Toktamys̄h and the Order. Furthermore, we can say that a significant number of the Russian princes (Andrey and Dmitry Ol'gerdovich), which had at one time fought at Kulikovo Field under the banners of Moscow, now made up the backbone of Vytautas' army.

Expecting to succeed easily over the weakened Tatars, Vytautas, in response to the demand of the ambassadors of Temür Qutlugh to 'release our fugitive tsar Taktamys̄h' answered arrogantly, 'I will not release tsar Taktamys̄h, I want to see the tsar' [Novgorodskaya per-

vaya letopis', 1950, p. 394] and moved from Kiev to the south, to the steppe (the details see [Lyaskoronsky, 1907, p. 18–38]).

Vytautas gathered a large army under his command. Apart from Lithuanian and Samogitian regiments, he was supported by vassal Russian princes, Polish armies of Grand Prince Spytek of Podolia, which consisted of 400 'spears' (a spear is a small unit that included a knight, equestrian and foot military servants, not less than three), Order troops of 100 'spears', and also Toktamys̄h's cavalry. According to a Russian chronicler, a contemporary of these events, 'Prince Vytautas Kestutisovich of Lithuania had gathered many warriors, tsar Toktamys̄h with his court was with him, and Vytautas involved the Lithuanians, Germans, Poles, Samogitians, Tatars, Vlachs, Podolians, and there were 50 princes with him, and the strength of the army was great' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 450]. Military innovations included the use by Vytautas of 'wrought wagons' equipped with small guns, bombards, which later were successfully used by Czech Hussites. The troops marched slowly and reached the Vorskla river, where they found a camp of Temür Qutlugh. By surrounding himself with a wall of wrought wagons 'on iron chains, with many muskets and cannons and crossbows' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11, p. 173], Vytautas issued an ultimatum to recognize himself (khan) as a vassal of Lithuania and to pay 'taxes and tributes'.

The sight of the great allied army made Temür Qutlugh waiver; he tried to gain time by entering into negotiations in order to wait for Edigü's tumens who had fallen behind. But Vytautas, seeing this as a weakness, made stricter requirements, demanding not only formal vassalage, but an actual one, so that 'the sign of Vytautas was on the money of the Horde' [Ibid.], that is, Vytautas' stamp on Golden Horde coins. In the meantime, Edigü's army arrived and, indignant at the course the negotiations were taking, responded to Vytautas' proposal using deliberately offensive language. 'Truly, you took our free tsar of the Great Horde as a son, but you are old and our tsar of the Great Horde Temir' Kutluj is young; but you should understand this: ... as I'm old before you, you are

young before me, and I should be your father, and you will be my son...' [Ibid.]. It was an invitation to fight.

In the morning of 12 August 1399, two enormous armies clashed in a bloody battle that decided the fate of all of Eastern Europe, since its military historical meaning far exceeded that of the Battle of Kulikovo, for example. The fight was long, cruel and bloody, according to the Chronicles, 'Such had never been seen in the Lithuanian land with the Tatars' [Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis', 1950, p. 394]. During the battle, Lithuanians used cannons and other firearms and crossbowmen. For a long time neither side could gain the upper hand. But at a key moment of the battle when Vytautas had exhausted his resources, Edigü managed to attack successfully, apparently using a tactical maneuverer (for further detail see [Izmailov, 1994]). Vytautas' troops faltered. The retreat quickly became a total rout. As a result, the allied troops suffered a crushing defeat: 'The Tatars beat many Lithuanian princes and voivodes and boyars and many Christians, Lithuanians, Germans, Poles and many other people were killed, and there were not many of them alive' [Priselkov, 1950, p. 450]. Suffice to say that on the battlefield or during the retreat Polotsk prince Andrey Olgerdovich, Bryansk prince Dmitry Olgerdovich, Kievian prince Ivan Borisovich, Smolensk prince Gleb Svyatoslavich, Volyn prince Dmitry of Volyn, Rylysk prince Fyodor Patrikeevich, Belsk prince Ivan Yuryevich and Podolia voivode Spytek were killed, and 'all the famous princes 74' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 4, p. 104; 15, p. 165, 458; The Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis', 1950, p. 395; Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 5, p. 251; 25, p. 229]. Chasing the fleeing warriors for '500 versts', Edigü's troops reached Kiev, where they took a large ransom and devastated Southern Rus' up to Lutsk [Ibid.]. Although Toktamys and the Great Prince Vytautas managed to avoid death, their plans were crushed. And it can certainly be said that the idea of Rus' unifying around Lithuania was crushed on the banks of Vorskla. The bravery and courage of the Tatars saved Moscow's future as the political centre of Rus'.

The time of Edigü had come. After defeating Toktamys and his ally Vytautas, he defended the unity of the Jochid Ulus and began to consolidate his power. According to his panegyrist Ibn Arabshah, 'the affairs were regulated by Edigü's decrees: he assigned sultans and removed rulers at his liking; if he ordered anything, no one would oppose it; if he drew a line, no one would cross it' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 472]. An Egyptian official and historian Badr al-Din al-Ayni wrote of him as 'the Emperor of Desht, Sarai and Nordic countries... the ruler of the Crimea, Sarai and other land of Desht', calling him 'the great Emir, rightly' [Ibid., p. 532]. This is also evidenced by a Russian historian of the later time, 'this prince Yedigei of the Horde is greater than all other princes of the Horde, he holds the entire kingdom in his hands and to his will' [CCRC, 11, p. 206]. The glory of Edigü's power reached Timur's court. The Spanish ambassador Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo wrote about him as 'the Senor of Tataria', 'Emperor of Tataria' [Clavijo, 1990, p. 144, 151]. In other words, he had become not just Edigü ulug karachibek but the de facto ruler at the nominal rule of the Chinggisid khans. With his direct support the Kurultai elected khans, who had just representative functions. So, after the death of Timur Kutlug (1399/1400) Shadi Beg took the throne (1400–1407), then Bulat-Sultan (1407–1411), and later Timur (1411) was enthroned. Edigü's exalted place in the Horde's hierarchy is confirmed by an official document, which emerged from the Khan's chancellery: the Tarkhan yarliq for Timur Kutlug expressly states that Edigü 'led... oglans of the right and left wings, heads of thousands, hundreds and dozens of soldiers' [Berezin, 1851 p. 10; Samoylovich 2005, p. 198, 208; Usmanov, 1979, p. 206].

Edigü's reign was marked by a number of measures to streamline social relations, first of all, to confirm land and property rights of loyal emirs and resolve inter-clan issues. This included strengthening the positions of the clans that supported him in the first place, obviously, the Manghits and Kungrats. At the same time, Edigü's government tried to improve the au-

thority of the judiciary system. Eastern sources write about the 'order', established by him in the country, 'fine customs' ('tura') and the 'great law' ('Iasa'), which were not always met with approval by autocratic emirs.

In order to strengthen the financial system, Edigü sought to stimulate trade and stabilize the circulation of money by the monetary reform of 802 / 1399–1400, which actually led to the replacement of old coins with new issues on behalf of the khans Shadi Beg and Bulat. However, it did not result in any noticeable revival of trade [Fedorov-Davydov, 2003, p. 54–59]. The effectiveness of those efforts was negligible, since most of the Volga Region towns laid in ruins, the international and domestic trade stood disrupted. Evidence of this in the coinage at the beginning of the 15th century was concentrated in regions with relatively high levels of domestic and foreign trade such as in the Crimea, Azak, Bulgaria and others, while it had almost completely ceased in Sarai and the Lower Volga Region.

The Spanish ambassador de Clavijo noted an interesting thing that 'this Yedegui turned and is turning the Tatars to the Mohammedan faith, recently they have not believed in anything, yet now they have adopted the faith of Mohammed' [Clavijo, 1990, p. 144]. These words are accompanied by the opinion of another European, who lived in the Northern Black Sea Region in the early 15th century—the Italian merchant and diplomat I. Barbaro. Describing the religious situation in the Jochid Ulus, he says, 'the Mohammedan faith has become commonplace for about a hundred and ten years ago among the Tatars. However, earlier, only a few of them were the Mohammedans, and in general everyone could freely adhere to the faith which he preferred. There were those, who worshiped wooden or rag idols and carried them on their carts. Compelling them to accept the Mohammedan faith dates back to Edigü's time, who was the commander of the Tatar khan...' [Barbaro and Contarini, 1971, p. 140]. Even more compelling evidence of the widespread victory of Islam among the nomadic population of the Jochid Ulus is provided by archaeological data. The rite of pagan burial mounds was used occasionally in the second half of the 14th century.

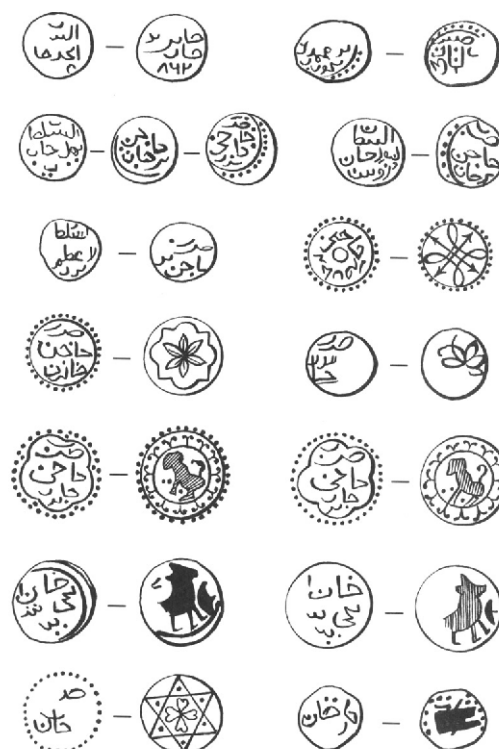
But at the beginning of the 15th century it was replaced by Muslim ground burials and burials in mausoleums (keshene) almost everywhere [Fedorov-Davydov 1966, p. 9 et al.; Garusovich et al., 1998, p. 257–259]. The dissemination of Islam in the Jochid Ulus in the second half of the 14th century can be attributed to several reasons, among which the increased religiosity of the population as a result of the Black Death, as well as a deliberate policy of the authorities with the aim of consolidating the country's population.

To overcome internal fragmentation in the country, Edigü had to suppress the separatist clan aristocracy, which used any excuse for rebellion. Thus, after the sudden death of Timur-Qutlugh Khan, according to Nizam al-Din Shami, a Timurid court historian, 'Timur-Qutlugh Khan died in the Öz Beg region, his ulus rebelled and they are at war with each other and fighting. For this reason, the region was turned upside down' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 125]. Edigü was able to suppress the rebellion and enthroned the new Khan, Shadi Beg, a son of Qutlugh-Bek and descendant of the third son of Tuqai-Timur, Urung-Timur. It is possible that in the words of the author 'Anonymous of Iskender' that during the interregnum Edigü 'had to put Shadi Beg Oghlan on the throne, who was the oldest and best known for his righteousness and abilities' [Ibid., p. 133], to make a compromise with the clan nobility, who were not fond of Edigü's autocracy and were counting on the loyal Khan.

However, neither he nor the new Khan considered themselves safe as long as Toktamysch was alive. He was their main rival in the struggle for power and the center of gravity of all the discontented. A former Khan, who was evidently forced to leave Lithuania under the terms of the Horde-Lithuanian Peace Treaty. He fled to Ulus Shibani, where he apparently had supporters. Here Toktamysch gathered an army and tried to regain power. Edigü was forced to fight against him. Ibn Arabshah, presenting some legendary version of the confrontation, says that Toktamysch and Edigü fought 15 times, with varying success, and Toktamysch was defeated only on the sixteenth time [Col-

lection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 470–471]. It is obvious that Toktamys'h's gradually supporters melted away, and according to the Persian historian Yazdi, he 'roamed the steppes confused and in a bad position' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 189].

In such a desperate situation Toktamys'h was forced to seek help from Aksak-Timur. The Spanish ambassador de Clavijo, who served at that time at the court of Timur, wrote that 'Totamikh (Toktamys'h— I.I.), the Emperor of Tartaglia and Tamurbek have reconciled and are trying to deceive Edigü together... This Totamikh and his sons are alive and (are) friends of Tamurbek' [Clavijo, 1990, p. 144]. Aksak Timur, faithful to his policy, started to intrigue with Edigü, pretending to offer him friendship and even promising to marry one of his grandsons to his daughter, but according to the Spanish envoy, Edigü answered 'that he knows him all too well and all his tricks and that such tricks will not fool him, that he realizes that all these arguments are only to deceive him, and if they do become friends, then only on the (battlefield) in arms' [Ibid.]. But Timur was in no hurry to meet Edigü on the battlefield. His plan was a huge campaign against China, for which he started collecting a huge army in Otrar. Timur said to Toktamys'h's ambassador that 'after this expedition with God's help, I will conquer Ulus of Jochi again and give it to you (that is, Toktamys'h)' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 189]. However, Edigü was ready to fight with Timur. He began to prepare for an open clash with the ruler of Maverannahr. However, as Eastern authors write, 'the mark of fate had a different pen'. Timur died in Otrar before the campaign on 18 February 1405, and a brutal war for power began between his descendants. The defeat of Toktamys'h, left without such a powerful ally, was a matter of time. He was gradually surrounded, defeated and killed in a battle, and his sons drifted off to (different) sides: Jelaled-din and Kerim Berdi to Russia, while Kubal and the rest of the brothers went to Saganak' [Collection of Works Related to the History



Anonymous pulis of Hajji Tarkhan. Early 15th century (according to G. Fedorov-Davydov)

of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 471–472]. A Russian chronicler reporting on these events wrote: 'That same winter (6914), Shadi Beg Khan killed Tsar Tokhtamys'h in the Simbirk land' [Priselkov, 1950]. In the late (early 17th century) 'History' by Haider Razi, Toktamys'h's year of death is listed as 807 (10.07.1404–28.06.1405).

Freed from his archenemy, Edigü was able to attack the Timurids. Taking advantage of the turmoil after the death of Timur, he invaded Khwarezm and expelled the governor Timur. Then he made a raid on Mawarannahr. According to Ibn Arabshah, Edigü moved from Khwarezm 'with his cavalry to the Bukhara area and devastated it, but then he returned to Khwarezm... In Khwarezm and districts he assigned one of his men, named Anka' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 472]. According to Abd al-Razzaq Samarqandi, 'Emir Edigü took Khwarezm in Rajab 808 (23.12.1405–21.01.1406), and leaving Emir Anka as the ruler, rode to Desht'

[Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 193].

Edigü's decision to leave was dictated by a complicated situation in Ulus of Jochi, where in 1406 Khan Shadi Beg evidently had already begun to show independence and conspired against his ulug karachibek. Sources describe the conflict as the Khan's discontent with customs and laws established by Edigü, which 'put some people in difficult circumstances' [Ibid., p. 133]. Given these circumstances this should be clearly understood as the reluctance of the clan aristocracy to limit their power in favor of the central government. Moreover, their interests were expressed by the Khan, who was dissatisfied with the autocracy of his nobleman. As a result of a conspiracy disclosed to Edigü by someone who 'knew what he (Khan—I.I.) had in mind and wanted to do before the revolt' [Ibid.]. But he was too late. Shadi Beg learned of the failure of the conspiracy, 'ran to Derbent of Baku, and took refuge at the court of Emir Sheikh Ibrahim Derbend' [Ibid., p. 134]. Russian chronicles make it possible to specify the date of Shadi Beg's flight and Sultan Bulat's enthronement. The fact is that Grand Duke of Tver Ivan, who went to Sarai for his yarliq to rule on 20 July, found that there was 'great distress, Shadi Beg was ousted from the throne by Bulat Saltan' [Priselkov 1950, p. 465; *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 25, p. 236–237]. It turns out that disclosure of the conspiracy, and the escape and enthronement of Bulat Sultan took place in May–July 1407.

While in exile, he continued to consider himself the ruler of Ulus of Jochi, and even minted coins in his own name (up to 1408). It was a dangerous situation. At that time, his son Bulat (Pulad) was proclaimed Khan in the capital; he minted coins in Sarai al-Jadid, while a new hotbed of destabilization arose at the border. In response to Edigü's diplomatic pressure, Timur's protégé Sheikh Ibrahim, Emir of Derbent, refused to give Shadi Beg shelter [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 134]. However, in 811 / 1408–1409, the Khan suddenly died [Ibid., p. 134, 193, 212, 214], ending the political tension and strengthening Edigü's position.

One of Edigü's greatest military and diplomatic successes was his campaign against Moscow. Strengthening of the power of the Grand Duke of Moscow had long worried Edigü. During the confrontation between Timur and Ulus of Jochi, the princes of Moscow were able to expand their holdings and entangle other principalities in agreements limiting their sovereignty in favor of Moscow (such as Tver and Ryazan). Things reached the point that in 1399, in response to a campaign of Yentyak Sultan and Prince Semyon Dmitriyevich against Nizhny Novgorod to return the latter to power, apparently with Edigü's approval, the troops of the Grand Duke of Moscow Yuri Dmitriyevich struck a powerful blow to one of the most developed regions of the Horde—Bulgaria.

The official reason for the war was Edigü's demands specified in the yarliq to Vasily Dmitriyevich, written after the campaign in December 1408. The Grand Duke was obliged to pay tribute to 'as in the old days and truly' at a time when he had not gone to the Horde to receive yarliqs since the accession of Timur Qutlugh. It also listed 'grievances': supporting Toktamysh's children, mistreatment of ambassadors, increased trade tariffs for Tatar merchants, etc. (see: [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 4, 1, p. 406–407; 42 p. 172–173; *Sobranie gosudarstvennyx gramot i dogovorov*, 1819, p. 16–17; Gorsky, 2000, p. 196–197]). The fact that he was writing on his behalf, rather than in the Khan's name, suggests that the real power belonged to Edigü (there was recent a discussion among historians regarding the authenticity of "Edigü's yarliqs". A. Grigoriyev proposed to consider it a "letter", written by a Russian author in the middle of the 15th century [Grigoriyev 1988, p. 92–93], but A. Gorsky criticized his arguments and convincingly proved that it is an authentic document [Gorsky, 2000, p. 128–131]). In other words, there were a lot of reasons for organizing the campaign against Moscow, but Edigü's military and diplomatic options for that were limited for some time. First, he strengthened his power and fought against Toktamysh, then feared a new invasion by Timur. The time to bring Moscow to submission came only then.

The campaign was preceded by serious diplomatic preparations in order to weaken the power of Vasily I in Russia (Yuri Vsevolodovich's attempt to capture part of the estates in Tver, receipt of a *yarliq* by Prince Ivan and the capture of Pronsk with the help of a Tatar detachment) and aggravate his relations with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Edigü wrote a letter to Vytautas, notifying him of the alleged urgent requests of the Duke of Moscow to organize a joint campaign against Lithuania; conversely, Vasily was warned about the aggressive intentions of Vytautas ([Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 178–179; 18, p. 155] (see [Grekov, 1975, p. 247–266; Seleznev, 1999, p. 34–37])). The reality of this was confirmed by Vasily's hostile actions in accepting the service of a number of Lithuanian princes—Svidrigaylo Olgerdovich, Patrickei and Alexander Zvenigorodsky from Putyvl, Prince Semyon of Peremyshl, and other princes and boyars. In September 1408, a Tatar squad participated in the campaign together with Moscow troops against the forces of Vytautas, which ended in a confrontation on the Ugra River [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 23, p. 142]. In response to this confrontation, Edigü accelerated his preparations for the raid.

Wishing to deflect suspicion and dull Vasily's vigilance, a delegation came to Moscow in the autumn of 1408 with the words, 'please know, Vasily, the tsar comes to Vytautas to take his revenge for what he has done to your land. You should honor the tsar, and if not you, then your son should go to the tsar and some nobles in fear' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 182].

Just before Edigü's invasion of Moscow in early November, a Tatar defector arrived and 'told the Grand Duke Vasily Dmitriyevich, that the great prince of the Horde Edigü wanted to capture his land' [Ibid., p. 205]. Upon learning of the approach of the Tatar army, the Grand Duke sent a delegation headed by a certain Yuri, which was detained.

Edigü's invasion was swift. Winter campaigns were rare in the Middle Ages, since they required serious training of troops, sup-

plies, skillful organization and leadership talent. Edigü mobilized large forces for this campaign. Thus, according to Russian chronicles, the campaign involved 4 sultans: Buchek, Tengri-Birdi, Altyn-Emir and Bulat, as well as karachibeks and noble emirs: Muhammad, son of Iusup Suleiman; Tegin, son of Shah; Sarai, son of Urus-Shah; Ibragim, son of Temiryaz; Yaksha-Biy, son of Edigü; and Sentyali-Biy, Burak, Yerikli-Berdi, etc. In total, the army included more than 30,000 soldiers [Priselkov 1950, p. 468.; Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 179–184, 482–484; 18 p. 155–158]. It is unlikely that the Tatar army was larger (the indicated number is 70,000 soldiers [Seleznev, 2001, p. 61]), as it would have been impossible to feed people, and more importantly, horses, in winter conditions and with a raging plague in Russia.

On reaching the borders of Russia secretly, the army of ulug karachibek Edigü began their raid on Moscow on 23 November 1408 [First Novgorod Chronicle, 1950, p. 400]. Along the way, the army captured Pereyalsavl Ryazansky and Kolomna. Without having time to organize resistance, Grand Duke Vasily handed command over the defense of Moscow to Vladimir Serpuhovskiy and his own brother Andrei. The duke himself and his family rode hastily to Kostroma. On 1 December, Edigü approached Moscow, but the white stone walls armed with guns, were impenetrable to him. After making a camp in Kolomna, Edigü blockaded the city and sent large forces led by Sultan Tegri-Birdi in pursuit of the Grand Duke. Some groups began to ravage North-Eastern Rus', successively capturing and burning Rostov, Dmitrov, Serpukhov, Zvenigorod, Pereyalsavl Zalessky and other towns and villages up to Klin on the Tver border. At the same time, another part of the troops under the command of 'a prince' (perhaps Entyak) operated in the area of Nizhny Novgorod, 'A prince came to Nizhny Novgorod, with many of the Tatars with him, and the Bulgars, and the Mordva'. These troops took and burned Nizhny Novgorod, Gorodets and ravaged their surroundings up to 'Belogorodye' and almost reached Kostroma. Turning back, they 'fought and massacred the remnants of lo-

cal people', passed through Nizhny Novgorod, and came to the Sura River, where they took and burned the fortresses of Kurmysh and Sarah [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 15, p. 484].

Without siege engines for a direct assault on the well-protected city, Edigü sent a delegation to the Grand Duke of Tver, saying 'I hereby order you to come to Moscow immediately with your troops and with cannons and with mattresses, crossbows and all the vessels to ruin the walls of Moscow'. But the Grand Duke of Tver was in no hurry to execute the order and went to Edigü without guns and 'with a small squad'. Meanwhile, Edigü began to prepare for a long siege of the city, especially since Russia suffered from a drought and pestilence in the same year. He stood near the walls of Moscow for 3 weeks, when suddenly he received the news that one of Toktamys's sons, apparently Jalal ad-Din, attacked the Khan's camp, 'with a minor fight and without capturing the khan, but inspiring rebellions in the Horde, and after that he left'. Under these conditions, Edigü had to begin negotiations with the defenders of Moscow and took a huge ransom of 3,000 roubles. After that he moved to the Lower Volga Region, ruining the surrounding areas and taking people prisoners [Priselkov 1950, p. 468; Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 15, p. 179–184, 482–484; 18 p. 155–158].

Edigü's raid damaged the prestige of the Grand Duke of Moscow and the entire economy of North-Eastern Rus', weakening the anti-Horde coalition of Russian princes for some time. The campaign was successful in military terms, but its political results were very limited, inferior in its consequences to Toktamys's campaign in 1382, it demonstrated a general weakening of the Golden Horde in Russia. At the same time, it was a great success, a lesson to neighbors and vassals about how dangerous and even fatal it was to ignore the legitimate claims and rights of the Khans. Simultaneously it showed that forces ready to challenge Edigü were reaching the boiling point in Ulus of Jochi.

A special role in this was played by Toktamys's sons, among whom Jalal ad-Din (Zeleni-Sultan in Russian chronicles) stood out.

After being defeated by Edigü, he fled to Moscow to Vasily, where he became famous for fighting the Horde. It was not without reason that Edigü wrote directly to Vasily in his *yarliq*, 'You have Toktamys's children at your court, that is why I came with my army'. After the raid in 1408, Jalal al-Din retreated to Lithuania, where together with his cavalry he participated in the famous Battle of Grunwald against the Teutonic Order [Dlugosz, 1962, p. 57, 73, 198]. After this victory, Vytautas supported the Sultan to help him regain his father's throne, but first conquer the Crimea.

It is possible, as M. Safargaliev believed, that Bulat Khan was killed in the fight against Jalal al-Din for the Crimea [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 185]. The throne was taken by Timur Beg, son of Timur Qutlugh, 'because of the agreement that he had with his father, according to the author "Anonymous of Iskender", and the situation in the country stabilized again: the sick state has become well again' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 134]. The new Khan undertook a successful attempt to return the Azov Sea Region, and besieged and stormed Tana, which had apparently helped the rebellious sultan, who once again fled to the court of Vytautas.

At that time, events took place in Ulus of Jochi that were fatal to its subsequent fate. Timur Beg, was put on the throne by Edigü and gave his daughter to him as a wife, 'to narrow the access for instigators' talks, thanks to kinship' [Ibid.], became tired of guarding this power-hungry noble. According to Ibn Arabshah, a contemporary of these events, Timur Beg 'did not hand his reins to Idik, saying, "He has neither fame nor honor for him; I am a good ram that everyone obeys; I am a bull that everyone follows; how could I go after anyone?". There was a rift between the two of them, a hidden hypocrisy, which resulted in distress and misery, wars and hostilities' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 472–473]. According to 'Anonymous of Iskender', 'some time passed, and people really liked Timur Sultan, and they wanted to destroy Edigü. There was hostility and anger between them, they fought (with each other) once or twice. Since the Uzbeks have always

been striving for a power of Chinggis Khan's descendants, they, out of imitation or respect, went to serve at the court of Timur Sultan. And he became strong' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 134]. After a defeat from the troops of Timur Sultan, in 1410 Edigü fled to Khwarezm, which was apparently the center of his clan. While pursuing him, Timur Beg besieged Urgench, where fierce battles between the two of them took place again, but the Khan could not win [Ibid.].

The Khan's absence in the Volga Region benefited Sultan Jalal al-Din and his brothers. They took Sarai; a lot of emirs, 'who during the reign of their father saw a lot of prosperity, came to them, and others followed on their heels' [Ibid.]. Thus, Khan Timur Beg was left without the Khanate, and when he tried to move troops to Sarai, his army deserted him. He escaped and 'this disaster killed him'. According to another version, he was killed by rebellious emirs of his own troops, which besieged Urgench, and were sold out to the new khan [Ibid., p. 134, 193–194]. These events occurred in 814 (1411/12) [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 473]. Now it was the forces of Jalal al-Din that besieged the city where Edigü had taken refuge, but were unable to capture it. At the suggestion of Jalal ad-Din, they offered to make peace with Edigü, in which he had to recognize the power of the new Khan, give his son Sultan Mahmud as a hostage, and give up his wife,

Toktamys'h's daughter. Edigü agreed, and the troops withdrew from the city. However, the wily Khan did not want to leave Edigü alone. He sent a new army, which outnumbered Edigü's militia troops. But thanks to a ruse, Edigü defeated the army of Jalal al-Din, and captured a lot of his soldiers [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 194]. Then he migrated with his clan to the Aral Sea Region.

Timurid Shahrukh again tried to take advantage of civil strife in Ulus of Jochi and win Khwarezm, but suffered a humiliating defeat by troops of Edigü's emirs—his army fled as

soon as it heard a false rumor that the formidable Edigü was in a hurry to rescue the city [Ibid., p. 195].

Meanwhile, Jalal al-Din noticeably consolidated his power. It is significant that in 1411, the Grand Duke of Moscow Vasily Dmitriyevich and Ivan, Prince of Tver traveled to the court of Jalal al-Din to receive their yarliqs to rule [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 18, p. 161]. However, he was not destined to rule for long. A conflict broke out between the brothers. According to the author of 'Anonymous of Iskender', the rebellion was initiated by Tatar clans, who were unhappy that he had pushed them out of power. As a result, 'the emirs were distressed and tempted him (that is, Jalal al-Din—I.I.), the brother of Sultan Muhammad until he fantasized about ruling. Spurred on by the emirs, he stuck his head out of the collar of turmoil. After his brother had ruled for one year, he suddenly grabbed him on the throne at midnight and mercilessly killed him' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 134]. Be that as it may, Russian chronicles also report that 'our evil enemy, King Zeleni-Sultan Takhtamyshevich Umrah, was shot in the war by his brother, Kerim Birdi' [Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, 11, p. 219]. It is unknown whether the Horde suffered a series of palace coups, or different authors had different sources, but it is known that Kerim Birdi's coins were minted in the Crimea, Sarai and Hajji Tarkhan [Savelyev, 1858 p. 320–321; Muhamadiev, 1983, p. 121]. However, his reign did not last long. Unlike the brothers, he apparently took a pro-Moscow stance, and Vytautas organized his overthrow at the hands of other sons of Toktamys'h—Betsabul (Bakhtibek) and Kubek (Kopek) (see: [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 189–190]).

In 1413, Edigü's son was expelled from Khwarezm by Timurid Shahrukh [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 195], but the Manghits led by Edigü settled between the Volga and Ural rivers, once again becoming the base for a power struggle in Ulus of Jochi. In 1414, Edigü banished the sons of Toktamys'h and enthroned Khan Chekre (Chakra). Coins with his name

were minted in Sarai, Bulgaria and Hajji Tarkhan and dated back to 817–818 (1414–1416) [Saveliev, 1858 p. 324–325]. It is clear that his government was involved in constant warfare with another protégé of Vytautas, a son of Toktamys, Jabbar Berdi. Chekre apparently died in a war. In response to the support of the sons of Toktamys by the Lithuanian prince, Edigü undertook a raid on the south of Russia in 1416. This time, the devastation was really horrifying. According to a South Russian chronicler, 'Yedike, Hetman Tamerlyanov of the Tatar king captured the Russian land, and Kiev, and burned the Pechora Monastery, destroying it, depriving Kiev of its beauty, that it still has not managed to restore after that; but Yedike was unable to capture the fortress' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 2, p. 353].

However, in the same year, judging by the information of Abd al-Razzak Samarkandi, Jabbar Berdi 'forced Chinggis-Oglan (that is, Chekre—I.I.) to flee and seized the Öz Beg ulus' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1941, p. 195]. His position was clearly unstable. The following year, in 1417, he was overthrown by another protégé of Edigü—Darvish Khan—who united a considerable part of Ulus of Jochi under his rule, since his coins were minted in 820–821 (1417–1419) in Sarai, Saray-Jük, Hajji Tarkhan, Bulgaria and Derbent [Markov 1896, p. 503; Muhamadiev 1983, p. 122–123]. According to Arab sources, there was a man at Edigü's court 'who belonged to the family of Chinggis Khan, named Dervish, placed (above them) by Edigü as the khan, but (in fact) the authority to order and forbid was his (Edigü's). Dervish was khan in name only' [Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy', 1884, p. 532]. In 1417, Jabbar Berdi fled to the Crimea to the Italians, but Edigü's troops chased him, attacked Tana and destroyed it. Then Edigü stormed into the Crimea and besieged Kaffa. Following a long siege, the Genoese made peace with Edigü and expelled the son of Toktamys. He fled to Lithuania, where he died at the end of that year (see: [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 193]).

However, the fight for the khan's throne did not stop there. Vytautas provided considerable

support to another son of Toktamys—Kadyr Berdi—who was able to oust Edigü and Dervish from the Volga Region. According to al-Ayni, Toktamys's son Kadyr Berdi 'was constantly at war with Edigü because of the ruling. This year (that is, 822 AH / 1419–1420) Kadyr Berdi (again) went after Edigü; and Edigü (for his part) fought against him. They met, and there was a great fight and a fierce battle between them. A lot of people from both sides were killed; Kadyr Berdi (himself) was killed during the battle, and his companions fled. Edigü also suffered multiple wounds during the fight, and his troops also took flight'. 'Left alone, Edigü was the victim of a random group of Kadyr Berdi's soldiers, who found him wounded and "cut him to pieces' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 532]. There are other versions of his death; for example, Ibn Arabshah wrote that Edigü drowned [Ibid., p. 473]. All of this information is semi-legendary, suggesting that Edigü's death was the result of an accident.

This was how the life of this great warrior, commander and controversial statesman ended. Even hostile chroniclers called him 'Grand Prince in all the Horde, and of good courage, and strong, and exceedingly brave' [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, 11, p. 173]. After his death, the single great empire of Ulus of Jochi ceased to exist. According to al-Ayni, 'when all this happened, the Desht kingdom was governed by one of Chinggis Khan's family members, named Muhammad Khan, but constant turmoil and uprisings made things fall apart (finally)' [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 533].

Thus, a new attempt to restore the stability of Ulus of Jochi by successful government, ideological and economic reforms (strengthening centralization, monetary reforms, the introduction of Islam, etc.), made by a talented military leader and diplomat ulug karachibek Edigü really strengthened the country and removed internal strain for a while.

However, they could not restore its former stability. The time of great power of the Golden Horde had passed, and its fall was inevitable. This tragic event is vividly and eloquently narrated in the Tatar epic poem 'Edigü':

... A dark day has come to the world. The throne created by Chinggis became the seat where blood flowed. The Khan's Palace is gone. The ravaged land became empty. Azhdarakan, Kazan and Crimea became independent, and the Golden Horde broke up.

Even after Ulus of Jochi had collapsed, its historical destiny was not over, because the Tatar people who had gone through this period of history managed to preserve their rich culture. Post-Golden Horde khanates emerged on the territory of Jochid Ulus. They continued its ethnopolitical and culture and civilization traditions.

Among the most important consolidating factors were the preservation of the former so-

cio-political structures, the clan system, which went back to the history of Ulus of Jochi and united the Serving Tatars, as well as myths and ethnopolitical unity and a common religion—Islam. It is clear that the Muslims of the Golden Horde, especially the nobility and the nomadic population, were united not only by the adoption of Islam, but also through a special institution of Seyids (Seyds). It is no accident that in some late Golden Horde Tatar khanates Seyids (Seyds) served as heads of the local Muslim clergy, since their genealogy was allegedly traced back to a common ancestor who lived in the era of Ulus of Jochi [Iskhakov, 1997v, p. 21]. These very real ties and mechanisms of social and religious unity, of course, were based on the Golden Horde ethno-political unity and symbols, which originated from the idea of the unity of the 'Tatars' as the clan aristocracy, the 'upper crust' of society, throughout Ulus of Jochi.

CHAPTER 4

The Collapse of the Ulus of Jochi and its Legacy

§ 1. Agony of the Empire

Iskander Izmaylov

In 1420, when Edigü was defeated and killed in a battle with the sons of Toktamysh, the final collapse of the Empire began. Several contenders for power appeared in the country, who in fact divided it into separate principalities. In the western part of Ulus of Jochi, supported by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, power went to Ulug Mohammed, and the Kok Horde became a place of a fierce struggle between the Chinggisids.

At that time, the Kok Horde separated from Ulus of Jochi. The separation process was led by Ulus of Shiban. Hajji Muhammed became its ruler (1420–1430); he was the son of a descendant of Ali and Bahadur, the second son of Shiban and a grandson of Jochi. During the period of civil strife in 1416–1420, he supported Edigü in his struggle for power, fighting in his army against Kadyr Berdi. After Edigü's death, Hajji Muhammed did not recognize Khan Ulug Muhammed, and with the support of Edigü's son, the Nogai Murza Mansur, joined the right wing uluses of the Kok Horde. He founded the Siberian (Tyumen in the Russian tradition) Khanate with its center in Chinggi-Tur (now Tyumen), where he was proclaimed the Khan. In 1421, he became involved in a fight with another khan of the left wing of the Kok Horde, Barak, but was defeated and subordinated to him. Barak also began his career at the court of Edigü, but after his death he fled to Samarkand, to Timurid Ulugbek. Enlisting the support of his military forces, he returned to the Kok Horde and subjugated it. In 1421–1422, he invaded the Volga Region and defeated the forces of Ulug Muhammed, forcing him to retreat to Podolia. For a short time, he established his authority over most of Ulus of Jochi. In 1425, he even

minted his own coins in Bolgar. But in 1425–1426, he was defeated by Ulug Muhammed and withdrew to the Volga Region. He defeated Ulugbek there and ravaged Mawarannahr, forming his khanate with Sygnak as its capital.

Taking advantage of the weakening of Barak in 1427, Hajji Muhammed revolted against him, contributing to his defeat in the war with Moghulistan. After the death of Barak (1428), Hajji Muhammed united Siberian uluses from the Tura River and Tobol River with the Ishym under his rule. But when he started the war in the Aral Sea Region to annex the entire Kok Horde, it caused riots among the Siberian nobility. In 1428–1429, Hajji Muhammed won the battle near Jatar-Jalkin, defeating the rebel forces of Shibanid Jumadyk, proclaimed as the khan, and executed him. However, he was forced to pardon other rebels. Next year, they revolted again, supported by troops led by Nogai Murza's grandson Edigü Ukkas (Wakkas). The rebel shibanids proclaimed Abu-l-Khair, great-nephew of Hajji Muhammed, as their khan. In the battle on the Tobol River, Abu-l-Khair defeated Hajji Muhammed, took him prisoner and executed him (1430).

In 1431, Abul Khair invaded Khwarezm, where, with the support of a number of Tatar clans headed by the Kungrats and Manghits, he founded a new khanate, the so-called Öz Beg Khanate. In 1440–1443, he fought with Mustafa, the ruler of Hajji Tarkhan, and banished him. He fought with the Timurids. In 1446, he captured the Lower Syrdarya and Jend, Sawran and Sygnak. The latter became the capital of his Khanate. In the 1450s, Abu-l-Khair, seeking to consolidate his power, executed Ukkas, who caused discontent and

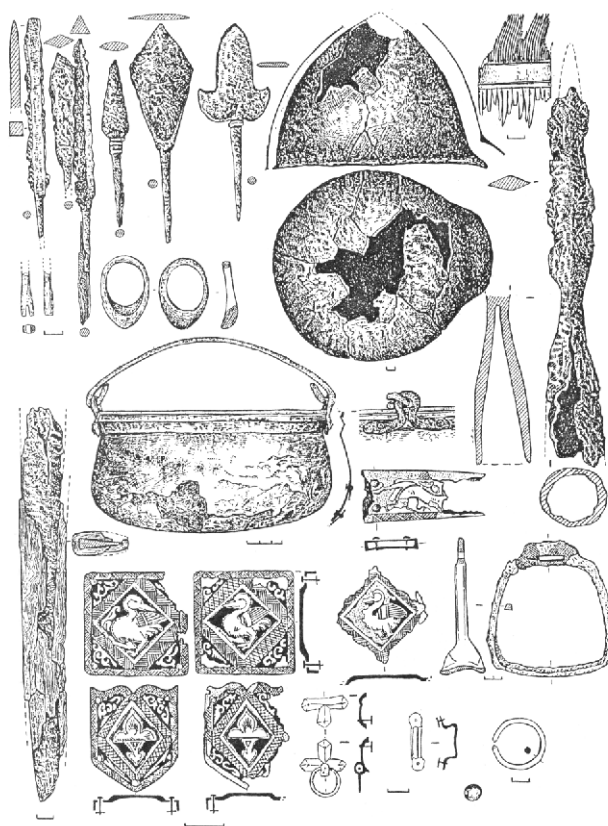
rebellion of the nomadic nobility and the Manghit clan. Taking advantage of his weakening in 1454, his lands were invaded by the Oirats (Kalmyks), headed by Uz-Timur-Tai-shi, who defeated his forces in the battle of Kuk-Kushany (near Sygnak) and forced him to sign a peace treaty. The weakening of his power led to the desertion from his troops by the Manghits and Kazakh horde led by Giray and Janibek, who formed their own Kazakh Khanate. In 1468, Abu-l-Khair undertook a campaign in Moghulistan, during which he died and was buried in Sygnak.

After the death of Edigü in 1419/20, Ulug Muhammed (Ulu Mahmed, Tsar Mahmed in Russian sources), supported by the Grand Prince of Lithuania Vytautas, took control of the western part of Ulus of Jochi. Ulug Muhammed was a son of Ichkele-Hassan, and a descendant of Tuqa-Timur, a son of Jochi (see: [Iskhakov, 2002]). Coins with his image started being minted in several uluses (Bulgar emirates, cities of the Lower Volga Region, etc.). In 1421/22, Ulug Muhammed was defeated in the war with Barak and retreated to the Lithuanian border. In 1423, Ulug Muhammed, with the support of Lithuanian Grand Prince Vytautas, defeated Barak and forced him out of the Crimea, and from the Volga Region in 1424/ 25. In 1426, Ulug Muhammed re-established his hold over the western part of the Golden Horde, strengthening his power, took part in campaigns against Rus' and the Livonian Order on the Lithuanian side (campaign to Pskov (1426) and Ryazan (1427). At the same time, Ulug Muhammad struggled with rebellious Chinggisids. In 1427–1429, he defeated Devlet Berdi, who was killed (1429), and took Crimea from him. The strengthening of Ulug Muhammed's power enhanced the international standing of the Golden Horde. In 1428, Ulugh Muhammad established diplomatic relations with Ottoman Sultan Murad II [Sultanov, 1978], and in 1431/32, taking advantage of the feud between Russian princes Vasily II and Yuri Dmitrievich, he strengthened the dependence of the Grand Principality of Moscow on the Golden Horde, issuing a yarliq for a grand principedom to Vasily II, on condition of reg-

ular tribute payments [Gorsky, 2000, p. 142–143]. Strengthening of the khan's power by Ulug Muhammed angered some of the nobility, especially Manghit (Nogai) biys. This was used by the Jochids opposed to Khan Ulug Muhammed, who started the offense against him. In the winter of 1436/37, he was attacked by Khan Kichi-Muhammed, and Nogai Emir Nawruz, son of Edigü, took his side. Their armies defeated Ulug Muhammed, forcing him to retreat to the north to the border between Rus' and Lithuania (winter 1437). Vasily II sent principal regiments, which multiply outnumbered the Tatars of Ulug Muhammed, who entrenched in the Lithuanian town of Belyov. However, the Moscow armies suffered a devastating defeat in the battle (5.12.1431).

After that, in spring 1438, Ulug Muhammed's clan apparently left for the Middle Volga Region. According to several historians (S. Solovyov, M. Khudyakov, R. Fakhrutdinov, and others), Ulug Muhammed subjugated Kazan in 1438. Entrenched in Kazan, Ulug Muhammed started an attack on the Grand Principality of Moscow. The excuse for military pressure on Moscow was that he considered himself the only legitimate ruler of Ulus of Jochi, to whom the Grand Prince of Moscow had the obligation to pay the 'Horde tribute'. In 1439, Ulug Muhammed suddenly approached Moscow and besieged it, after devastating its outskirts. The campaign apparently led to peace between Moscow and Kazan. However, in 1445, the Khan suddenly died. According to various reports, he was killed in a coup. His son Mahmud became the ruler of Kazan and actually the first Kazan Khan in fact and in law.

All in all, Ulug Muhammed Khan was an outstanding statesman and military leader of the Golden Horde. During his rule, the Golden Horde was united into a single state for the last time, with recorded contacts with many countries of medieval Eurasia, particularly with the Ottoman Turkey. Its defeat marked the beginning of a new era of the Tatar Khanates. He also played a great role in the formation of the Kazan Khanate, the national Tatar state, where a dynasty from his clan initially ruled. Thus, this historical figure united the



Findings from a burial. Middle Don region.
13–Mid-14th centuries
(according to V. Kravets, V. Verezutsky, A. Boiko)

Golden Horde and the new Kazan Khanate, establishing succession and consistent development of traditions.

After the expulsion of Ulug Muhammed, Kichi-Muhammed became the ruler of the western part of Ulus of Jochi. However, his rule was not strong and did not extend over the entire country. Hajji Giray, who took the Crimean throne from hands of Grand Prince of Lithuania Casimir in Vilnius, returned to Crimea, establishing his own Khanate. As early as 1443, he minted his own coins with the title of 'Supreme Sultan' in Qırq Yer. [Markov, 1896, p. 583]. The creation of a new Khanate was apparently supported by influential clans of Crimea—Yashlav (Suldzheut), as well as by Shirins, Baryns, and Arghyns.

Kichi-Muhammed (Kichi-Ahmad, Mahmet in Russian Chronicles) (1437–1450) was a son of Timur Khan and a grandson of Timur Qutlugh. He was apparently brought

up at the court of Edigü, and ruled autonomously in the Trans-Volga Region after Edigü's death. In 1436, taking advantage of the decline of Ulug Muhammed's power in Ulus of Jochi, Kichi-Muhammed invaded the Lower Volga Regions, where ulugh karachibek Nawruz, a son of Edigü went over to his side. In the late 1430s to early 1440s, after a number of internecine wars with Sayid Ahmad, who was entrenched in the west, Kichi-Muhammed took the Don and Volga River Regions. His power increased considerably in the 1440s, as evidenced by regular exchange of embassies with Moscow and the tribute paid by the latter. In 1442–1443, Kichi-Muhammed tried to launch an offensive against Rus', but was stopped at the Oka River. In the late 1440s and 1460s, Sayid Ahmad pushed him out of the Don River Region. In fighting with Sayid Ahmad, Kichi-Muhammed tried to find make the Grand Principality of Moscow an ally. Ulus of Kichi-Muhammed was the last fragment of the united empire of the Jochids—Ulus Ulug, which was

called the Great Horde in Russian, and this became the name of this state among contemporaries and in Russian historiography.

Kichi-Muhammed's opponent was Sayid Ahmad (Sedi Ahmad, Sidi Ahmad in Russian chronicles), who was a son of Kerim Birdi and a grandson of Toktamys. He lived at Ulug Muhammed's court, but after the decline of the latter's power in the Mid-1430s, he confronted him, traditionally relying on the support of Lithuania. After Ulug Muhammed was forced out of the steppe by Kichi-Muhammed (autumn 1437), Sayid Ahmad took Crimea, making it his ulus, and took the entire Black Sea Steppe in the early 1440s. From here, he undertook regular military campaigns against his neighbors, trying to subjugate them to his rule. In 1442, Sayid Ahmad invaded Podolia and came up to Lviv; in 1444 he invaded Lithuania; and in 1447, he again invaded Podolia. In 1449, he helped the rebellious prince

Mikhail, a grandson of Kęstutis, to take control of Kiev. The Khan's aggressive policy angered his own ulus. Supported by the Polish king Polish king Casimir IV and the Shirin clan, Sultan Hajji Giray separated in 1449 and declared himself a Khan, after retaking the Black Sea Region from Sayid Ahmad.

However, Sayid Ahmad himself managed to defeat Kichi-Muhammed and force him out of the Don River Region (about 1449). From here, the armies of Sayid Ahmad started invasions into Rus': Sultan Mazovsha besieged Moscow in 1441; armies invaded the Moscow region in 1449 and the Oka River Region in 1466. These raids resulted in tribute being regularly paid by the Grand Prince of Moscow Vasily II the Dark. However, during a campaign against Lithuania in 1456, Sayid Ahmad was defeated and captured by Prince Semen Olelkovich of Kiev. The defeat weakened his ulus, and it was taken by Khan Ahmad in the early 1460s.

Khan Ahmad (Ahmat, Ahmut in Russian sources), the Khan of the Great Horde (1459–1481), was a son of Kichi-Muhammed. Ulus of Ahmad or Ulug Ulus (the Great Horde in Russian sources) was situated in the Lower Volga and Don regions. The Grand Principality of Moscow refused to acknowledge his rule, which led to an invasion of Tatar forces into Rus'. In the summer of 1460, Ahmad campaigned against Pereyaslavl-Ryazansky, but after an unsuccessful siege he retreated to the steppe. The Moscow prince obviously came to certain terms with the khan, since major invasions temporarily ceased.

In 1469, Ahmad drastically strengthened his power after capturing the ulus of Sayid Ahmad and become the most powerful khan in the western part of Ulus of Jochi. This success allowed him to start active diplomatic efforts to enhance his international standing in the 1470s. In 1471–1474, he negotiated with Venice, promising his assistance in its struggle with the Ottoman Turkey; and in 1470–1471 he established a military alliance with the King of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth Casimir IV. Ahmad's military and political efforts were aimed at restoration of the powerful Ulus of Jochi. However, Crimea and Moscow opposed the strengthening of his power. The war



15th century dirhams 1–Devlet Birdi,
2–5–Ghiyas al-Din, 6–15–Ulug Muhammed
(according to A. Muhamadiev)

between Khan Ahmad and Rus' started in response to an attack of the Russian fleet on Sarai and its devastation (1471). In the summer of 1472, Ahmad invaded Rus', and bypassing the fortifications at the Oka River, besieged and took Aleksin on 31 July 1472. Here Ahmad waited for help from Casimir's army, which never came, and he retreated to the Horde.

Trying to weaken Ahmad's power, the Moscow Prince Ivan III established close ties with the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray in 1474 and the Kazan Khan Ibrahim (visit of Sultan Murtaza in 1472).

In 1476, Khan Ahmad invaded Crimea twice, defeated Mengli Giray, who was supported by the Ottoman Empire, and replaced him with his appointee Janibek, insisting on his rights to the entire territory of Ulus of Jochi. After consolidating his power in Horde, Ahmad sent an embassy demanding that Ivan III come for a principality yarliq and pay tribute (1476) (about relationships between Moscow and Ulug Ulus see: [Gorsky, 2000, p. 163–177]). After Ivan III refused, Ahmad started to prepare to war, but in 1477–1479 his power abruptly

weakened. In the spring of 1479, Khan Mengli Giray, supported by the Ottoman Empire, took control over Crimea, but the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates were opposed to strengthening of his power. After a long struggle, Ahmad defeated Öz Beg Khan Sheikh Haider and subjugated Astrakhan in 1479.

In 1479/80, Ahmad resumed the alliance with Casimir IV and started preparing for a major campaign against Moscow. In the summer of 1480, Ahmad invaded Rus', but was stopped at the Ugra River. The successful operations of Ivan III and the campaign of the Crimean khan against Lithuania prevented a successful outcome of the campaign and did not allow Casimir to provide him with military assistance. After standing at the Ugra until November 1480 and devastating the neighboring regions, Ahmad retreated. The actual defeat broke his power on the steppe. In the winter of 1480–1481, the Siberian Khan Ibak

(Aibak) and Nogai Murzas Musa and Yamghurchi opposed him. After attacking Khan Ahmad's quarters in the Don region, they destroyed it and killed the khan. After Khan Ahmad's death, the Great Horde actually collapsed. It finally ceased its existence, when the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray defeated Ahmad's sons in 1502 and started to call himself the khan of Ulug Ulus, claiming supremacy over the other khans of Ulus of Jochi. However, these claims were rather already more ideological claims that were supported by any real military and political power.

Thus, the collapse of Ulus of Jochi was inevitable after Edigü's death. For eighty years, the catastrophically collapsing empire went through violent agony, and new Khanates emerged within its territory—Siberian (1420), Crimean (1428), Kazan (1438) and the Great Horde (Ulug Ulus). A new ethnopolitical situation emerged.

§ 2. The Ulus of Jochi as the Precursor to the Russian State

Aleksandr Kadyrbayev

The sources of the phenomenon of the Russian imperial statehood, vividly embodied by the Muscovite state at its zenith and the Russian Empire, are based on the synthesis of three components: the old East Slavic state of Kievan Rus', the ideological and cultural tradition of the Byzantine Empire through the Orthodox Christian religion, and the imperial legacy of the Golden Horde.

The dispute over the Eurasian legacy of Ulus of Jochi is still relevant today. This is why the problem of the legacy of the Golden Horde is of considerable interest not only for Turkic nations of Eastern Europe and Central Asia, but also for Eastern Slavic and Finno-Ugric nations. The sources of this problem are rooted in the age of Mongol conquests of the 13th century.

With all its tragic elements, the Mongol age was not so clear and simple. This is also true for such complex conglomerates as the empires of Chinggis Khan and his first succes-

sors, including the Golden Horde. Therefore, a completely negative attitude to the entire Mongol conquest and everything related to it is obviously not entirely appropriate. In particular, this opinion was shared by a serious investigator of that epoch, V. Bartold [Bartold, 1963–1977, 1–9]. Created primarily as a result of bloody conquests, these empires subsequently played a civilizing role as well. After all, the creation of empires, despite all aversion to violence and blood, are human efforts at integration, although far from perfect. This is illustrated not only by the empires of the Achaemenids and Alexander the Great, Rome, Arab Caliphate, and the Ottoman, Russian, and British empires, but the actual results of the Mongol expansion. The states created after the campaigns of Chinggis Khan and his first successors, a vivid example of which was Ulus of Jochi, which also included Rus', were a motley picture in all respects. Moreover, much greater political stability was noted after the establish-

ment of these states across Eurasia from Eastern Europe to Central Asia and China.

In addition, the absence of spatial barriers within these widespread empires created the opportunity for convergence of Eurasian nations. For a long time, the cultures of Turkic, Mongol, Eastern Slavic, Finno-Ugric, Caucasian, and other nations of Eurasia were formed within in a single network. This brought them closer and largely determined the similarity of the lifestyle and outlook of these nations, and finally led to their association into multinational states, just like the empires of Chinggis Khan's descendants, such as Ulus of Jochi. Therefore, a strictly negative attitude toward them as 'wild' would be historically unfair.

After the collapse of Chinggis Khan's empire, the Old Eastern Slavic lands were included in Ulus of Jochi. The Mongols only brought their own social structure to the Dasht-i Kipchak steppes controlled by them; but with respect to Rus', the conquerers were satisfied with its total submission and establishing an institution of tax collectors (*baskaks*) within its lands, but without changing the social structure. Later, local Russian princes who accepted the rule of Ulus of Jochi, were charged with tax collection, as well.

The Russian Orthodox Church was exempted from taxation granted by special *yarliqs*, which protected church property from arbitrary decisions of secular authorities. This situation remained in Ulus of Jochi even after Khan Öz Beg declared Islam the official religion; this situation was unparalleled in other Islamic empires. In 1261, an Orthodox eparchy was established in Sarai, the Golden Horde capital. Thus, the Jochids, the descendants of Chinggis Khan, fulfilled his precept to be tolerant toward representatives of different religions. Therefore, the statement that the Russian Orthodox Church encouraged Russian society to struggle against the Golden Horde rule is debatable, as is the opinion that the defeat of Mamai's Horde forces at Kulikovo field undermined the power of Ulus of Jochi in Rus'. The victory of the coalition of Russian principalities led by Moscow over Mamai, who was not even a Khan of the Golden Horde and headed only part of

Golden Horde forces, was rather of moral and psychological importance, not for Ulus of Jochi, but for Rus' as its first major victory over Horde forces in over 150 years. soon after the battle of Kulikovo, Khan Toktamysch seized and destroyed Moscow, restoring the status quo. Ulus of Jochi was crushed by the Samarkand ruler Timur, the founder of a global empire from Asia Minor to the Chinese border, who undertook three campaigns into China. Towns of Ulus of Jochi were destroyed, and caravan routes moved south to Timur's lands. The Golden Horde was unable to recover from these shocks and collapsed into individual lands: the Great Horde, Crimean, Kazan, and then Astrakhan Khanates and Öz Beg Ulus, on ruins of which the Nogai Horde, and Kazakh and Öz Beg khanates were created, as well as the Grand Principality of Moscow, where the military organization, taxation system, embassy customs, and protocol tradition of state chancelleries operated according to Golden Horde examples, and the title of Khan and affiliation with the Chinggisid clan were very valuable. The Russian nobility would easily find correspondence for its titles in the Golden Horde system and consistently followed Horde practices [Trepavlov, 1998, p. 101–114]. Practices in Ulus of Jochi and in Rus' were so similar that as early as in the 15th century Russian tale 'Zadonshchina', Rus' was called 'Zalessky Horde'. In the turn, Chingissids were treated 'above boyars in honor' [Landa, 1995, p. 44–67]. The belief in having the right to rule over Moscow and its lands still lived in the conscience of the Turkic nobility of post-Horde Khanates and even among descendants of the Horde nobility within the Moscow aristocracy for a long time, right up to the Mid-16th century. Eventually, it became a reality in the enthronement of Boris Godunov, a descendant of Murza Chet of the Golden Horde. It was Godunov, who, with his edict, equalized the Chinggisid khans of the Moscow vassal Kasimov Khanate, who were, in fact, Muslims, with Georgian Orthodox *tsareviches* who lived in Moscow, and with the highest clergy of the Russian Orthodox church. Descendants of Horde nobility played an important

role at the tsar's court later as well, through intermarriage with the Romanov dynasty ruling Russia in the Mid-17th century.

Although the Chinggisids created their empire by military means, their state was not based only by military force, which accounts for their nearly 300-year rule over Rus'. The words of the ancient Chinese sage Lu Jia, often attributed to Confucius, proved to be prophetic: 'You can conquer an empire sitting on a horse, but you cannot rule it from a horse'. In Rus', descendants of Chinggis Khan were better able to adapt to the local environment and create a more efficient system for managing conquered territories than in China, as in the Yuan Empire, or in Iran, in Hulaguid Ulus of the Ilkhans, where they ruled for a much shorter period of about 100 years.

Rus', for its part, had spiritual and military support from its mother country, the Golden Horde, in numerous wars with Catholic Europe, which had declared a crusade against Rus' and the Horde. Thus, the choice of Prince Alexander Nevsky, the slayer of Swedes and Teutons, an 'adopted son' and favorite of Batu Khan, was made in favor of the alliance with the Golden Horde. This choice was authorized by the Russian Orthodox Church, which was clearly confirmed by the beatification of Alexander. In the Golden Horde age, this choice was also preferred by other eminent persons of Rus', such as the Grand Prince of Moscow Ivan Kalita. It was the Golden Horde system that later became the prototype of Russian imperial statehood. This manifested itself in establishment of authoritarian tradition of ruling, a rigidly centralized social system, and discipline in military science, and religious tolerance. Of course, there were substantial departures from these principles during certain periods of Russian history. In addition, Rus' and other lands controlled by Ulus of Jochi were involved in the more advanced fiscal system of the Golden Horde empire; the conquerors created an efficient yam system of communication, which outlasted ages, a network of postal organizations within a significant part of Eurasia, including the territory of future Russia. The Golden Horde legacy included the custom (however, not always

during Russian history) of avoiding assimilation of new lands, both conquered and annexed by the Russian State without bloodshed, and preserving the lifestyle, religion, and language of subject nations.

The Russian imperial idea is largely a synthesis of Golden Horde and Byzantine imperial traditions, which have both similarities and differences. Both Byzantium and the Golden Horde were large Eurasian Powers, and the Russian Empire inherited this feature from them. In terms of differences, the Byzantine legacy can be traced primarily in its spiritual life; and the Golden Horde legacy, in the practice of state structure and management, but not exclusively. The difference is also that the Russian Empire was the only inheritor of Ulus of Jochi, which was imperial, while the imperial successors of Byzantium, along with Russia, included the Ottoman Empire. However, the true superiority of Russia as a great state was not created by the East Slavs, Varangians, or Byzantines, but by Horde. Historically, Old Eastern Slavic statehood did not develop up to the imperial level, but fell into disunity and failed under attacks by Turkic-Mongol conquerors, who created a global Eurasian state, the Golden Horde, which became the precursor of the Muscovite state and the Russian Empire.

After being included in Ulus of Jochi, the nations subject to this empire did not stop in their development. However, the directions of this development changed radically, which eventually led Rus', for example, up hegemony among Eurasian Powers. By the late 15th century, Rus', in the form of the Muscovite state, became a decisive force in the great competition between tsardoms that were successors of the Golden Horde. This struggle for hegemony in the Eurasian legacy of the Golden Horde lingered up to the late 17th century, when the Muscovite state ceased to pay its, however irregular, "memorial" tribute to the Crimean Khanate, its major rival in the struggle for the legacy of Ulus of Jochi.

As part of the historical past, this rivalry also left its mark in the form of numerous Russian princely families of Turkic origin, which had their roots in both the times of the

Golden Horde and the latter epoch [Baskakov, 1979]. The final chapter in this age-old competition ended in favour of the Russian State in the latter half of the 19th century, when the last Turkic state, the Khiva Khanate, a successor of the Golden Horde, on the lands of ancient Khwarezm, became part of the Russian Empire. History made the next turn

of its spiral, and everything came full circle [Kadyrbaev, 2003, p. 66–75]... A Eurasian state was revived, but in another guise. Thus, the answer to the ways of reviving Russia as a large state appears to lie in the historical tradition of forming its imperial statehood, where the legacy of the Golden Horde is very noticeable.

CONCLUSION

Mirkasym Usmanov

A lot has been said about the Ulus of Jochi so far. However, an all-round, comprehensive scientific interpretation of the history of this huge state, extremely complex in its formation, ethnic composition, culture and history, in fact a global empire of the Middle Ages, has not yet been established. Like the past of a number of countries and states, the history of the state of the Jochids in widely available literature, first and foremost in textbooks (these most efficient means of influencing minds), is framed in all manner of myths and legends and labelled with negative epithets.

Of course, in spite of this overall picture and the prevailing historiographical tendency in respect of the Golden Horde in general, studies of quite satisfactory quality have been written on special or particular topics. This refers above all to a fairly consistent elucidation of the phases of the Mongol conquests in eastern Europe in the 1230–1240s. They also include, for example (regardless of the aims of the research and the proposed conclusions), themes on the history of the political interrelations between the rulers of the Ulus and the Russian princes during the epoch of dependence, although these treat the history of the state of the Jochids only as an external factor.

Particularly noteworthy are the fundamental works of domestic Orientalists, who have published written records, which still remain in scientific use as primary sources of information.

Interesting developments, although incomplete in their content, are presented on the topic of the history of the interrelations between the Jochids and individual countries of the East, such as Egypt of the Mamluks, Iran of the Hulguids.

Significant successes have been achieved in the archaeological studies of certain monuments of the Volga Region and the Crimea. An entire civilisation; the urban Islamic culture of medieval eastern Europe has been raised from oblivion by the works of F. Ballod, G. Fedorov-Davydov and his students and followers.

Achievements have been made in the study of the socio-economical features of the empire, including developments in financial and monetary matters. However, the possibilities of the numismatic legacy have not yet been exhausted...

At the same time, despite these individual achievements, the interpretation of the history of the Ulus of Jochi is, in many respects, presented fragmentarily, torn into individual stories studied with varying degrees of completeness.

This work, presented for the judgement of the readers, is the first to make an attempt at elucidating the history of the Ulus of Jochi in a multi-faceted and, as far as possible, systematic manner. It is treated not in a narrow sense, like the history of one or two later nations, even though they may be 'titular', but much more broadly, as the historical events were actually played out at that time. After all, the state of the Jochids left—whether we like it or not—an indelible mark on the history of a dozen or so nations and numerous tribes inhabiting the areas from the Altai-Sayan Region in the east to the Danube and the Balkans in the west. Hence, those peoples whose descendants continue to live in these territories to this day.

However, it must be admitted that this work fails to deal with all questions and interpret them in the proper manner, for two main reasons. Firstly, the history of several nations from the above-mentioned territories, lacking their own national identity both in the past and at present, was quite undeveloped at different periods in history.

Secondly, as a result of this, there is a lack of experienced experts on the medieval history of a number of regions of north-western Eurasia and the nations inhabiting them. To put it more simply, it was a problem to find appropriate writers on a specific topic. For this reason, some topics and themes have remained completely untouched.

There are other insufficiently developed, as yet incorrectly conceptualised problems of a

general nature that are essential for an understanding of certain peculiarities of the political history and social relations of both the Golden Horde itself and other states, including the Tatar state, which emerged at the time of its collapse.

Many basic institutions of the public and social, state and political, administrative and management structures of the Mongol super-state, and hence the Ulus of Jochi which had broken away from it, are rooted, as has been established, in the Central Asian sources of the pre-Mongol period, that is, in the peculiar nomadic civilisation, which over the millennia had adapted to the harsh geographic and climatic environment and had also been subjected to the influence of the Old Chinese culture. Thus, these 'children of nature' had their own simple and at the same time quite complicated rules of life, their own ethical paradigms and legal norms, existing in the form of customary law. Many components and elements of these principles and norms formed, as has been shown, the basis of Chinggis Khan's *Yasa*, the provisions of which were also applicable in the state of the Jochids. Thus, for a better understanding and, consequently, more correct interpretation of the features of the socio-political relations in the Golden Horde and other Tatar states, including their interrelations with the subjugated neighbouring countries and peoples, a knowledge of the basics of these moral principles and legal norms is essential. We will illustrate this with several examples.

The position and role of women in the upper strata of the nomadic society are of particular interest. The fact that women ruled the empire and state after the death of their husbands as female regents, which they did for years (for example, after the death of Chinggis Khan and Ögedei), and that the monarch's ladies actively intervened in state affairs, in throne-related intrigues (Ergene Khatun in the Chagatai ulus; Taidula in the Golden Horde; Nur-Sultan in the Crimea; Goharshad, Süyümbike in Kazan—the list goes on) demonstrates, apart from the personal traits of these women, certain underlying peculiarities of the customs and legal norms.

It would appear that the well-known religious tolerance of the Jochids, more precisely

of the early Chinggisids, expressly legalised in the *Yasa*, is also linked to the culture and mentality of the nations of pre-Mongol Central Asia, where different religions had coexisted for ages. It is characteristic that the same nation (for example, the Uighurs), who repeatedly changed their religion, did not attempt to completely destroy the monuments and traces of their former religions.

Hanafi Islam in the Ulus of Jochi also showed tolerance to other book religions. The tradition was also preserved later on. For example, in the Kazan Khanate there were no attempts to force Christians, even those captured, to convert to Islam.

The particulars of the interrelations between the uluses that had become independent are an extremely complicated question in the history of the post-Chinggis's Mongol Empire, including its final political collapse in the late 1260s. If we have a more or less detailed knowledge of the interrelations between the Jochids and the Hulaguids, this cannot be said of the relations with the Chagataid Khanate in the 13th to the early half of the 14th centuries. The question is made even more complicated by the consideration of the history of the connections between Sarai and Khanbaliq, that is, the capital of the Yuan Empire of the same period. The allocation of part of the taxes from the lands of the great Khan in favour of the Sarai rulers and the Jochids' provision in the 14th century of individual tumens of warriors from amongst the dependent Ases, Russians and Kipchaks for service in China, plus the existence of personal land plots of the Jochids in the Far East and of the great Khans in the Golden Horde, all require special investigation.

It would appear that certain little-known norms of legal and interstate relationships applied to some uluses of the formerly united Mongol Empire. If, prior to the collapse of the super-state, interrelations between the uluses had, tentatively speaking, a federation-like format, then after the collapse they assumed the resemblance of a kind of 'confederation'. Therefore, it is not simply a matter of asserting that the empire disintegrated into independent states at such and such a time, as this is contra-

dicted by the above facts. It is to be hoped that a special study and comprehension of these aspects of the inter-ulus relationships would promote a better understanding of the political history of the individual parts of the former super-empire and the Golden Horde itself, as well as the history of its 'fragments'—the Kazan, Crimean, Astrakhan and Siberian Khanates and the Great Horde, amongst which, as is well known, there were 'claims to the throne', which also facilitated their own downfall.

Just as essential as these general matters for a better understanding of the culture and everyday political life of the population and states of Central Asia as a whole and the state of the Jochids in particular are a number of specific, unresolved questions on the history of the Ulus of Jochi itself. For instance, the problems of the localisation of the Ak Horde and Kok Horde (White Horde and Blue Horde) have long been discussed. Contradictory, at times diametrically opposing, opinions have been expressed. The picture has now acquired a more definite form, although questions relating to the borders between them and their administrative, as well as political and legal interrelations, remain inadequately clarified.

There still remain the complex and obscure matters of interrelations between the individual tribes, families and clans of the nomadic part of the population of the Ulus of Jochi, who were known to have played a role in the 'great troubles' and 'thronal merry-go-round', leading to the beginning of the crisis and the collapse of the state.

An interpretation of the history of the crisis and collapse of the empire demands that due attention is paid to the importance of both the 'black death' (a pandemic of the plague) and the geographic, climatic and environmental cataclysms observed by experts in the social and natural sciences. It is naive to reduce the cause of the crisis and demise of the powerful state to external factors alone. It is hardly fair to equate the entire state with a separatist general. Therefore, the results of the research of the social and natural scientists, as well as the investigation of the well-known demographic crisis, should be accorded a proper place in an elucidation of the question.

There is no clarity or accuracy in the use and interpretation of the term 'Tatars', especially the composite term 'Tatar-Mongols' or 'Mongol-Tatars'. In many works, regardless of time and place, they bear the same meaning of conquerors led by Mongol rulers from Chinggis Khan himself to the khans of the 15–16th, and even the 17th centuries. In fact, the ethnic composition of the conquerors in the middle and the latter half of the 13th century differed from that of the first decade of the 13th century. Thanks primarily to Persian, but also Arab, authors, the former ethnonym 'Tatars', which used to be a collective exo-ethnonym, later became a politonym with an extremely extended meaning.

However, owing to the change in the ethnic composition of the conquerors during the course of their movement westward, as a result of the increasing Turkic component among them, and then the return of a considerable part of the Mongol warrior host to Central Asia with Güyük Khan, the population of the lands of Khan Batu took on a somewhat different ethnic appearance. Therefore, beginning from the time of the rule of Khan Berke (1256–1266), it is inappropriate to apply the ethnonym Mongols to the population of the country. Considering these peculiarities of the complex ethnic process, the use of the composite Turkic-Tatars would be more reasonable. Because the formation of this ethnic community, which started in the third and fourth decades of the 13th century, was almost completed by the middle of the 14th century.

This complex process requires further investigation, in which the ethno-national face of the main and overwhelming majority of the population would not be substituted with the ethnic origin of the ruling dynasty, which had also been subjected to Turkification. (This raises an apt question: is it appropriate, considering the Varangian origin of the early princes of Kiev, to refer to the entire Slavic population of the country as Normans and their urban culture as 'Norman'?).

The matters of the emergence and development of the system of towns of the Golden Horde epoch, which became centres of Turkic and Islamic culture and represented a new type

of urban civilisation, require a dedicated and integral study. They hosted many elements of 'high' culture: a written literature, spiritual and religious thought, an administrative and chancellery management system, a variety of handicrafts, the art of urban development (baths, sewerage, water supply, irrigation channels), etc. All this was a fundamental innovation; a new phenomenon, syncretic in its sources and original in its form, for the entire north-western Eurasia.

Naturally, a satisfactory study of such a complex culture (and not just this) requires, in addition to a consideration of the possibilities of the written sources, an extensive investigation of the archaeological sites, without restricting oneself to the territory of just a hand-full of central ancient towns. The question of restoring the traditions of the planned and systematic archaeological searches and investigations of the 60s–80s of the last century is still relevant. At the same time, efforts should be made to improve the protection of the archaeological sites from arbitrary decisions of economic executives and looting by 'black archaeologists'.

Such are the challenges facing the numismatists, who have an extremely rich legacy of coins, which is indicative of commercial, trade, economic and financial activities, that is, of a social life. Alongside the study of individual treasures, there is a need to create consolidated catalogues of the Jochid coins.

All this suggests that one of the priorities for the future will be the education of a new generation of highly qualified specialists, free of political blinkers and ethnic prejudices, both in general questions of the medieval history of the region and in specialised auxiliary subjects of historical knowledge.

These are, in summary, a few of the challenges facing medievalists studying the past of a number of nations of medieval north-western Eurasia, inextricably associated with the as yet insufficiently comprehended history of Central Asia, and hence with the Far East.

* * *

As far as the history of the Golden Horde itself is concerned, as a phenomenon of the past, as we have seen from the materials presented,

having entered a period of an expected long-term crisis in the latter half of the 14th century, and suffering a cruel defeat by Timur at the end of the same century, it continued along a downward spiral for almost one and a half centuries. In other words, twilight had descended upon the empire. Eventually, this resulted in its gradual collapse. Its total collapse occurred during the 15th century when, one by one but in different years, new independent Turkic-Tatar khanates, each in competition with the others, emerged within the various parts of the empire: the Astrakhan, Kazan, Kazakh, Kasimov, Crimean and Siberian Khanates, the Great Horde, and others. The latter, that is, the Great Horde, appears to have inherited the central part and the throne of the former Golden Horde.

In 1502 the Great Horde suffered a deadly blow by the ruler of one of the former ulus-es of the Jochid state—the Crimean Khanate, to which the Great Horde was annexed. Khan Mengli Giray, who won the battle against Sheikh Ahmed, the last khan of the Horde, added a new element to his title: 'The Great Khan of the Great Ulus' (Улуг Орданың улуг ханы).

The next volume of the 'History of the Tatars' deals with these events.

Thus, starting from the 16th century, the Turkic-Tatar and in particular the Tatar factor in north-western Eurasia entered a new period—a period of irreversible decline of political and state influence.

In this political environment a new factor, developing along an upward trend, entered the wider international scene: the Russian factor, consolidated in the depths of the Ulus of Jochi as a result of consistent and skillful fighting in three areas for independence (against internal separatism, Polish-Lithuanian rivalry, and pressure from Sarai).

Thus, the Mid-16th century witnessed the beginning of new external conquests and the elimination of other states, as has been the case with the history of mankind from ancient times.

Whereas the Turkic-Mongol conquests of the 13th century moved from east to west, the new process—a usual phenomenon in a great many similar 'pictures' of global history—progressed from the west to the east and the south. This resulted in the establishment of a major

new state in the nor-east of Eurasia—the Russian Empire, which played a dominant role in the history of other nations of the subcontinent.

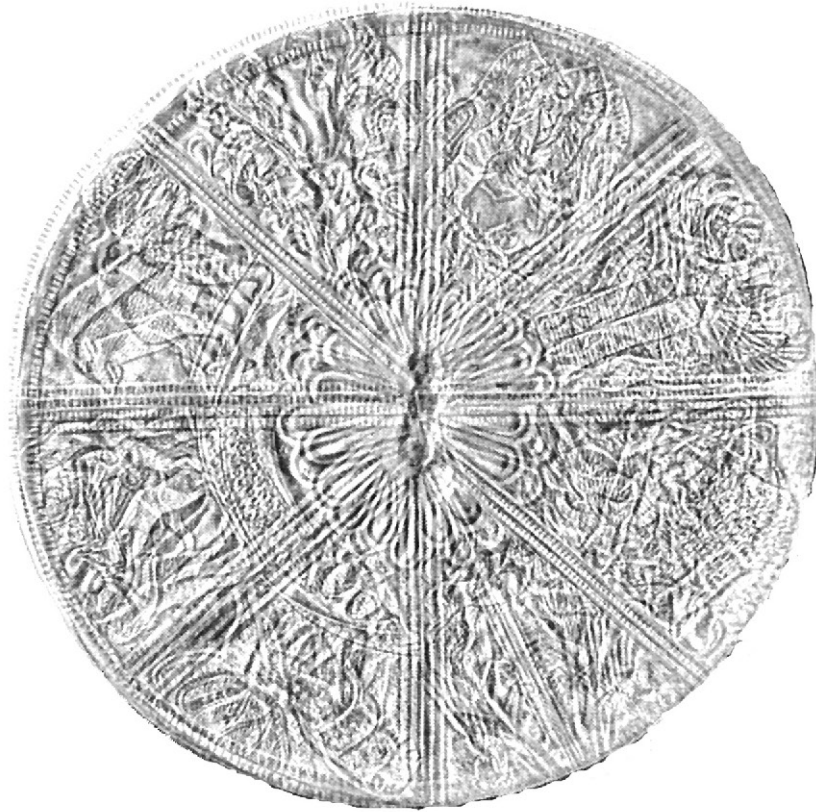
However, the Turkic-Tatar factor was not reduced to nothing immediately after 1552–1556, that is, after the fall of Kazan, the subjugation of Astrakhan and even after the conquest of Siberia in the 1580–1590. The Russian Empire, alongside its nor-westward expansion, for a long time had to deal with one fragment of the Ulus of Jochi, which had existed longer than the others. The destiny of the Tatar factor in nor-western Europe was finally and fully decided to the benefit of the new empire only after the Crimean Khanate was joined to Russia in 1783.

* * *

Following the collapse of the Mongol super-state, the grandchildren of Chinggis Khan established dynasties in four states: the Yuan Empire, the Uluses of Jochi, Chagatai and Hu-

lagu. In China, Central Asia and Iran the Chinggisids were overthrown around 90–120 years later. The Chagataids (Tuglukids), who enjoyed only limited power, occupied the throne in Moghulistan almost up to the end of the 17th century. The representatives of the Jochids were the longest to remain on the Khan's throne. Whereas they occupied the throne for 275 years, from the powerful Khan Batu (tentatively from 1227) to the last ruler of the Great Horde, in Astrakhan, Kazan, Kasimov and the Crimea in the west and in Siberia, the vast Kazakh expanses and Central Asia in the east a number of Jochids, including the Shibanids, ruled individual ulus-khanates (for example, the Kazakh Hordes) for even longer, almost up to the Mid-19th century. The Girays, representatives of these Jochids, remained khans up to 1783 (1785). Hence, the Chinggisids-Jochids, gradually degrading both socially and politically, officially reigned in north-western Asia and eastern Europe from 550 to 650 years.

Appendices



I. Sources on the History of the Mongol Conquests and the Formation of the Ulus of Jochi

No. 1

From the Teachings of Chinggis Khan

W. Kotwicz (1872–1944), the prominent Polish orientalist and linguist, noted that there is a conversation between Chinggis Khan and his sons that is included in 'Chinggis Khan's Teachings to his Younger Brothers and Sons'. There are two slightly different variants of this work, one of only a few examples of the Mongolian epic composed in ancient times that is known to us: one of them was published in 1836 in Mongolian by A. Popov in his 'Mongolian Anthology'; the other was published by Ts. Zhamtsarano as a separate brochure in 1915 in Urga. Hereafter we will provide translation of those parts of the work as needed, giving preference to A. Popov's variant.

The source is W. Kotwicz's *The Teachings of Chinggis Khan* // Vostok.—Petrograd, 1923.—Book 3.—p. 94–96.

Chinggis Khan asked his sons:—'Which festival¹ is most meaningful? What is the greatest pleasure life offers?'

Chagatai said:—'A joyful festival and feast to celebrate the passing of the old year and arrival of the new—that is the most meaningful festival'.—But Chinggis Khan said, 'This festival is not a genuine festival. When a child has yet to be born and given a name, to leave the womb or see the world,—to whom will the name be given, whose life will be celebrated for the first time? If later you celebrate, remembering the day your father gave you life and your mother gave birth to you, that will be the real festival'.

Chagatai said, 'In my opinion, defeating one's enemy, crushing a horsemen, foiling a plot, forcing a female camel to roar at its colts, and bringing home booty—that is the greatest pleasure'.

Jochi said, 'In my view, the highest pleasure lies in raising numerous herds of horses, in letting my numerous two-year olds compete, pitching my tent and having fun during feasts'.

Ögedei said, 'I think the most enjoyment comes from assuring the prosperity of the great realm created by the labors of our Father-Khan, in putting one's feet on the ground and one's hands on the earth², in enabling one's own people to live in the tent, in keeping the affairs of state in order, making our elders and leaders happy, and calming the woes of our youth'.

Tului said, 'In my opinion, the greatest pleasure comes from training argamaks, from wandering around deep lakes as you let the old hawks fly, and from bird and duck hunting'.

Chinggis Khan said, 'Jochi and Tului, both of you speak like very petty people. Chagatai battled our enemies with me and therefore says such things. But our wives cried many times when we treated strangers unfairly. When we failed to treat the salmon with respect it sometimes wounded our hands painfully. Ögedei is quite correct'.

Thus concluded Chinggis Khan's conversation with his sons. As we know, he appointed as his successor Ögedei, who laid out a program for the peaceful establishment of the state. In this same 'Teachings of Chinggis Khan' the Mongol conqueror himself lays out some of his views. The following passage is ascribed to him:

Chinggis Khan said, 'If the affairs of state administration are in order; if the sovereign is wise and skillful; if his head commanders are accomplished; if his father and mother who gave him life are safe; if he has capable government officials; if he has an army able to defeat a worthy opponent; if his wives, children and descendants enjoy good health throughout the centuries; if the almighty eternal spirit protects him,—in all of this will he find incomparably great pleasure'.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

¹ The Mongolian word '*hurim*' means 'celebration' and the feast associated with it.

² This is a figural expression, characterizing a restful life (apparently it is opposed to military life on horseback).

No. 2

'Heida shilue' ('Brief Accounts of the Black Tatars')

In 1233–1236, several South China diplomatic missions visited the capital of the Mongol empire. Unfortunately, there are no existing records of these visits. Some notes, however, that were made by two officials on these missions, Peng Daya (in 1233) and Xu Ting (in 1236), which were later incorporated into the 'Heida shilue' ('Brief Accounts of the Black Tatars') remain. But first we need to explain the term 'Black Tatars', since it was used by the Chinese to designate peoples now referred to as Mongolian. Apparently, in Medieval Chinese historical and geographical literature there appears a stricter classification of 'the northern barbarous nations', that is people living to the North of the Great Wall. By the 11–12th centuries, most of these groups became known under one rubric—'taga', or 'tatan' (the Chinese transcriptions of the ethnonym), that is, 'Tatars'. But in order to distinguish them from one another, they apparently began to use additional words to differentiate them such as Turkic, Mongolian and Tungusic, groups that had been referred to previously simply as 'Tatars'. Thus, we find the appearance of groups like the 'White Tatars', (the *Onguts*), the 'Black Tatars' (actually Mongolian nations), 'Wild Tatars' (the *hoi-in irken*, the 'Forest nations') and even the 'Water Tatars' in Chinese texts of the period.

The missions in which Peng Daya and Xu Ting participated took place during a period of close interaction between the southern Chinese Song Dynasty and the Mongol Empire: in 1233 the Song people and the Mongols, who were allies at that time, agreed upon the coordination of actions in the forthcoming campaign against the Jin. In February, 1234, the Song, together with the Mongols, captured the last stronghold of the Jurchen, their capital of Caizhou, and put an end to the Jin Empire. In 1236, Song authorities had to urgently solve the problem of dividing the Jin's inheritance with the Mongols. In both cases the Song needed concrete and precise information on the state of affairs in the Mongol empire. A large part of this information was included in the 'Heida shilue'*. This is an interesting work: on the one hand, it belongs to the genre of travel literature or notes, which are valuable because they provide eyewitness accounts. On the other hand, it is a type of memorandum for officials of the Southern Song government, an authentic record of the information contained in it. The composition of the publication is also unusual: it is a compilation of two different works, written and edited by the author of one of them, Xu Ting. In reality, Peng Daya wrote his work right after his trip to Karakorum, while Xu Ting composed his two years later. But they met in 1236: after exchanging their texts with one another for comparison, Xu Ting then used Peng Daya's as the framework for the work, supplying his own additions and comments to nearly every paragraph. He then published the resulting composition as one entire work. This resulted in a kind of layering of Peng Daya and Xu Ting's texts, one upon the other**.

The classification of information provided by Peng Daya and Xu Ting in the Han Shu is extremely wide and various. In the first half of the text they mainly describe the top leadership of the Mongol Empire, nomadic life, customs, beliefs, the writing system, and socio-political realities of both the Mongols and their subjects. In this section Peng Daya and Xu Ting's information is no more detailed than in the descriptions of other travelers to the Mongol Empire, although they add many interesting details. But in the other half of the Han Shu their information is extremely important and valuable, since they describe in detail Mongol military science, their methods of reconnaissance, horse breeding, the organization of military camps and garrisons, and the process of strategic decision making by those at the top. Except for Peng Daya and Xu Ting, none of their contemporaries left any information on these subjects in a comparable way—neither in volume nor detail.

In addition to the specified Han Shu also contains very interesting information about the neighbouring peoples of the Mongols, both of whom they conquered, and those with whom they were still fighting

* Peng Da-I, Xu Ting, 'Hey-da shilyue' // Wang Go-wei Hainin Wang Ching-an syanshen ishu (The posthumous essay collection of Mr. Wang Ching-an from Haining). Vol. 37. Changsha. 1940. 'Shāngwù Yīnshūguǎn'/Commercial Press Ltd' (hereinafter—YS). Underneath also cit.: 'Yuán Shǐ' (The History of Yuan). 'Zhonghua shutzui chuban'. Beijing, 1976 (hereinafter—YS).

** Here, as in the earlier Russian-language publications, the texts of Peng Da-I and Xu Ting are typed in different fonts.

(at the time of Peng Daya's and Xu Ting's stay at the Mongols). The lists of the so-called 'conquered peoples' and 'peoples who are still resisting the Mongols' given by Peng Daya and Xu Ting coincide surprisingly with the similar lists in 'The Secret History of the Mongols' and in reports of the Franciscan Missions (Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, Benedict of Poland, C. de Bridia). Their research and comparison provide a lot of additional information on the Turkic, Tungusic, and Tibetans peoples neighbouring the Mongols.

Especially valuable is the unique data on the resistance of the Kipchak tribes to the Mongols and the importance of its suppression for the latter (it should be noted that the campaign of the Mongols to Europe headed by Batu was called the 'Kipchak' in 'The Secret History of the Mongols'). And Xu Ting in the spring of 1236 witnessed the campaign against 'Muslim countries' of the large group of the Mongols and quite possible it was the very troops that in 2–3 years fought against the Bulgars, Russians, Polovtsians, Alans, and Circassians in Eastern Europe.

Unfortunately, to date only about half of the written source has published in Russian translation [Lin Kun-i, Munkuev, 1960]. The following are the most important passages of 'Hei-da Shilue' mainly related to the customs, beliefs, everyday life, military science, socio-political history and relations with neighbouring peoples of the Mongols ('Black Tatars') in the first third of the 13th century extracted from the new critical translation of the source full text.

In the original text by Peng Daya there are notes written in small double-column characters right after the commented passage. As found by Wang Guowei, a prominent Chinese textual critic and historian, these notes were made by Peng Daya to explain his Chinese readers the unknown realia or non-Chinese words. In the present translation these notes are given in parentheses in the text of the translation and are not further specified. A considerable number of remarks and footnotes is explained by specific character of Chinese realia and terms (idioms, Chinese analogies for non-Chinese realia, transcription of non-Chinese words and names into characters, titles, dates, etc.) mentioned and used by the authors of the written source.

Peng Daya, Xu Ting. 'Short notes about the Black Tatars'

'The state of the Black Tatars (that is, of the Northern Chanyu)' is called Great Mongolia^I. In Shamo^{II} there is a mountain called Mengushang, and silver in the Tatar language is called 'mengu'. The Jurchens called their state 'The Great Gold [dynasty]', so the Tatars call their state 'The Great Silver [dynasty]'^{IV}.

Their [the Black Tatars'] ruler^V, who was the first to usurp the title of the Emperor, was named Temo-chzhen' at birth^{VI} and the Emperor Chenczisy'—according to the usurped title^{VII}. Their current ruler was named Ukudai at birth^{VIII}. [A total of] eight people usurped the titles along with him^{IX}.

^I That means the lands to where Hsiung-nu's power was applied during the late Han period.

^{II} An inaccurate name of the Mongol state under Genghis Khan and his successors; officially it was called the Yeke Mongol Ulus (the Great State of the Mongols). The name of the Mongols, *mengu*, well-known as *men-u* and *men-wa* since the Tan period, can be found in 'Sing Tan Shu' and 'Tzu-Tan-shu' dynasty chronicles.

^{III} This was how the Chinese called territories north of the Great Wall; literally, 'desert.'

^{IV} The name of the *Mongol* state as well as the name of the Chinggisid dynasty had no relation whatsoever to 'silver.' To Pen Da-ya the words 'mongol' and 'mongon' (silver) were probably perceived the same way.

He linked the Mongol ethnonym and the name of silver by mistake, misguided by the consonance of these words.

^V The text contains term 主 '*chzhu*,' which means 'ruler, master.' The authors of the source regularly applied it to the Tatar ruler for the same reason that they accompanied titles and positions of the Mongol Empire with epithets like 主 '*tszyan*' ('usurped,' 'misappropriated') and 主 '*wey*' ('illegal,' 'false') as, from the Sun's point of view, all other countries on the territory of China were 'illegal,' were it Churchzhen or Mongol.

^{VI} In the text 忒沒真 '*Te-mo-chang*.' This was the transcription of Temuchzhin, Genghis Khan's real name.

^{VII} In the text 成吉思皇帝 '*Cheng-tsi-si-Khuandi*,'—that is, 'Chinggis the Emperor.' However, Genghis Khan is a title rather than a name.

^{VIII} In the text 窩闊台 '*U-ku-dai*'—that is, Ughedei. Yuanshi records his name as 兀剌合臺 '*Wo-ko-tai*'—that is, Okotai.

^{IX} As for those eight persons, the following are being referred to: Yeku, the son of Dzhochi-Khasar, the younger brother of Genghis Khan; Alchidai, the son of Khachiun; Temuge-otchghin and Belghutei, younger brothers of Genghis Khan; Ugedei; Batu, the son of Jochi; Chaghatai, the second son of Genghis Khan; Menghu, the son of Tolui, the fourth son of Genghis Khan. At the time of of Pen Da-ya's mission only those eight persons were khans

The names of his [the ruler's] sons are: Koduan', Kochu, Xesidai (proclaimed as the illegal heir to the throne, studies Chinese writing and culture, his teacher is secretary Ma) and Xelachzhi^x.

He has four Ministers, their names are: An'chzhidai ([he is] a Black Tatar, clever and decisive), Ila Chucai^{xi} (nicknamed Jin Qing, [he is] the Khitan and is called *Zhongshu Shilan*^{xii}), Nianhe Chungshan ([he is] the Jurchen and is called *jiangjun*^{xiii})—[they] administer affairs [related to] the Chinese; and Zhenhai^{xiv} ([he is] the Uighur^{xv}) who is particularly responsible for the affairs of the Islamic countries. <...>

Ila Chucai and Zhenhai call themselves *zhongshu xianggong*^{xvi} and have control over the affairs of state. Zhenhai [who] is also responsible for the affairs of the Muslims. The Tatars do not call them Ministers^{xvii}, they call them *bicheche*. *Bicheche* means *lingshi*^{xviii} in Chinese. They are only responsible for correspondence and official documents.

Their [the Black Tatars'] lands behind Juyong (more than 100 li (chinese miles) Nor–West from Yang^{xix}) rise and expand gradually, and behind Shajing (80 li from Tianshanxian county) there is a flat open land, a wasteland that is overrun with weeds. The mountains seen in the distance appear high and lofty at first sight, but when approached they [become] flat hills. And here only sands with gravel are around.

The sands with gravel that [I, Xu] Ting saw are not very large, just sand with crushed stone, that's all.

Their [the Black Tatars'] climate is cold and piercing. There are no four [year] seasons or eight terms (for example, there are no thunderstorms during the 'Awakening of insects' term)^{xx}. It often snows on the fourth and the eighth moon. The weather does not change much [during the season]. For the last time north of Juyongguan, for example in Guanshang, Jinlianchuan, it snows even in the sixth moon.

[I, Xu] Ting on the way back from the steppe spent the night at the bottom of the Yehuling pass just at the beginning of the seventh moon. On the morning of the 5th day [of this moon] he woke up absolutely frozen, hands and legs were all cold.

Steppe grass growing on the land of the Black Tatars begins to turn green on the fourth moon, then blooms on the sixth moon and dies by the eighth moon. There is nothing else in those places but grass.

(7 of them had their own appanages/uluses, plus the supreme khaan); therefore, the words about 'illegal titles' must be linked to them.

^x Yuanshi, in its genealogy tables of the imperial family (tz.107) mentions 7 sons of Genghis Khan. The eldest one was Guyk; the second, tsarevich Kodan; the third, tsarevich Koçu; the fourth, van Xalaçar; and the fifth, davan Xaşı. Koçu from Pen Da-ya's text was the Koçu from Yuanshi. Xesidai is Xaşı from Yuanshi, and Xalaçji is van Xalaçar. Pen Da-ya ignored Guyk as Pen Da-ya was sent to the Mongols at the same time Guyk had set out to Lyadung. That explains why he wrote 'Xesidai was elected illegal heir to the throne,' he erroneously recorded what he had heard.

^{xi} Another version of Elui Çuçay's surname is.

^{xii} 中書省 'chzhun-shu shi-lang.' In this instance Pen Da-ya gives the old title of Elui Çuçay, which can be traced back to the period when the Mongol Empire had not yet adopted the Chinese-patterned system of high offices, and all high officers of Genghis Khan were named identically, 'bitekchi' (clerks in Turkic languages) or 'bicheche' in the Chinese version. Further on in the text the records explain the situation as well as the practice of the officers in Mongolian service to call themselves by the Chinese words they were accustomed to. It seems that before the formation of the Main Imperial Secretariate in 1231 to manage the empire (中書侍郎 'chzhun-shu-sheng') and Elui Çuçay being appointed as its head (Yuanshi, tz.2) he called himself 'assistant of the head' (*shilan*) of the *chzhungshushen* that was yet to appear. In any case, this name for Elui Çuçay's position is found on the title page of the *Si yu lu* (Notes on Travel to the West), a book he wrote and published in Yanzhing in 1228.

^{xiii} 將軍 'tsyang-tsyung'—that is, 'warlord' or 'commander,' was a common element for many titles of the highest military positions.

^{xiv} In the text 鎮海 'Chzheng-khai.' In the 13th century this was the transcription of the Cinqai name, a minister of Genghis Khan and Ugedei, whose pronunciation is known from other sources as well.

^{xv} In the text 回回 *khuikhui*—that is, generally a 'Muslim'; however, in the 13th century these symbols were used as a synonym for the Uyghurs proper, 回鶻 *khuikhu* and 回紇 *khuikhe*. This is why only context can explain whether they are Muslims in general or Uyghurs in particular. Pen Da-ya calls Chzhengkhai a Uyghur. Yet, according to his life description in Yuanshi (tz.120): 'Chzhengkhai was from the Kereit clan.'

^{xvi} 中書相公 'chzhung-shu syang-gung'—that is, literally 'ministers of *chzhungshu* [*sheng*].'

^{xvii} In the text it was simply 相 'syang', the abbreviation of the usual 相公 'syangung,' a minister.

^{xviii} In the text 令史 *ling-shi*—that is, a 'clerk.'

^{xix} Yan was an ancient name for the region around Peking.

^{xx} This refers to the 8 of the 24 seasons of the Chinese agricultural calendar. One of them was one called 驚蟄 'tchzing-chzhi'—that is, the, 'awakening of insects,' began around 5–th6 March.

They [the Black Tatars] breed cows, horses, dogs, sheep and camels. Sheep of the Northern tribes have fluffy hair and fan-shaped fat tails. Chinese sheep are called 'gulyuj' [by the Black Tatars]. [Their] camels can be two-humped and one-humped or without humps [at all].

[I, Xu] Ting saw cows in the steppe which were all yellow. They were the size of the South China buffaloes and extremely durable. As [the Tatars] do not plow the [bulls] only pull carts. Most of [the bulls] do not have [a ring] through the nose.

They [the Black Tatars] live in dome-shaped dwellings (that is, in felt tents), [they] do not have towns with walls and [stone] buildings. [The Black Tatars] move depending on the availability of water and grass, [their routes] are not regular. The ruler of the Tatars transports [his] tents behind them, arranging battue hunting. All illegal officials and subordinates follow him—[such] action is called 'to raise a camp'.

Their carts are dragged by bulls, horses and camels. On top of the carts [there are] rooms where one can sit or lie. They are called 'tent-carts'. The carts represent a rectangular frame with vertically standing pillars and overlapped boards.

[Black Tatars] use memorial columns to worship the Heavens, this process is called [a prayer] for food and sustenance.

[Black Tatars] make each team that consists of five carts which are located both to the left and right, and on all sides and tend to their [destination] like columns of ants or like twisting ropes stretching to 15 li in length. As soon as the half of them reaches the water, they stop, and this is called 'to set up camp'.

The entrance of the ruler's tent is located to the south ahead of the remaining tents. A row of tents for wives and concubines is located behind them. A guard with illegal officials and subordinates is in the next row. The place where the hunting tent of the head of the Tatars is located is usually called 'the Horde'.

Only the camp where a golden tent (it is so called because its props are covered with gold) of their [ruler] and all the other [tents] of the illegal empresses and subordinates are raised together is called the 'Great Horde'.

Their encampments are selected by terrain that is surrounded by heights and behind the slopes of hills in order to mitigate the force of the wind. Their migrations look like the campaigns of Chinese imperial trips: the same stops, not determined in advance and moving that is made either in one moon [of stay] or in one quarter.

When [I, Xu] Ting arrived in the steppe [the Tatars] set up the golden tent. I think they made so to show a splendid sight to the ambassador sent personally by the Emperor of our dynasty. When the previous mission of Zou who was appointed envoy had arrived [to the Tatars] they had not set [the golden tent], but when the mission of Cheng the great ambassador and the mission of Zhou who was appointed envoy arrived [after us] [the golden tent] was set for both of them. It [the golden tent] is made of felt which is rolled in quantities in the steppe. As the outer coating of [the golden] tent they use felt from top to bottom. In the middle of the dome between the tied [willows of the frame] there is a window-hole for light transmission. More than a thousand of ropes are used to pull [the felt on the frame]. The only door, the threshold and pillars [inside the tent] are all covered with gold, that is why the tent is called golden. It can hold several hundred people inside. The *Hus*^{xxi} bed, where the ruler of the Tatars sits in the tent, looks like an ambo inside a Buddhist temple which is also decorated with gold. Wives and concubines are located according to rank and it looks like they are surrounded by a fence.

The yurts [of the Tatars] are of two kinds. Those that are made in Yanjin have willow wood as a frame which is exactly like a sieve from the South [of China]. [They] can be fold and unfold, the door opens forward^{xxii}. Top [of the yurts] resembles umbrella frame and the very top of it there is a hole called 'sky window'. All [of them] are covered with felt and can be placed on horses. Those that are made in the steppes have thick round [frame] woven of willows and simply covered with felt. [They] are fixed and can not be fold or unfold. [They] are placed on the carts as they are. When water and grass run out [the Tatars] move on. The days [of migrations] are not defined in advance.

Their [Black Tatars'] food is meat, not grain. [They] hunt hares, deer, wild boars, tarbagans, moufflons (their spine bones are used to make spoons), Mongolian gazelles (they have a yellow tail which looks like a big fan), wild horses (resembling donkeys), fish from rivers and waterholes ([it] can be caught when it's cold). Sheep are [their] main livestock which [they] breed and cook. In second place after them [sheep]

^{xxi} In the text 胡 'hsui'—that is, of the 'Khus.' *Khu* was a traditional Chinese name for the 'barbarians from the North'—that is, Hsiung-nu. 'Hsiung bed' was the Chinese name for light folding chairs.

^{xxii} That means to the South, according to Chinese custom.

there are horses which are not slaughtered [by the Black Tatars] unless there is a big feast or meeting. [Black Tatars use] broiling in nine cases out of ten, and cooking in tripod kettles—in 2–3 cases out of ten. They slice meat and first eat it themselves and then feed others.

[I, Xu] Ting, having spent over a month in the steppe, have never seen the Tatars killing cattle for food.

They [Black Tatars] drink mare's milk and koumiss made from cow's and sheep's [milk]. Every time a person pouring a [drink] shall drink it himself first and then [give] it to the second person. However, the second person who has received the drink first offers [the cup] to the first person. The third and the fourth persons are smacking [at this time]—this is called 'tasting'. The first person does not drink but gives [the cup] to the third one. The third person drinks it up, scoops and gives it to the second one. The second person again does not drink but [gives] it to the fourth one. The fourth person makes the same ritual as the third one. Only then the second person drinks it up, scoops and gives it to the first one. The first person pours a drink in the same order to give a drink to the third and the fourth persons. Such ritual is called 'cup exchange'. Originally it was made to protect oneself from the poison, but then the Tatars got used to it and it became a commonplace.

Their [dishes] are only flavoured with salt. <...>

They [the Black Tatars] cook food on grass coal (cow and horse dung).

They [the Black Tatars] burn grass coal in lamps as a filler, and mutton fat—as oil.

Their customs are archery and hunting. Whenever their ruler organises a raid he gathers crowds of people. [They] choose places to make pits, stick wooden [stakes] as marking poles, connect [them] with hair ropes and hang felt fringe [made of scraps] [on them], in the way the Chinese catch hares with nets. [The fences] stretch and cover the space of 100–200 li and when the wind blows the fringe flutters so all the animals jump aside out of fear and do not dare to run away. Then the battue [hunters] push them [to the pits], keep them [there and then] slaughter them.

[I, Xu] Ting saw that Tatar families procure hair ropes and felt during their migrations and consider it to be quite a hard [work]. The horses which [I, Xu] Ting used at the station-pits were mostly shorn and did not have manes. [When I] was trying to find [a reason] for that [I was] told that it [horse hair] was used to make ropes, and the last ones were passed to the camp-Horde for the arranged hunts. The period of battue hunting [begins] with the ninth moon and ends during the second one. Every time when the hunts are arranged [the Tatars] use hunted animals as their daily food while only few sheep are slaughtered.

Their [the Black Tatars] hats and hairstyles: they unbind [their hair] and tie it into knots; in winter they wear caps and in summer—cone-shaped bamboo hats; women [wear] a *gu-gu*^{xxiii} on the top of the head.

[I, Xu] Ting, saw it. To make a *gu-gu* they use painted wood^{xxiv} as a frame which they wrap in fine red silk and golden silk fabric. At the top of it [*gu-gu*] they use willows or iron rods 4–5 chi long, wrapped in blue felt and decorated differently: for people of the high ranks they are decorated with plumes of kingfisher feathers [exported from] our country or multicolour silk [scraps] fluttering from their movements; while for people of lower classes they are decorated with pheasant feathers. Naturally beautiful [Tatar] women use wolf feces to smear on the face^{xxv}.

Their [Black Tatars'] clothes are wrapped to the right side by square flap. In the old days [it was made] of felt, wool and leather, and now—of cloth and silk [stitched with] gold thread. [Clothing colours] are red, purple, violet and green. [The clothes have] patterns in the form of the sun, moon, dragons and phoenixes. There are no differences between [the clothing] of the nobility and common people.

[I, Xu] Ting studied this. It [the clothing of the Tatars] is sewed in the image and likeness of *shen-i* dress^{xxvi}. But the flap of these [Tatar clothes] looks exactly like the clothing of Taoists of our state. The flap that they call square resembles a quadrangle. Collars are the same as those of the Chinese. The ruler

^{xxiii} Boghtagh is the national female headdress of the Mongols.

^{xxiv} The preparation of *ghu-ghu*, described here, is an ancient custom of the Mongols. Wang Go-wey, in his commentary to Men-da bey-lu ('Comprehensive Description of the Mongol Tatars') by Zhao Hun, supposed this to be a slip of the pen: instead of "桦木 *khuamu*," a birch, was 畫木 '*khuamu*,' 'painted wood.

^{xxv} In his commentary Wang Go-wey writes: 'I suspect the phrase 'wolf stool for smearing on the face' to be a mistake in the character. In the Men-da bey-lu it was said: 'Women often smeared their foreheads with yellow ceruse. [This] was borrowed from old Chinese make-up.' Evidently, this was said [by Zhao Hun] similar to the [custom] of Tang women who put yellow patches on the forehead.'

^{xxvi} A ceremonial outfit in ancient China. Was represented by a broad robe with wide pleated strips.

of the Tatars, along with members of *zhongshu* [*shen*] and other people of high ranks [of society] do not wear [such clothing] anymore. On the waist [of the Tatar dress] there are so many pin tucks that it is impossible to count their number—while there are only 12 [of them] on *shen-i*, the Tatar dress has [much more] tucks. [The Tatars] also use red and purple silk twisted into the girdle, which is across the waist, and which is called the belt. [The Tatars] probably want the girdle to be tight while riding a horse, as well as colourful, bright, and beautiful.

They [Black Tatars] use a spoken language and have no written one. Many [words] come from borrowings and sound respectively. They [need] to be interpreted and explained, [there are] interpreters for this purpose.

Their names are names at birth and they do not have surnames and second^{xxvii} names. If [Black Tatars] have some bad feeling [about the name] they change it.

[I, Xu] Ting observed [that the Tatars] from highest to the lowest classes [have] only birth names and no surnames at all. In addition, they do not have job titles. For example, if [a person] is responsible for official documents he is called '*bicheche*', if he leads people he is called '*dalukhuachi*', and [one who] is responsible for perimeter protection is called '*kholuchi*'^{xxviii}. Similarly, the Ministers such as [Yelü] Chucai and others called themselves *zhongshu xianggong*. As to Wang Ji, he gave himself [the honorary title] *yingqing-guanglu*, imperial chief censor, *xuanfushi* (Pacifying Commissioner) and *zhugoshi*^{xxix}. Initially [all these titles and positions] were not given by Tatar rulers.

Their rules of courtesy: they hug each other in greeting and go down on the left knee as a bow.

[I, Xu] Ting saw how they [the Tatars] hug each other [in greeting], that is, they enfold each other.

They [the Black Tatars] place the most honoured [people] in the middle, next [in the order of honour]—on the right side, and left [side] is for people of lower ranks.

Their system of chronology earlier used symbols denoting [years] of the twelve-year animal cycle...

All of it they learnt from the Chinese, Khitans and Jurchens. Speaking of native Tatar customs, originally [the Black Tatars] did not understand [the calendar]. [They] only noted: if the grass turned green it means that one year [has passed], and if the new moon comes out for the first time it means that one moon [has passed]. When you ask them [Black Tatars] how many [years have passed] from their birth to their [current] age they count on their fingers how many times the grass has turned green. <...>

If they [the Black Tatars] choose a good day for their work on the calendar, they pay attention whether the moon is full or waning in order to start or end [the work respectively] (they avoid [working] in both cases—before the moon reaches waning [of the 1st quarter] and after the half moon reaches [the last quarter]); and [when they see] the new moon they always bow.

They write official papers using wooden sticks. [The characters] resemble the trail of snake and earthworms and are similar to *fuzhuan* style of the 'Book of Heaven' and musical [notes] 五 (u), 凡 (fan'), 工 (gun) and 尺 (chi). Islamic letters^{xxx} are probably akin to them.

[I, Xu] Ting, studied this. The Tatars originally did not have a written script, however [the script] they use now are of 3 kinds. The documents used in the Tatar state are just small tablets with a length of 3–4 *cun*. They are notched at four corners. For example, when they send someone for ten horses, they make ten notches. In general, they only notch the number of [items].

They [the Tatars] are honest and their thoughts are focused on one thing [they are doing at the moment], that is why they never tell a lie. According to their law one who tells a lie must be killed, that is why they do not dare lie and cheat. [The Tatars] though having no script managed to establish the state on their own. The small tablets mentioned above are exactly the ancient [Chinese] credential tallies.

^{xxvii} Here the author underlines the difference from the Chinese system of personal names—in childhood a Chinese would receive a child's name while he also had an ancestral name—a family name in the European understanding, and later, when coming of age, he would take a second name or surname.

^{xxviii} Ghak Sui Tin conveyed the titles of Mongol public officials: *bitekchi*, 'clerk' in the Turkic languages, *darughachi* (*baskak* being its Turkic synonym), *khorchis* ('archer'). *Khorchis* were part of the personal guard of the Mongol khan (*keshig*).

^{xxix} *Ingtzhing guanglu*, an honorary title, literally a 'high official bestowed with silver threads and a seal.' Silver thread with a seal were attributes of high officials in old China. *Syungfushi* means 'authorised for reconciliation,' a title of a plenipotential representative of a central power in a province. *Zhugoshi*, an honorary title, literally 'an ambassador who arrived in the country.'

^{xxx} Or of the Uyghurs, 回回字—though literally 'Islam signs' in the text.

The [documents] that are used in Islamic [parts of the Mongolian state] are written in Islamic [or Uighur] letters and are in responsibility of Zhenhai. There are only 21 letters in the Uighur [or Islamic] script. The additional [symbols] in this [script] are only added on the sides and in such a way connected [into words].

The [documents] that are used in all the defeated states of the Chinese, Khitans and Jurchens are written only in Chinese characters and are in responsibility of [Yelü] Chucai.

In addition, on the backside of the [document] sheets under the date, Zhenhai personally writes in Islamic [or Uighur] letters: 'Give to somebody or other'. This is probably a special precaution in relation to [Yelü] Chucai as these words [written] in Islamic [or Uighur] letters are a kind of control. If they don't have these words, the official document is invalid. Zhenhai's authentication is probably necessary to perform mutual checking.

In the urban schools of Yanjin a lot of them learn Islamic [or Uighur] script and translation from the Tatar language. As soon as they are able to translate, they immediately become translators. Then together with the Tatars they go [everywhere] and at their own discretion demand *sahua*^{xxxI} under the threat, extort and get clothes and food. <...>

All decisions [without division] into big and small are made by the illegal leader of the [Black Tatars]. [Yelü] Chucai, [Nianhe] Chungshan and Zhenhai together at the helm of the Tatar state.

Affairs of the countries of the four corners of the earth or those for which there are no decrees of the Tatar ruler as well as the power of life and death are all in the hands of a person who has a stamp at his disposal.

[I, Xu] Ting, studied this. The only [dignitaries] who monitor the official documents are [Yelü] Chucai and Zhenhai who received the [capability] to handle matters in their personal favour because the ruler of the Tatars is unable to read and write. Speaking of military affairs, troops and similar important affairs they are solved by the Tatar ruler personally. However, he also considers them together with his close relatives. The Chinese and other people are not involved [in this].

The Tatars are usually call themselves according to their clans and families^{xxxII}.

Even if one who litigates has good connections, *sahua* is used in judicial cases: even if one explains [his case] to the ruler of the Tatars, will not get the decision [without *sahua*] and go [with nothing].

Their [the Black Tatars'] divination is the study of the burnt bones of mutton shoulder. The signs on them are defined by their directions (forward or backward) as denoting happiness or unhappiness and then the final decision is clear—whether the Sky has refused or has granted. [The Black Tatars] genuinely believe it. It [divination] is called 'pi-pa burning'^{xxxIII}. There is nothing, big or small, that [is done] without divination. Divination [on different occasions] is [made] many times and constantly. <...>

They [the Black Tatars] always say in ordinary conversations: 'I rely on the strength and power of the immortal Sky and on the protection of the happiness of the Emperor!'. If there is something they want to [do] they always say: 'Let the Sky do so!'. If they have already done something they say: 'The Sky knows!'. There is nothing that is not related to the [influence] of the Sky. [All of them], from the ruler of the Tatars to his subjects, do so and in no other way.

Their taxes and tributes are called *chai-fa*. A prescribed [number] of horses and milk, the required [number] of sheep and food are divided among the houses of common people [according to] the number of their livestock and collected from these people. It is like the *shang-gung*^{xxxIV} of the Chinese.

As for the organisation of post stations, the leaders and the heads are allowed to determine the service duration at all stations.

In recent years, the Chinese population except for craftsmen is [laid under] annual tribute without distinction to men and women: silk yarn valued at 25 liang [of silver] is [collected] from every citizen; silk yarn valued at 50 liang of silver is collected for [each] bull or sheep (that is the amount of silver that has already been borrowed from the Muslims and which was spent for food given to ambassadors and offi-

^{xxxI} This was how they transcribed the Mongol word *sauqa*—that is, 'present,' a name they used for the mandatory tributes to be given to officers and chiefs.

^{xxxII} *Yasun*—that is, 'a bone' was the term the Mongols used for their ethnosocial structure and denoted the relationship on the direct male line from one common ancestor.

^{xxxIII} *Pee-pa* is a Chinese musical instrument, a mandolin-like with a flat back. The name the Mongols used for fortune-telling was given by the Chinese.

^{xxxIV} The tax under the *Gai* and *Sun*, literally meant 'procurement for the Emperor.' This represented part of taxpayers income contributed directly for the needs of the royal court.

cials who passed through the [town]); silk yarn valued at 100 liang of silver and grain tribute valued at 4 dans of rough rice are [collected] [from each] rural farmer annually regardless of the size of [his] cropland.

Parcels of silver transported [as a tax] from all provinces [are] 20,000 dings annually. As for the implementation of taxes by the [Tatars], it is impossible to describe all the sophisticated [ways to do this].

In their lands, across which [I, Xu] Ting, travelled to Shamo, everyone including the Tatar ruler, illegal tsarinas, tsareviches, princesses, [members] of the ruler's clan and lower families have certain [land] boundaries. All the common people give as *chai-fa* livestock, horses, weapons, workers, mutton and mare milk because the Tatars have distributed land management in the steppe and each [such appanage] gives a *chai-fa*. There is no one among both the nobility and villains who would receive exemption [from tributes]. In addition, there is another form of [tribute]: from all *chai-fa* given by each land [appanage], the necessary [funds] are taken for the post stations located in this [appanage]. Upper and lower classes are [laid under tributes] on equal grounds—this is the *chai-fa* in the steppe!

If we are to talk about *chai-fa* in Chinese lands, then except for [collecting] silk yarn and wool valued as silver from each draft of each yard, everyone also gives fodder, food, utensils and munitions for travelling ambassadors and dignitaries as well as for repositioning troops and cavalry. All of these used for state purpose is calculated after some time and the total sum is [divided] among the population as a tribute. In all the defeated states people find it quite oppressive, [their] indignation and outrage are extremely strong but they can do nothing about that! The Tatar ruler can at any time send officials from the steppe to the Chinese lands to set *chai-fa*. <...>

They [the Black Tatars] barter sheep and horses [for] gold, silver, linen and silk.

Speaking of trade and sales, all of them, from the Tatar ruler to illegal tsareviches, dukes, princesses and others give silver to Muslims [for turnover]. The Muslims in their turn lend it to people and [receive] a huge interest: 1024 dings are paid for one invested ding in 10 years. They also can buy different goods and sell them in [distant lands] or demand from people compensation for damages referring to the [alleged] nighttime thievery.

[I, Xu] Ting, saw that the Tatars did nothing but [received] *sahua*. There is no one [among them] who knows trading and profiteering. [All of them] from the Tatar ruler to the [lowest] classes give silver to Muslims and order them to trade and profiteer to get profit [from this silver]. The Muslims put [this silver] into circulation themselves (giving it at interest) or travel personally to all countries to trade and profiteer. Sometimes they lie that they were robbed and get compensation from population of districts and counties.

The Tatars mostly wish to [buy] linen, silk, iron, tripod kettles [for cooking] and colourful wood which are necessary for clothing and food. Chinese, Islamic and other traders come to the steppe and the Tatars happily barter their sheep and horses for it [that is, for the above-mentioned goods].

The Tatars are highly-moral and never steal^{xxxv}. However robberies happen inevitably and are [committed] by people from the defeated states. In addition, the Muslims put [some] things in a deserted place and watch from a distance on a rise. As soon as there is someone to touch them, they come immediately and accuse him falsely of theft. People are afraid of the wicked Muslims. [They] are also very nimble and speak the languages of all countries well. It is truly amazing!

Officials illegally call them [Black Tatars] the [following titles]: *Govan*, or 'a Placeholder of the Emperor'; or *Junwang*^{xxxvi}; or *Xuanchar*^{xxxvii}.

[Officials from among] the prisoners of all the fallen states are referred to as either *zhongshu chengxiang*^{xxxviii}; or *jiangjun*; or *shilan*^{xxxix}; or *xuangfu-junshi*^{xl}.

Due to the fact that [the Black Tatars] were thieves and gave these titles at their own will, imperial edicts were not issued to appoint officials to these positions.

[I, Xu] Ting, studied that. It was not customary among the Tatars to assign to a position and ask for a salary, and the Tatar ruler did not understand the [value of this]. Officials^{xli} explained to him the signif-

^{xxxv} In the text 道不拾遺 'dao bu shi-i.' An idiom denoting the high morality of the people.

^{xxxvi} Bestowed upon the prince of the 4th rank.

^{xxxvii} That means 'the messenger of the Emperor.'

^{xxxviii} Ministers of *chzhungshu sheng*—that is, the central government-secretariate.

^{xxxix} Usually this corresponds to a deputy minister.

^{xl} A senior authorised officer in a border region or a top military commander there.

^{xli} That means tzhing or Chinese officers are being referred to.

icance and importance of this. The Tatars [now] only have golden paizas with the tiger's head, ordinary golden and ordinary silver paizas [according to the rank of officials]. [Officials] with merit give gold and silver, and the Tatar ruler gives them permission to mint paizas with engraved Uighur [or Islamic] letters on top of it which say: 'By the power of the eternal Sky...' and so on; the whole [text] is engraved on the outer side of the [paiza].<...>

Their [the Black Tatars'] organisation of common people^{XLII}: the head of ten people is called 'desyat-nik'; from ten to hundred, from hundred to thousand, from thousand to ten thousand of people—each group has its own head.

Prohibitions in their [the Black Tatars'] state.

Those who dig during the grass braird and those who leave fire and burn grass are executed together with their families.

As for those who pick the dropped thing, who [touch] a threshold with their shoes, who beat horses all the time, who commit adultery and run away with the neighbour's [wife], they are executed alone.

As for those who hiccup while eating and those who have their mouth and nose bleeding, they are found guilty of [bad] intentions.

As for those who ignore [prohibition] to not wash felt curtains, then they are found guilty of bad [intentions] and are brought to the Tatar ruler [for judgment] with a rope around the neck.

If a horseman meets another one coming from the opposite direction and passes by on the left side, it is considered to be a mutually favourable [sign].

When one person gives another one some meat and the latter takes it with his left hand, it is considered a mutually unfavourable [sign].

As for those who drop a jar while pouring milk and kumis, they are considered to be [doomed] to lose their offspring.

If there's thunder with fire [from the lightning], then [the Black Tatars] leave all the property and livestock and flee. [They] wait one year and then return to [this previous place].

[I, Xu] Ting, saw the Tatars stopping their ears and bending down to the ground every time they heard a peal of thunder, [during this] they kind of hung down their [head] and hid their face.

As for their [the Black Tatars'] system of rewards and punishments, it is considered to be a common practice to perform one's duties and [no one] dares to consider it as a merit.

When they [the Black Tatars] admonish each other, they always say: 'If the ruler sends me through fire and water, I will go there!' And so they do^{XLIII}. The word [of the Black Tatars] that means hunger, cold and suffering from misfortunes is [the only] word *dai* (the [word] *dai* means 'bad'^{XLIV}). For these reasons their state does not reward them [at all] in peaceful times. Only when troops are used in the battle and they win, then [they] are rewarded with horses or golden and silver paizas or scraps of linen and silk. Those who conquered a town, [can] rob it, take children, women, jewels and silk. The first and the last to rob and steal are ranked according to their merits. One who came first, darts an arrow to the door of the house and others do not come in. Those who violate [this custom] are punished by death. This is called 'an'dasi'^{XLV}.

Those who were not [sentenced to] death are sent to hard works in the battle of baturs (same as the Chinese word for 'fearless warriors') and are forgiven only after three-four [merits]. For those whose guilt is considered to be light, half of their property is confiscated.

[I, Xu] Ting, considers that the best of their laws is to kill those who lie.

They [the Black Tatars] punish by death those who break the law and rob. Their wives, children and livestock are confiscated and go into the disposal of the families who suffered from [these] robbers. [When] slaves belonging to some A steal property of some B or the property of slaves belonging to B,

^{XLII} In the text 民戶 'ming-khu', literally 'yards of people' (for sedentary nations) or tents/families (for nomadic peoples).

^{XLIII} The translation may be different according to the understanding of the symbol 相 'syang': 1) if you accept its main meaning as, 'in relation to one another,' then the above version of the translation fits; 2) if the abbreviation of 相公 'syangung' or 'minister' is meant here, which Pen Da-ya uses widely in his text, then another translation is possible: 'When their ministers are instructed by the [khan], every time [they] say this: 'If my lord sends me into the fire or into the water, I will go there!' And, upon saying [these words], they act as they said.'

^{XLIV} The text contains the symbol 𪛗 'dhai'—that is, 'bad.' Obviously, Pen Da-ya misunderstood his Mongolian informant; he most probably meant the Mongolian word 'daiin', 'war.'

^{XLV} In the text 安打奚 'an-da-si'—that is, the Mongolian word 'aldagi (andagi), 'to make a mistake.' This Mongolism is widely used in various Yuan documents.

then all the [property, wives, children and livestock] of A and his slaves are confiscated, and the slaves together with A are executed. This is called 'to pass a sentence upon the chief'^{XLVI}.

[I, Peng] observed that when they wanted to [receive something] they called it *sahua*. If they received it, then they said: 'Nashaing'^{XLVII}. In the Tatar language [this means] 'good!'. If they did not get what they wanted, then they said: "Maou"^{XLVIII}. In the Tatar language [this means] 'bad!'. As for *sahua*, [this means] 'to extort' in Chinese.

As regards their [the Black Tatars'] archery from a horse, [they are] tied tightly to the horse's back from their childhood. And so they ride with their mother everywhere. At the age of 3, [they] are tied with a rope to a saddle [pommel], so that they have something to hold onto and the whole crowd rush at full speed. At the age of 4–5, [they] are allowed to keep a small bow and short arrows, together with it they grow.

All year round, [the Black Tatars] hunt in the field. They rush rapidly on horses standing on tiptoe [in the stirrups] and do not sit, so the main strength they have is in their calves, not in the thighs. [They] are extremely fast and incredibly strong. [In the saddle they] can turn left and right at rapid-fire pace, so turning left they can shoot right and even aim back. As regards their archery on foot they stand astride, take big steps and bend down with legs halfway bent. That is why they can pierce armour [with their arrows].

[I, Xu] Ting, saw a Tatar woman gave birth to a child in the steppe. Immediately after birth she used sheep hair to wipe the [child], wrapped him into the sheep skin and tied inside a small box 4–5 chi long and 1 chi wide. Right after that, the woman took it under her arm, sat on a horse and rode off.

Their [the Black Tatars'] horses graze in the field and do not need hay and grain. On the sixth moon [they] eat a lot of young grass and become fattened and strong. When the [stallions] turn four, they make them into geldings^{XLIX}. That is why [they] are very strong, calm, willing and can tolerate wind and frost for a long time. If not gelded [they] become intractable, they nicker and become frightened so it is impossible to use them in ambushes.

As the hooves of [the Tatar horses] are easily cut and can be injured by stones, [they are strengthened] with iron or wooden plates. They are called 'foot pads'.

In all instances of fast galloping, [the Tatars] do not feed [the horses] to satiety. They free them from saddles [after each gallop] and tie them so that the horse's face is turned up, then they wait until their *chi*^L comes into balance, their breathing is smooth and their legs cool down.

When it becomes cold, the Tatars let their horses [follow] water and grass. Those who graze them are called *ulachi*^{LI}. Three [out of 10] *ulachi* are Muslims and seven of them are Northerners^{LI}.

[I, Xu] Ting, investigated the horse breeding system of the Tatars. [They] stop fighting at the very beginning of spring. After [spring they] always go to war with good horses.

Moreover, [the Tatars] let their horses follow water and grass, and horsemen do not control [their] movements. But when the west wind comes, [the Tatars] catch, harness [their] horses and hobble them near the tents. [The horses] do not eat much grass or drink a lot of water, and during the month when [they] grow thin and become strong, horsemen travel with them for several hundred li. In such a way [they are] in their natural position and do not sweat, therefore, they are able to endure long-distance [trips] and military campaigns. Usually, on their way through the main road, [the Tatars] do not let them [go] to the side [roads] for eating and drinking. They do so, probably, [because if] a horse eats and drinks during hard work, it will not lose fat and fall ill. This is a good way to breed horses. Southerners do the opposite, that is why [their] horses often get sick.

The strongest and the best of the remaining stallions they [the Tatars] call *ila*, that is, stud horses. The most of the rest [stallions], except for [*ila*], are geldings. Thus, [the Tatars] always have strong and sturdy [horses]. As for leaders, [they] are state-owned horses. The gelding never leads the herd of mares

^{XLVI} In the text 斷案主 '*duang-ang-chzhu*,' literally 'to pass sentence on the main instigator.' The meaning of this expression was explained by Wan Go-wei in his comments to the Book of Han: 'Regarding the expression 'to pass sentence upon the main,' it should be understood as the main form of punishment [for crimes] brought about by heads of clans/families [to which the criminals belonged]. It was also the custom in Northern China.'

^{XLVII} The distorted Mongolian word 'mash sain'—that is, 'very good.'

^{XLVIII} The distorted Mongolian word 'muu'—that is, 'bad.'

^{XLIX} That means 'castrate.'

^L 氣 '*tsi*,' Chinese notion for a spirit, the vital forces of the body.

^{LI} That means *ulagchi*, 'coachman' in Mongolian.

^{LII} In the text 漢人 '*khangzheng*,' literally 'Hans,' the Southern Suns used this name not only for the Han Chinese but also for the Chzhutchzhens and the Kidai, long-time rulers and settlers of Northern China.

that do not mix with the herd of geldings. The herds of geldings and mares, each, individually, make up their own herds. All horses are [divided] into herds with 400–500 animals which are led only by a couple of *ulachi*. [They] control the [herd] using round iron pointed [rods]. They use them as whips. When horses see them, they become frightened.

Every morning and evening every *ulachi* leads the horses around the tent of the [horse] owner and leaves them on the sides of the tent. Some time [after that] each [*ulachi*] leads [his horses] in different directions.

Every time they need to water the horses, they [the Tatars] dig a well from which only 4–5 horses can drink. Each [horse] knows the order of precedence: [horses] come one after another and the [first] horse drinks and leave, then comes the next horse. When some horse breaks [this] order, then *ulachi* just waves with the iron whip from a distance and [the horse] obediently bows and does not move. And no one dares rebel, so the perfect order is set. Each herd of mares is led by *ila* [assuming] one horse [*ila*] per 50–60 mares. When a mare leaves the herd, then *ila* bites and kicks it forcing it to return. Or when a horse *ila* of another herd crosses [its path], then the horse *ila* [of the first] herd bites, kicks it and makes it go away. In fact, there are many other amazing things [the Tatar have] to see.

Their [the Black Tatars'] saddle and harness are light, simple and comfortable for fast galloping. Their weight does not exceed 7–8 jins. At the front of their symmetric saddle, there is a vertical [pommel] and the back of it the pommel is flat. It lets the horseman turn in different directions, and the [horse] shoulders will not get hurt. As the stirrups are round, the legs [in stirrups] are in central position and there is not any bias. As the [bottom] of the stirrup is wide, the boots [of the Black Tatars] can easily slip into the stirrup and fit tightly. The stirrups are made of handmade untanned leather with saltpeter and [only] greased with mutton fat, so [it] is resistant to rain and does not rot. The [harness] is made of [leather] straps with a width of more than one cun and a length not exceeding four [cuns], therefore it is very comfortable for a [horseman] to turn with his whole body when he stands [in the stirrups].

Their [the Black Tatars'] army consists of common people at the age of 15 and older. There are only cavalry and no foot soldiers. There are two-three or six-seven horses per a person. 50 horsemen are called *dyu* (fan'ce^{LIII} [of characters] 'du' and 'yu' [is read as] *dyu* which means 'one unit').

The bellicose leaders and [their] strong servants unite together and units are subordinated to senior commanders. They are called the troops of the Batur^{LIV}. Earlier, when they attacked the Tanguts and the Jurchens, they drove people in all [these] states ahead [as slaves] and attacked their towns.

[I, Xu] Ting, [during] my trips to the steppe and back have never seen anyone travelling on foot. When their [Tatar] troop marches [on campaign], the leaders are riding on one horse and have 3–4 or 5–6 more horses. For a common [soldier] going on a [campaign], one or two horses would be enough.

They [the Black Tatars] are armed with the armour of 'willow leaf'^{LV} and the wicker armour [similar to] a sieve (the leather is [woven] in 6 layers).

[The Black Tatars] also have bows made of argali horn (plates made of the horn are attached to the bow tops, bows are 3 chi in length) and singing arrows (that is 'signal arrows'). There are also arrows made of camel bones and arrows with long and flat needle-like heads. Thinly planed wood is used as arrow shafts and the tied eagle [feathers] serve as fletching.

[The Black Tatars] also have bent swords made on the pattern of Islamic ones^{LVI}. [They] are light, robust and very sharp with small and narrow handles, that is why [Black Tatars' swords] are so convenient to move and swing. [The Black Tatars] also have short and long spades with blades^{LVII} [which they use] with stretching like a cutter, therefore nothing can slip out. [They] can pierce strong plates of [armour].

^{LIII} The well-known Chinese method of phonetic transcription of characters through the contraction of reading two other characters: the initial is taken from the first, and the final, from the second. Therefore, the phangtze symbols of *du* and *yu* given by Pen Da-ya are read as 'du'.

^{LIV} In the text 八都魯 'ba-du-lu,' a transcription of Mongolian word 'baatur,' 'brave warrior, hero'; with time 'batur' morphed into the title or rank to be bestowed for courage in battles. The Yuanshi mentions batur supervised tents of the common people: '[Guuyk] ordered every hundred Mongol tent to be supervised by one batur' (Yuanshi, tz.2, p. 39).

^{LV} That means referring to armour braided from leather strips.

^{LVI} Version: 'of the Uyghurs as the text contains 回回 'kuikhui,' literally 'Islamic'; however, it may stand for 'Uyghur.' See above.

^{LVII} In the text 槍刃 'tsyang-zheng,' literally 'pike-blade,' yet, as 刃 'zheng' was also a generic morpheme for all types of cold-bladed weapons, and Pen Da-ya described its action, it could be identified to a palm, a bladed weapon on a staff 0.5–1.5 m long. According to archaeological data, palms were a rather popular weapon among the Mongols.

[The Black Tatars] have rectangular shields, weaved from leather, and instead of bamboo [in their frame] they use willow. The width of the [shield] is 30 cuns, the length is one and a half times the width. There have also round wicker shields made specially [for the soldiers] of the forefront of the battle wearing them on elbows. They are used when [the Black Tatars] dismount and only shoot [a bow] to crush the enemy. [The Black Tatars] also have round iron shields which are used as helmets. They use them to move and turn fast inside the [enemy] column during the [battle]. There are also wooden shields on poles which are used to shelter from stone fougasses of the [enemy] when attacking towns.

Each chief and military leader [of the Black Tatars] has one military banner. And he is the only one who [has a right to do so] (It is forbidden to set out [banners] for people of low rank). [Banners] are usually folded and put away. Every time they meet the [enemy], they either fold or unfold the banners to control the battle.

Regarding attacks on towns, [the Black Tatars] use stone fougasses. The stone fougasses are also set on towers. The towers have a set of ropes and are used to protect those who pull the ropes [moving the tower up to the walls].

When [the Black Tatars] attacked Fengxiang by means of the stone fougasses, they deliberately shot one [chosen] corner of the wall. 400 stone fougasses were mounted [for that]^{LVIII}.

The rest of their [military] weapons and equipment are similar to those [mentioned above]. Speaking of the most important of their [weapons], bow and arrows come first, and after that a sabre.

[I, Xu] Ting, studied this. The Tatars initially [were] primitive and did not ply any trade. And is there anything they can do but raise livestock? Their [Tatar] people are too simple minded and calm [to be craftsmen]. The only thing [the Tatars] can do [themselves] is to carve wood for the pommel of a saddle and cover it with sheepskin. They also carve stirrups out of wood. As for arrowheads, [the Tatars made] them of bones [as they] did not have iron. Later, when the Muslims [or the Uighurs] were defeated, the Tatars acquired handicraft production for the first time—they received masters and therefore received weapons and tools for the first time. As the Muslims were very skilled craftsmen, they improved [Tatar] weapons for an assault of fortifications. After Jin's death, the captured [craftsmen] taught [the Tatars] even more. After this, [the Tatars] gained a lot of good craftsmen and improved the technique.

Their [the Black Tatars'] army foodstuffs are mutton and mare's [milk] ([the Black Tatars] express their [mares] milk by hand, this is called 'to milk'). As for the first daily mare's milk, [the Black Tatars] let the foals drink it. As for the evening, they gather [mares] for milking. They store [milk] in leather vessels for several days. [It] tastes a bit sour when you drink it for the first time. It is [also] called kumis.

When [the Black Tatars] violate borders of other people, they certainly commit plunder and confiscation following the orders of Sun Tzu: 'to use provisions [taken] from the enemy'.

[I, Xu] Ting, often watched them [the Tatars] milking their mares in the daytime. I also often asked [the Tatars] about that. [The answer was]: first, there was no division between daytime and evening milking. According to their [Tatars'] rules, they first give the foals to suck milk a little, then they chase them away and milk the mares with their hands into a leather bucket, then they pour milk into a leather bag and pound it. Common people drink it [from that bag] during a few days.

When I first came to the golden tent of the Tatar ruler, [I] drank pure sweet kumis. It is absolutely different from the white [kumis] which is cloudy, sour and smelly. It is called 'black kumis' probably because it is pure and so it seems black [as vessel bottom and walls]. [I] asked about it and [I] was told: this [leather bag] was filled with [milk] and pounded for 7–8 days. The harder they pound, the purer [the kumis is], and when [the kumis is] pure it stops smelling.

It was the only time when [I] drank the [black kumis]. [I] never was honoured with such delicacies in other places. Moreover, [when I stayed] in the golden tent for the second time they sent [me] grape wine... [I] remember that [wine] is brought as tribute from the Uighur state.

Their [the Black Tatars'] moving army always trembles in fear of a sudden attack from an ambush. [According to the proverb] 'sit high, look afar', the best horsemen (even from the flanks) ride in different directions to investigate the [enemy territory] for 100–200 li. [They] attack suddenly and seize citizens or passers-by to find out the actual circumstances: better roads to use; towns to attack; lands to conquer;

^{LVIII} Most probably, here Pen Da-ya is recalling the 1230 siege of Phengsyang. Concentrated fire on a selected point of the fortress wall, made by numerous catapults, was recorded in the 1232–1233 campaign during the siege of other Tzi cities like Khaiung or Loayng.

places to set up camp; location of enemy troops; areas with food and grass. This is the responsibility of the cavalry patrols that return [to the main forces] with reports.

If the main troops [of the Black Tatars] unite [their] forces and carry out the formation 'turn of a hedgehog'^{LIX}, [the Black Tatars] first burn pi-pa and [then] choose one person to command all units.

[I, Xu] Ting, never saw large troops of the Tatars in those towns of Henan which I visited on my way northward. There also was not a single [Tatar] soldier in towns—[the centres] of districts and counties. Only outside the towns, in villages, there were cavalry patrols located in all directions and ruling [there]. In case of alarm caused by suddenly appeared dust clouds [made by the approaching troops] [the patrols] reconnoiter in all directions. If this [information] is [confirmed], they immediately report to [their] direct commanders who, in turn, report it to the main chiefs of the [Tatar] cavalry.

[When] they [the Black Tatars] set up camp, they without fail do so on a high hill. The tent of the commander-in-chief must be placed south eastwards. Before the tent, there are cavalry patrols (called *tolochi*^{LX} in Tatar) which protect the area in turns (troops are not deployed only right in front of the [tent]). On the sides of the tent of the commander-in-chief and behind the tents of dignitaries [there are] all the troop units, each of which is subordinated to their military leader (touxiang), who places them in order. In addition, noble [Black Tatars] distribute services and order to take up empty positions for easy foraging and cantonment. In case of unexpected [events], [the leaders] leave every second horse in the camp saddled for the night.

The name of the camp commander is the night password. If there is an alarm in one camp, the neighbouring one has horses awaiting the [signal for] pursuit or a surprise attack. Speaking of other camps, [they] do not move at all. The situation is different only with camps of cavalry patrols.

After the [camp] commander takes his place in the centre, the troops take their place around him. [Camp commander] passes plates with notches^{LXI} to the back ends of the camp for turn night patrols (this is the same as the system of shooting [warning] arrows in the Chinese army). Horses are fed inside the camps to prevent their escape. Before the sun goes down, they [patrols] build fires in their camps. They are called 'relay fires'^{LXII}. And while the night lasts, the [patrols] move where no one can see them to warn about a night attack. Meanwhile the fires of relay follow each other from the camp located at the very beginning to camps which do not move until morning.

[I, Xu] Ting, many times saw how they [the Tatars] use dogs for the relay^{LXIII}.

They set up camp in the morning, while it is light they need to explore conditions of the terrain [variant—military position] around.

Their [the Black Tatars'] battle formation is advantageous for field battle. When they do not feel superiority, they do not advance forward. While moving and stopping they find out strengths and weaknesses of the enemy. A hundred of horsemen can encircle the ten-thousand troop, and a thousand of horsemen can disband and occupy the territory of hundred *li*. When crashing the strong formation [of enemy troops] and carrying a position they use soldiers in armour of bonded leather at the prong of attack. There are, as a rule, three such soldiers out of ten [attacking] ones. When faced with enemy, [the Black Tatars] usually have the following battle formation: extended order with 4–5 [people in a group], so that [they] do not crowd together and can not be captured by the enemy. In general, [the Black Tatars] use dismounted order in regular [formation] and use cavalry in an extended formation. When the enemy troops disband or join together, [the Black tatars] do the same, as their cavalry reacts fast. It does not matter whether the

^{LIX} That means a manoeuvre made by manoeuvrable horse detachments thrown out of the battle orders.

^{LX} 托落赤 'to-lo-chi,' a transcription of the Mongolian 'torchī'—that is, 'the one who catches with a net,' from 'tor' meaning 'net, snare.'

^{LXI} Above Sui Gyn had already told about them.

^{LXII} In the text 火鋪 'kho-pu,' literally 'fire-station/mail post.' In antiquity that was how towers to watch the enemy and, through chain of signal lights, to remotely transmit information of the actions of the enemy were called. Cf. in 'Tszhichzhi Tuntzyang' ('Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Administration', 1084)? tz.288: 'The initial year of motto Tsyang-you [reign] of Ghao-tzu (year 948—*R. Kh.*)...then... they removed their flags and quietened their drums (i.e., stopped military actions—*R. Kh.*) and only put watch towers (in the text 火鋪 'khopu'—*R. Kh.*) along the Hwang Go River, which stood in tens of *li*, and warriors were standing [at the towers] in order to guard them.'

^{LXIII} In the text 狗鋪 'ghou-pu,' literally 'dog-station.' Although the German researchers R. Olbricht and E. Pinks suggest we consider this a mistake or distortion of the original text, there is a clear parallel here with the previous description about the Mongol's method of transmitting information through torch relays. Besides, in the 13th century the symbol 鋪 was not only used as an independent notion for an intermediate station for any kind of mail/relay but also as a generic morpheme for any relay. For example, this was how it was used in the decree of 1260 by Khubilay on the system of government couriers relay (急遞鋪) (Yuanshi, tz.101, p. 2596).

[enemy troops] are far away or not, large or small, extended or joined together, [the Black Tatars] move like a falling sky and go through like lightning. This is called 'troops [like] a flock of crows scattering in all directions'. They [the Black Tatars] join together and disband according to the direction [their leader shows] with his whip. They disband and [then] join together hearing the sounds of the [drum] 'gugui' as a signal. [The Black Tatars] can cover the distance of 1000 *li* very fast. Before the overnight stop they observe the signal lights so they know [where to go]. They [prefer] fighting in a very cold area. If there is no snow, [the Black Tatars] grind stones and pray to the Sky.

[I, Xu] Ting, observed the Tatar military art. [It] is only of one kind as [the Tatars] are ignorant and consider it to be right to attack savagely. In addition, they are not afraid of death at all. Since they [the Tatars] invaded the south, they have less and less failures and for that reason [their] courage is growing. [The Tatars] are brave but they let [themselves] be uneducated [in the Chinese military art].

Their foodstuffs are poor and consist of sheep and horses which follow [them] in campaigns. [The Tatars] do not practice the conveyance of food rations. However, although [their] army mainly consists of the Tatars, the rest of them are people of the fallen states. The sheep and horses are not even enough for the Tatars themselves, while people of the defeated states furthermore need a grain allowance. <...>

Regarding how they [the Black Tatars] defeat the enemy, they act [according to the proverb] 'sit high, look afar' and first study the terrain, find out the state of things of the enemy, wait for the moment when the enemy is confused and then attack. Every time [the Black Tatars] use a detachment of horsemen to first attack directly the main point of the enemy formation. As soon as the [enemy] weakens, [the Black Tatars] attack the enemy on a broad front and chase him. And even if there are 100,000 [enemy] soldiers [they] can not resist. If the [enemy] does not give in, the first detachment moves sideways and the next one attacks again. If they fail again to penetrate into [enemy's formation], the next detachments act the same way as the [previous ones]. So while they break through the enemy's [position], they gain time to concentrate the troops left, right and behind the [enemy]. And as soon as they close the enemy in, the last one to perform the [maneuver] gives the [signal] sound of the 'gugui' [drum]. Then [the Black Tatars] simultaneously join their forces from four sides and eight directions^{LXIV} and attack the enemy together.

In addition to this method [the Black Tatars also use]:

- one more thing—when [the Black Tatars] get down from a horse with round wicker shield in hand and shoot arrows with every step right to the target, then from both flanks [they] definitely break the enemy's formation, then mix [it], chase the enemy and break through the enemy's [ranks];
- or—when [the Black Tatars] see the opportunity to surround the [enemy's] foot troops, they position the [cavalry] detachment behind the [enemy's] foot troops and when [the Black Tatars] turn the enemy back, this cavalry detachment attacks the enemy;
- or—when they can not break the [enemy's] positions with all their tactical methods, they run cattle towards the enemy;
- or—[the Black Tatars] run wild horses with whips toward the [enemy], not to let the enemy take up an unconquerable position;
- or—if the [enemy] arranged the fence of halberds and the cavalry stopped its attack in the face of resistance, [the Black Tatars] surround the [enemy] with horsemen that patrol from a distance and shoot arrows from time to time forcing the enemy to expend energy in moving. After some time of such a tense standoff, the enemy inevitably runs out of food;
- or—if the lack of grass and water make the [enemy] leave, [the Black Tatars] attack and force [him to surrender];
- or—[when] the enemy's formation moves [the Black Tatars] do not hurry to attack, waiting for the [enemy] to be tired and exhausted, and only then break through [his ranks];
- or—if their army is not sufficient, [the Black Tatars] leave the area dragging the trees and raising the dust to the sky, [so] the enemy suspects that [the Black Tatar] army is large and becomes confused. Meanwhile, [the Black Tatars] attack and defeat him;
- or—[The Black Tatars] make their prisoners obey their orders and fight, [so the Black Tatars] win as the enemy is exhausted by the attacks [of these prisoners on his] picked and trained troops;
- or—as soon as [the Black Tatars] cross swords [with the enemy], they pretend to be defeated and run away throwing their treasure, so the enemy is [distracted] by picking up gold and silver;
- or—[when the Black Tatars] pretend to be defeated, but the enemy chases them and attacks, then their [Black Tatar] ambush cavalry appears and destroys [the enemy].

^{LXIV} Idiom meaning 'from all sides.'

And even when [the Black Tatars] suffer defeat, they still can win due to luck and skillful tactics.

This is due to the fact that [the Black Tatars] have always cared most about [fighting] with each other and [they] possess such [tactical methods] which are not mentioned in ancient teachings of [military art]. When they win, they chase the enemy, attack him rapidly and kill him not allowing [anyone] to be saved. When they suffer defeat, they scatter in all directions so their pursuers can not overtake them.

The commanders of their [Black Tatars'] cavalry used to be seventeen military leaders^{LXV}: Temochzhen' (that is, Chengjisi; after his death the cavalry [belongs] to the mother of Ukudai, now she heads it herself)¹, the illegal elder tsarevich Chzhochzhi ([he] is already dead)², illegal second tsarevich Chahedai (was sent to the north-west to the Muslim states)³, illegal third tsarevich Ukudai (he is the Tatar ruler now), illegal fourth tsarevich Toluang (having returned from Henan, he became ill and died, four people mentioned above are all sons of Temochzhen')⁴, Temoge-Wochzhin (shortly referred to as Wochen, entitled 'Nias-Shen-Dawan', the younger brother of Temochzhen')⁵, An'chzhidai (the nephew of Temochzhen', the younger brother^{LXVI} of Ukudai)⁶, Bodu-[fu]ma (the son-in-law of Temochzhen')⁷, Baisyma (the first name is Baisybu, the illegal tsarevich of the White Tatars and the son-in-law of Temochzhen', former husband of illegal princess Alahan')⁸, Muhuali-Govan (a Black Tatar, [he] is the father of Bovo and the godfather of Chalaven')⁹, Gete-Junwan (a Black Tatar)¹⁰, Xiao-Fuzhen¹¹ (a Khitan, responsible for the yards assigned for the needs of artillery¹²), Ahai (a Khitan, originally dwelt in Dexingfu)¹³, Tuhua (is the younger brother of Ahai, originally dwelt in Xuandefu)¹⁴, Minan¹⁵ ([he] is a Khitan; his son is Han'tabu¹⁶, *dage*^{LXVII} of Yanjing, currently ruling it) and Liu Bo-lin (Chinese, the commander of the *tumen* of 'younger brothers')¹⁷.

Speaking of field strength, I did not find out the exact number of soldiers. All I know is that there are several wives per one man and several children per one wife. And if earlier there were a few [Black Tatars] and now there is a lot of them, it means that their [field strength] and the [number] of current leaders is increasing. In addition, I do not know how many old leaders and skilled commanders died. However, a large part of [these commanders] who participated earlier in the conquest of Jin and fought in the lands between [Tong]guan and [Huang]he, such as Subutai¹⁸, Temodai¹⁹, Tachar (now called Benjan)²⁰ and An'char²¹ are still alive. And though [the Black Tatars] fight constantly, it seems that there is still no lack of soldiers able to [fight].

[I, Xu] Ting, observed their [Tatar] customs: one husband has several dozen wives or more than a hundred wives. They are very rich in terms of number of livestock per one wife. Chenjisi established it as a law that [the Tatars] must increase their offspring. [The Tatars] tolerate no jealous men [among them]²².

The current ruler of the Tatars is Ukudai, he was born in the year of bin-u^{LXVIII}.

[The barbarian tribes] *hu*²³ including the Black Tatars, [have] little facial hair, so the [barbarian] *hu* with a lot of [facial hair] certainly becomes noble.

[When I, Xu] Ting, stood in front of the golden tent I suddenly saw the Tatar ruler who came out of the tent with one or two companions to shoot a bow. The Tatar ruler shot 4–5 arrows, the [shooting] range was 200 steps. After some time [they] stopped shooting and immediately entered the golden tent.

As for the way they the [Black Tatars'] military leaders arranged border protection, the army of Wozhen is located in Liaodong, the army of Chahedai is in the Islamic [countries] and the army of Bodu-fuma is in Hexi. All of them have to protect [each other's] rear units.

The Black Tatars have 8 *tumen* heads. Some *tumens* have reduced strength, however this is an army of clans [of the Black Tatars' ruler]: uncles, nephews, children of younger and elder brothers²⁴ which are not included in the number of the [above-mentioned] *tumen* heads²⁵. There are 4 *tumen* heads of [troops from] Han lands²⁶.

^{LXV} In the text 頭項 'tou-syang,' a term first found at the Kidans, is a transmission of a *tarqan* term well known since the Turkic Khaganate (see below). It can also be found in Yuanshi and generally refers to the heads of the thousands (they commanded a thousand warriors), formed by warriors from their own clans/oboks. Often in these instances a *tousian*, the nominal head of a thousand, who in reality commanded several thousand warriors; with each regiment having its own actual commander, its own thousander in the original meaning of the word. This practice, too, matches the Mongolian status of *tarkhan*, the ruler of a nomadic appanage and commanders of their own military forces.

^{LXVI} Here, Pen Da-ya is absolutely exact in rendering familial terms of the Mongols as they did not have the notion of 'cousin' in that period and called any cousins just brothers (junior or senior).

^{LXVII} As N. Munkuyev explained, *daghe* was the transcription of Mongolian word *dargha*, a phonetic version of *daruga* (*darughachi*) word [Men-da bey lu, 1975, pp. 161–162].

^{LXVIII} 23 January 1186–9 February 1187.

All the other [military leaders] are inferior to these four tumen heads. The number of troops is large and their forces are numerous. Like the armies in Liaodong, Hexi and all Islamic states, [the Black Tatars] also have [troops] in addition to the Han tumens.

When [I, Xu] Ting, stayed in the steppe, I saw that their [Tatar] carts of chiefs and commoners were loaded with heavy treasure along with old men, children and property and they all went several days without a break. And the majority of [these Tatars] were 13–14 years old. When I asked about the [reason], I was told: 'All these Tatars are moved to fight in Islamic countries and it takes 3 years to get there. Those who are 13–14 years old now, will be 17–18 years old when they reach those places, and all of them will be excellent soldiers by that time'²⁷.

Muslims of all kinds have already resigned and joined [the Tatar] army. And this is the only kind of Muslims which dwell on the other side of Sichuan^{LXIX} and resist the [Tatars]. The capital of their country is 300 li [in size]. [This] area is fertile and a lot of things are produced [there]. [It] is warm enough to cultivate 'five grains' and fruit trees^{LXX} and melons [grown there] are huge in girth.

As for the countries that still do not agree to become vassals, Chahedai has been fighting with them for several years, that is why [the Tatars] increase the [number] of troops there.

They [the Black Tatars] treat all countries cruelly. Those [of them] that have already been defeated and do not resist have the following names:

- in the sou-east—the White Tatars²⁸ and Jin foreigners (nuzhens)²⁹;
- in the nor-west—the Naimans (or [they] are also called Naiman')³⁰, the Uighurs³¹, the Sary-Uighurs³², the Sarts³³ and the Kangly³⁴ ([these are all] the names of the Islamic states)³⁵;
- right to the north—the Tatars (that is, the Ursut clan)³⁶ and the Merkits³⁷;
- right to the south—the Xi Xia³⁸.

Those [states] which still resist and have not yet been conquered have [the following] names:

- in the East, these are Korea and the [state of Puxian] Wannu (that is the Jurchen state Dazhen)³⁹ <...>;
- in the nor-east, these are Nishu⁴⁰ and Nahai-irgen⁴¹ ('The Dog's State'. Men there have square face and fists, and have hair on the nipples. They walk so fast that they can overtake a running horse. Their girls are beautiful and graceful. The Tatars attack them, but are unable to win)⁴²;
- in the sou-west, these are Usu-irgen (the Water Tatars)⁴³ and Mubo⁴⁴ (a tribe on the western outskirts of [China], that is controlled by tribal leader and has no rulers on the throne⁴⁵);
- in the nor-west, this is Kybchak⁴⁶ (the Islamic state, [they] are a type of Uighurs)⁴⁷, first [they] surrendered, but then rebelled and escaped into the gorges and beyond the rivers to resist there⁴⁸.

When Temochzhen was alive, he said⁴⁹: 'You may try for ten years but you have to finish the conquest: if you hesitate to finish the conquest then the rest of the Jin dynasty can propagate again. You better leave Chahedai to protect [unconquered Muslims] and take the rest of the Jins and put an end to [them]'. This was what they did after that [that is, after Chinggis Khan's death].

In the year of gui-si^{LXXI} Chahedai, who became the main tsarevich by that time, attacked the following areas: Sindhu (the Black Muslims, there is no rain there and they sell water, considered to be a state)⁵⁰; directly to the north from here—Khara-Khidat (the Black Khitans or just Khitans, some people call [them] 'the Great Khitans', this is the state of Dashi Linh[a]⁵¹). [Chahedai] either takes away their lands or capture their population just as in Korea, in the [state of Puxian] Wannu, in the Dog's state, [in the states] of the Water Tatars and Mubo.

[The Tatars] can easily conquer all [these states]. Only the Kybchaks are too bellicose. If [the Black Tatars] do not put down [their rebellion], they can have a lot of troubles. They [the Kybchaks] are those with whom the Tatars will certainly fight. <...>

Due to the fact that the Tatars especially care about the horse hooves and roads rich in [food], [they] send [people in advance] to observe the grass growth in the steppe. <...>

^{LXIX} Translated as 'Western rivers/valleys.' This refers to the Wayghan River in the province of Xinjiang, known since the times of Tan as Sichuan, on the territory of the Uighur state of Kucha (Eastern Turkestan), together with its twin river Dunchuan ('the Eastern River'). At the same time, according to the 'Chzhungo gu-tzing dimin da tsy-dyang' (Comprehensive Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Geographic Names of China, 1935, p. 743), there is one more territory named Sichuan, namely lands west of the Sichuan province; most probably, they are meant in the place of the Book of Han that retells the story of Ughedei's strategic plan.

^{LXX} In China for a long-time the name for the main cereal and agricultural crops were: rice, millet, barley, wheat, and beans.

^{LXXI} 11 February 1233–30 January 1234.

When they [the Black Tatars] die while in the army, their bodies are sent back home. If it is not possible, they put a body in a bag, bury it, and take the property of the dead man.

[I, Xu] Ting, saw [the Tatars] who died while in the army. If servants travelled back home with the remains of their owner, they got the whole livestock [of a dead man]. But when other people [brought the body home], they got everything—his [dead man's] wives, slaves and livestock.

Their [Black Tatars'] graves do not have burial mounds. [The Black Tatars] use their horses to trample the [grave] and make it absolutely flat. As for the grave of Temochzhen', it is [surrounded] by arrows as a fence (more than 30 li in a width) and protected by horsemen.

[I, Xu] Ting, saw the grave of Temochzhen' located on the bank of the river Jlyroy. Mountains and a river surround it. I was told that Temochzhen' was born in this place that is why he was buried there. I do not know whether it is true or not. <...>

Written on the first day of the first summer moon in the year of din-yu of Jia-Xi [era name]^{LXXII} by Xu Ting from Yongjia, also known as Changru'.

List of Chinese measures and weights

li—about 576 m; 1 chi = 10 cun—32 cm

jin—about 600 g; liang—about 37 g; 1 ding = 50 liang

Comments

¹ The discussion is about the chief wife of Chinggis Khan—Börte, mother of Jochi, Chagatai, Ögedei and Tolui. Women in Mongolian society were quite equal to men and had both their own property, and the rights for property of their husband after his death. In the ruling dynasty, it also applied to the management functions, therefore, women often acted as regents.

² That is Jochi, the eldest son of Chinggis Khan. Died at the end of February—beginning of March, 1227.

³ Chagatai, the second son of Chinggis Khan, was allocated lands of Eastern Turkestan and Transoxiana (except Bukhara) within the lifetime of Chinggis Khan.

⁴ Tolui is the forth and the last son of Chinggis Khan and his chief wife Börte Üjin. After Chinggis Khan death he, being the youngest son, got the majority of the Mongolian tilt carts which the Mongolian Qa'an had had, including great military forces—considering the nature of the Mongolian army as a warrior nation (according to Rashid al-Din, the number of Tolui people made 101 thousand, see [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 266]). According to Yuanshi, Tolui died in September–October, 1232 (Yuanshi, juan 2, p. 32). His sons were 2 Qa'ans—Mengü Qa'an and Kublai, and also Hulagu—the founder of the Mongol Ilkhanate within the territory of Iran, Afghanistan and Western Asia.

⁵ Temuge-Otchigin, the younger brother of Chinggis Khan, 4th son of their father Esugei Baatar. Peng Daya gives his name very close to the Yuanshi variant—*Temuge-Vochitszin* (*Temoge-O[t]čigin*).

⁶ Here An'chzhidai means Alchidai/Aldzhidai—the son of Hachiun, the younger brother of Chinggis Khan, and cousin of Ögedei. In generation tables of Yuanshi he is named *Anchzhitsziday* (*Aldzhigidei*), and according to Rashid al-Din—*Eljiday*.

⁷ In Yuanshi (juan 118), there is a biography of Botu. According to it, Botu was of the Ikires tribes and first married the younger sister of Chinggis Khan, and after her death—his daughter Khochen Bekhi. It was he whom Peng Daya calls *Bodu-fuma* (*fuma* is the name of the son-in-law of the emperor accepted in China). Rashid al-Din also mentions Butu-gurgen (in Mongolian 'son-in-law' is 'gurgen')—Khochen Bekhi's husband, the eldest daughter of Chinggis Khan. According to Yuanshi, Botu died in the campaign against Xi Xia, that is in 1226–1227. So here, as well as in several cases of mention of supreme commanders of the Mongol troops who had died by 1233 (for example, Mukhali), Peng Daya speaks not about Botu, but about the troops which were under his command and came under command of his successor. In this case, it was Botu's son—Sorkhak who also married the princess of imperial blood—Altun Gunchzhu (the daughter of

the younger brother of Chinggis Khan—Otechigin Noyon, *Gunchzhu* is the name of princesses of imperial dynasty in China) (Yuanshi, p. 2922).

⁸ Here the discussion is about Buyan Sibān, the eldest son of the head of *Onghuts* Alakhush the Digit-khuri (Yuanshi, juan 118, p. 2924). In 'Mengda Beilu' (further—ML) he is also named Baysybu, but written in signs 白四部 unlike 白厮卜 in Han Shu. 'Basyma' is a transformation of Baysybu-fuma, since, according to ML, he was married to the daughter of Chinggis Khan Alakhai Bekhi. Buyan-Sibān was a Nestorian Christian, his name 'Sibān' is a Turkic form of a Christian name Stefan/Stepan. In the text, he is called 'tsarevitch' (*taizi*) as the successor of Alakhush the Digit-khuri, however, as well as in other cases, here it is told about the died leader of the Mongol troops—Buyan-Sibān was killed between 1211–1213 and in 1220 Zhao Hun writes about Alakhai Bekhi as about his widow (see [Mengda Beilu, 1975, p. 57]).

⁹ Mukhali (1170–1223) had died by the time Peng Daya appeared. His status and titles were inherited by his only son Bo'ol. Peng Daya provides his name very close to the actual pronunciation—'Boo[l]' whereas in Mukhali's biography in Yuanshi this name is mentioned as *Bolu*. 'Chalaven' is mentioned in the text of Han Shu (察刺溫—the Mongolian name 'Chalaun' is so told in Han Shu) is actually Tas, the senior grandson of Mukhali, the first son of Bo'ol as it is reported in the list of sons of Bo'ol: '7 sons: the senior is Tas following him Sugulchak... Tas, [his] first name—Chalaun' (Yuanshi, p. 2937). Peng Daya mentioned him not coincidentally—Bo'ol died 5 years before the arrival of Peng Daya, that is in 1228. Therefore in 1233 titles of Mukhali and his son Bo'ol were inherited just by Tas, same as 'Chalaven' (查刺溫). The mention of certain 'protection' of Mukhali to Chalaun/Tas is very precise information—in Tas's biography in Yuanshi it is said that he was distinguished by great abilities since childhood, and his grandfather Mukhali saw him as his worthy successor. Probably, it was connected with the poor health of Mukhali's only son—Bo'ol who died at the age of 31 and Tasu had to become his successor at the age of 17 (Yuanshi, pp. 2937–2938).

¹⁰ Katai, along with his father Jurchedai, were members of those first 95 colonels whose positions were founded by Chinggis Khan in 1206. Both of them were leaders of Uruuds, therefore, Chinggis Khan gave people of this tribe under their command [The Secret History of the Mongols, 1941, pp. 158, 162]. Thus, Katai came out to the top of the nomadic nobility at the time of formation of the state of Chinggis Khan. He kept this status at the time of Ögedei. Besides, Ketay was married to Ibakha Bekhi, the daughter of Zhakha Gambu, the brother of Keraits head Van Khan, she was first a wife of Chinggis Khan [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, p. 72]. The latter gave her in marriage to Katai together with all her bonded vassals and possessions. This act of Chinggis Khan was a demonstration of his goodwill and appreciation of Katai merits. Thus, Peng Daya rightfully included Katai in the list of chief noblemen—tarkhans (*touxian*).

¹¹ One has to agree with the explanation of Wang Guowei concerning a distortion in the title. Namely, in the present text, it is necessary to read 'dafu' instead 夫人 of 'fuzheng' 大夫 as reduction of the position 御史大夫 'Yushi Dafu'. Besides, the collation of stories about the capture of the Northern Capital Jin in the biographies of Mukhali and Shi-mo Yesen shows that the one who in the first biography is called 'Xiao Yesen', in the second one is actually Shi-mo Yesen (see (Yuanshi, p. 2931, juan 150, p. 3542)). Thus, it confirms the fact of the biography of Shi-mo Yesen that his patrimonial surname was Xiao. However, Peng Daya speaks, most likely, not about Shi-mo (Xiao) Yesen, but about his eldest son Zhala (Zhala[r]). The matter is that Shi-mo Yesen died in 1219, at the same time Zhalar inherited his rank of a *yuishi dafu* (Yuanshi, pp. 3542–3543). Most likely, he is mentioned in Mukhali's biography under the name of 'Xiao Temur'. The usage of the Mongolian name 'Temur' should not confuse—the Mongols awarded their non-Mongolian brothers-in-arms the honourable right to bear the Mongolian names or nicknames—or as an addition to their initial names or as their complete replacement by the Mongolian name in recognition of their services. According to the writings of the yuan author Van Yun (died in 1304) 'Shi chjun-u gun jia juan', it is known that Xiao Zhalar was a general, and together with two others—Shi Tianze and Liu Hay-ma, he was ordered to make the right wing of troops [Mengda Beilu, 1975, p. 64].

¹² Shi-mo Yesen was a founder of the so-called 'Black army' which consisted of the Chinese, Khitan and Jurchen people, who defected to the Mongols. And it was supplied at the expense of the yards of the Chinese people which were dedicated for these purposes. Shi-mo (Xiao) Zhalar after the death of his father headed the army and participated in sieges of many cities where stone-hurling machines were widely used. His merits during the capture of strong protected Zhenhemen gate at the siege of Kaifeng in 1232–1233 are especially notable in Chzhapar's biography (Yuanshi, p. 3543), just at the time Peng Daya stayed with the Mongols. And according to the data from 'Jin Shi', it is known that each wall and each gate of Kaifeng were under sustained and massed attack of a large number of stone fougasses during this siege. Therefore, there were also sizable

forces of the Chinese stone fougasse throwers that Chzhapar was also responsible for and this fact is, probably, mentioned by Peng Daya in the present text.

¹³ Yelu Ahai was a descendant of the Khitan imperial dynasty. In the beginning, he served the Jins, but in 1203 he defected to Chinggis Khan. It happened when he was sent to the Kerait Van Khan in the capacity of an ambassador—at that time Chinggis Khan was not so much an ally of Van Khan as a vassal and often stayed at the Keraites. During this mission Yelu Ahai came into contact with Chinggis Khan who offered him to come to serve him. But he did not defect to the Mongols at once. Instead of this, he agreed that his younger brother served the Mongols—as a hostage, a kind of insurance, while he remained an ambassador of Van Khan. But soon Yelu Ahai defected to the Mongols—in 1203 Yelu Ahai was noticed in the suite of Chinggis Khan. During the first campaign against the Jin in 1211, Yelu Ahai was the deputy of Jebe and was in charge of vanguard of his corps. Peng Daya truly tells the fact that during the first Mongol conquests in Northern China Yelu Ahai captured Desinfa, and his troops remained in all metropolitan area of Yan—the same information is given in the biography of Yelu Ahai (see (Yuanshi, juan 150, p. 3549)). However, by the time Peng Daya came to the Mongols, Yelu Ahai had died—he participated in the campaign against Khwarezm Shah, the troops under his command conquered a number of large cities of Middle Asia—for example, Bukhara and Samarkand. Right after the capture of Samarkand (1220), Yelu Ahai remained there as a governor, and later the main daruga of all conquered cities of Middle Asia. But soon after that, he caught his death [Ibid.]. Therefore, as well as in other cases, Peng Daya reports about Yelu Ahai's descendants who up to Mengü Qa'an's reign were in the capital area or commanders-in-chief of troops (Manghudai, the eldest son of Yelu Ahai commanded Khitan and Mongolian corps), or main darugha (at first Mal-Sergeg, the middle son of Yelu Ahai, and later his son Mayge inherited this position) (Yuanshi, p. 3550).

¹⁴ Yelu Tuhua was first a hostage of Chinggis Khan as a guarantee of behaviour of his elder brother Yelu Ahai whom Chinggis Khan entrusted a unit under command. However, the status of such hostages was high—they were a part of *kheshig*, the personal guard of Chinggis Khan: so, even Subutai began his service as a hostage. After the break in relations with Van Khan and the defeat at Mao-Undur, Chinggis Khan hid near Baljun lakes and swamps with the rest of his most devoted adherents—among them were also Yelu Ahai with Yelu Tuhua. This fact was considered as an honourable distinction, all who 'drank Baljun water', according to Rashid al-Din, were considered attendants of Chinggis Khan who took them as reliable and trusted people. So, in a number of biographies in Yuanshi the fact that the character or his ancestors were among those who were at Baljun with Chinggis Khan is emphasised as an important characteristic of position of the character, of his biography in hierarchy of the Mongol Empire. Yelu Tuhua was involved in war with Jin from the very beginning—in 1211 he together with his detachment acted as guide, with the corps of Mukhali (Yuanshi, p. 3532). In 1217 Chinggis Khan, leaving conquest of Northern China to Mukhali, gave him a number of troops with Yelu Tuhua as a member of command—he commanded a separate corps of the Chinese troops already [Palladius, 1877, p. 191]. By the time of Ögedei's reign, Yelu Tuhua had become one of the leading Mongolian commanders in Northern China—he received the title 'Chief Executive Great Noion', and in the campaign against Jin generals Chzhalar, Liu Hei-ma, Shi Tian-tsa and others, 7 generals in all, came under his command (Yuanshi, p. 3543). During this campaign he died (there is no date of death in his biography, according to Tu, it happened in 1231, but it cannot be considered as precisely known). His son Zhuge inherited his father's assignments, including the command over 7 generals [Ibid.]. However, in this case Peng Daya reports about Yelu Tuhua, but not about Yelu Zhuge since, most likely, Peng Daya could not know about Yelu Tuhua's death in 1233.

¹⁵ Shimo Mingan (1164–1216) was a confidant of the Jin commander-in-chief Wanyan Jiu Jin. While his defection to the Mongols is usually dated right after the battle at Xuandefu (September, 1211), but, according to other sources, he defected to the Mongols in 1213. Together with the Mongolian detachment, the Chinese troops of Shimo Mingan took an active part in the siege and capture of Yanjin in 1214–1215. After the capture of Yanjin, Shimo Mingan was appointed a commander-in-chief of all troops (Mongolian and Chinese) in this capital area and soon he became ill and died in 1216.

¹⁶ Peng Daya gives a clearer form of record of Shimo Mingan's son's name since in the biography of Shimo Mingan in Yuanshi his name is spelled as 中書相公 'Xiandebu' which also carries over the close sounding—'Hantebu'. According to ML, he was Yanjin's 'elder brother' ('*dage*'), and according to his biography—Yanjin's *xingsheng*, that is Yanjin's 'manager' (Yuanshi, juan 150, p. 3557). Thus, it is again confirmed that the word '*dage*' is the version of the word '*darugha*'. In 1220, Chao Hong finds Hantabu in this position

in Yanjin therefore the information given by Peng Daya is quite outdated here, since by 1233, Hantabu had succeeded to his father for already 17 years.

¹⁷ Liu Bo-ling (1149–1221) defected to the Mongols in 1211 when the Mongols besieged Weining where he was a colonel commanding defence.

¹⁸ Subutai was the greatest Mongol commander of Chinggis Khan and Ögedei (the translation of his biography in Yuanshi see [Khrapachevsky, 2004, p. 497]). From the middle of 1232, after Tului's disease and death, he led a war against Jin. And from March of 1232, to February, 1233, Subedei was outside of the southern capital of Jin—Kaifeng which the Mongol army besieged for almost a year. Therefore Peng Daya could have only the indirect information about him in 1233.

¹⁹ Temodai (忒沒得) from Han Shu and Temuday Horchī (忒木歹火兒赤) from 'Sheng-u chin-zheng lu' ('Notes about personal campaigns of sacred and aggressive [Chinggis Khan]') (see [Palladius, 1877]), about whom Wang Guowei wrote in his comments, are, probably, one person who must be identified with Jalair Temurtai (in the text of Yuanshi, this name is spelled as 忒木台 'Temutai') from the biography of his son Aurugchi in juan 131 Yuanshi. According to this biography, Temurtai was a great military leader and commanded large contingents of Mongol troops—backbone of the army of the Mongol Empire which already had a large number of non-Mongol detachments in the days of Ögedei. Besides, 'Jin Shi' mentions 'commander-in-chief Temodai' as the commander of the Mongol troops, the first troops that approached Kaifeng in 1232. And according to Yuanshi, Temurtai commanded a separate corps made up of 5 Mongolian families 'Urud, Manghud, Ikires, Kungrat and Jalair' under the special order of Ögedei and was the head of the so-called 'marching office' (行中書省 'sin-junshushen' was a special body of military administrative management in the province) in Hannan (Yuanshi, p. 3190). If one compares these data with news of 'The main records' of Ögedei's government and Subutai's biographies in Yuanshi, it is possible to conclude that in 1232–1233 Temurtai, though he was a commander, at the same time was under operational control of Subutai as the head of the entire campaign against Jin.

²⁰ There is a biography of Tachar in juan 119 Yuanshi. According to it, he had the nickname 'Benjan' (that is Baljal). Tachar was a grandnephew of Borokhul—one of the so-called 'four kuluks' of Chinggis Khan. However, a number of Chinese authors consider this information in Yuanshi to be wrong, and Tachar was Borokhul's son. Tachar was considered to be one of the most successful Mongol commanders during Ögedei's reign. According to 'Jin Shi', in 1233, Tachar along with the Mongolian troops was sent to besiege Caizhou. After its fall the next year, Tachar remained vice-regent in Central China and was engaged in military training for raids on Song, until he died in 1237/38 (see (Yuanshi, p. 2953)).

²¹ Aljar—according to his biography in Yuanshi (juan 122), he came from the ancient Xianbei family of Toba and early on joined Chinggis Khan. After the declaration of Chinggis Khan as Qa'an (in 1206), he became the closest deputy of Mukhali and later participated in his campaign of capturing Northern China, in the course of it he commanded large detachments and controlled serious military operations. At the time of mission remaining with the Mongols which included Peng Daya, Aljar participated in a siege of Kaifeng at the command of Subutai in 1232–1233 (Yuanshi, p. 3007).

²² In comparison with the decree established by Ögedei on quriltai in 1234: 'All those women who wear ceremonial and house clothes which do not correspond the laws are found guilty; and also those, who are jealous' (Yuanshi, juan 2, p. 33).

²³ The common name of 'northern foreigners'—Hsiung-nu and other Turkic and Mongolian nations in China.

²⁴ Chinggis Khan, and later his successors, assigned tilt carts of common people kharachu to his blood relatives and so-called 'tarkhans' (which means that he assigned these kharachu to them). From this moment they served their governors as soldiers as well. Nominally, they were a part of all-Mongolian army—as relatives of the Qa'an and tarkhans to whom they were subject were obliged to obey his orders. However, in fact they were assigned to their masters and served as their personal troops. They made up the so-called 'tammachi army' as a part of the Mongolian army which are known by various sources. In the treatises part of Yuanshi, it is said that from the very beginning the Mongol army consisted as of the professional forces subjected to the Qa'an and appointed generals/colonels, and of 'tammachi army' (Yuanshi, juan 98, p. 2508).

²⁵ It is clear that commanders of such 'personal troops', or 'tammachi army', had a rank of a colonel or a tarkhan (*tousyan*), but not a general. Apparently, it was important for Peng Daya to emphasise this distinction in status of the various commanders of the highest ranks in the Mongol army.

²⁶ Northern China and its nations, not only the Han, namely the Chinese, but also the Khitan, Jurchen and others are meant here.

²⁷ So Xu Ting describes the complicated system of draft ages of the Mongols. Though Peng Daya defines it extremely simply: 'those who are 15 and older', according to other documents of the Yuan period there are details that Xu Ting describes here. The matter is that younger draft ages had a special name and were classified in a separate category—'gradually growing'. So, in Yuanshi in the section of treatises 'Armies' (juan 98) there are several examples similar to the situation described by Xu Ting: 'Men in a family, who are over 15 and under 70 [years], all are registered in the draft register as soldiers... Guys, who are not adults yet, are fit into this [draft] register and are called 'growing corps'; in February, 1278, the marching office of Yunnan reported: 'The Mongol troops which were earlier garrisoned in Yunnan are very small. Therefore, it is necessary to train the troops from among the rising corp for action' (see (Yuanshi, pp. 2508 and 2517)).

²⁸ Here the Onguts are meant as those who wandered close to the Great Wall of China, which means to the south-east of the native Mongolian lands. In 1203, the head of the Onguts, Alakhush the Digit-khuri recognised their dependence on the state of Chinggis Khan. Further in the text of Peng Daya, there is a 'list of the conquered nations', which resembles the similar list of countries and nations conquered by the Mongols, brought in notes of Franciscan missions to the Mongols. This similarity is, most likely, caused by the common primary source the traces of which are visible in several similar lists in 'The Secret History of the Mongols' where they enumerated nations and countries which were conquered and still showing resistance to the Mongols.

²⁹ Thus, in the text 女真 'Nuzheng', Han Peng Daya separates the Han population of the Jin Empire from the Jurchen nationality dominant there.

³⁰ The Naimans were called a tribal alliance of various clans/tribes of Mongolian and Turkic origin (*Naiman* in Mongolian means 'eight'). Records on their conquest are included in this 'list of the conquered nations' on account of a great significance of the event—annihilation of the Naiman protostate in 1204 was an important stage on the way of creation of the empire of Chinggis Khan. Besides, in 1216–1218, the remnants of Naimans who had run to Eastern Turkestan were finally incorporated by the Mongols into their state. In Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's list the Naimans are also called the second, but after Kitay which is explainable—the Mongols called the Jin—Kitad (see [Sokrovennoe skazanie, 1941, p. 298]).

³¹ Peng Daya provides the names that he had heard from the Mongols in his list of the conquered nations. Therefore, the Uighurs are called close to their pronunciation, but not accepted by the Chinese writing—'hui-hu' or 'veiu'. This name is provided exactly in Mongolian by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine—Huyur [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 57].

³² With the word 'sapi', Peng Daya gives the old Mongolian word 'sary', which means 'yellow' (in Khalkha-Mongolian—'sphere'). Wang Guowei was right to identify this ethnonym with Shara Uighurs, or 'yellow-headed Uighurs', the nationality which exists now in Mongolia, China, and Tibet. They are present at Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's list as Sari-Huyur [Ibid.].

³³ The Chinese transcription of the word 'sapit' reproduces the word 'sartaul' the name of the Muslim population of Turkestan (compare with sarta'ul in 'The Secret History of the Mongols' [Sokrovennoe skazanie, 1941, p. 301]). This ethnonym also appears Giovanni da Pian del Carpine in the notorious list of the conquered in the form of Sarti [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 57].

³⁴ 'Kanli' very precisely reproduces the ethnonym 'kangli', and is closest to the Mongolian name 'kanlin' which is available in 'The Secret History of the Mongols'. In this case by the Kangli the Turkic people are meant, who lived in the east part of Dasht-i Kipchak kindred to the Kipchaks—once, as well as the Kypchaks, the Kangli were a part of the Kimak Khaganate. William of Rubruck called them Cangle [Ibid., p. 118], and Giovanni da Pian del Carpine—Kangit [Ibid., p. 57].

³⁵ The reference to 'the Muslim states' can mean both Islam confession, and affinity of these three nations to Turkic Uighurs. So, clearly, it is necessary to consider this note of Peng Daya as his additional reference to the ethnic affiliation of the Shara Uighurs, Sarts and Kangli to the Turkic world.

³⁶ The group of 'Khulun Jurchens' which differed from the group of tribes which was the main body of the tribal alliance of Nurkhatsi in the 16th century which was called 'Manchou' is distinguished among the Tungusic nations of the south of Manchuria in the 14–15th centuries. Nurkhatsi emphasised it, telling the ambassador of the Khuluns: 'We are Manchurians, you are Khulun'. This Khulun group of the Tungusic tribes consisted of four main clans, one of which was Ula. The areas of settlement of Tungusic and Mongolian clans and tribes on the border between Inner Mongolia and Manchuria were also called *Ula* and *Urut*, according to the Manchurian list of families census of the Jin Empire 'Jakun gusai Manjusai mukun hala be uheri ejehe bithe' ('Complete genealogies of the Manchu clans and families of the eight banners', 17th century). So, the

Mongolian clan *Urut* and Manchurian *Ula* are noted there, besides, in this census, a number of coincidences of names of clans and tribes which was available both in Manchurian and in Mongolian parts of this list. In the Chinese sources, not only the Mongolian tribes were written earlier in 'Tata'. Therefore, Peng Daya considered the Ursut to be Tata.

³⁷ The Merkits are one of the major tribal confederations of the Mongols who were enemies of Chinggis Khan. The localisation of them in the north is appropriate, as the Merkits wandered in the basin of the Selenga River, that is to the north of the Tola, Kerulen and Onon Rivers—the homeland of the Mongols, the tribe of Chinggis Khan. The Merkits were also listed in the lists of 'the conquered nations' in the news of Franciscan missions and Minorite William of Rubruck.

³⁸ Xi Xia is the official name of the Tangut state. It was destroyed by the Mongols by the end of 1227. William of Rubruck talks about the resistance of the Tanguts against the Mongols in this war of annihilation, and he tells of a legend about the capture of Chinggis Khan by the Tanguts [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 130], which is related to the similar legend about the death of Chinggis Khan in war with the Tanguts in the Hypatian Chronicle. Apparently, this legend is based on the fact of disease of Chinggis Khan during the campaign of 1227 in Xi Xia and his death in September of the same year.

³⁹ In November, 1215, Puxian Wannu, the commander of the Jin border troops, announced the independence of Liaodong from Jin and founded Dazhen, he adopted the title of Tianwang (Yuanshi, p. 19). Puxian Wannu was a member of the clan of Puxian, one of major jurchen clans which founded the Jin Empire.

⁴⁰ Most likely, they were certain tribes of the northeast of Manchuria and Amur River region. In the 13th century 'nishu' reproduced sounding of 'nizhu'—perhaps, it was the name of some unit of the Tungusic tribes which originally lived in the territory of modern Manchuria and Heilongjiang (the Chinese call the Amur River this way). Compared to the self-title of nationality on Amur—Nivkhs, or, rather, 'Nivukh' that means 'people'.

⁴¹ 'Nakhai-irgen' means 'the clan/tribe of a dog' in Mongolian. It is possible that the name was given after a totem of a dog. But the insistent mention of certain 'pesi nations' ('canine nations'), 'pesegolovtsy' by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, Benedict of Poland and C. de Bridia counts in favour of another version—the distorted transfer of information about peoples of Northeast Asia who used dogsleds. Besides, the localisation of these nations in the nor-east also indicates some nomadic hunters who used dogsleds as a means of transport.

⁴² Details of this story about the country of 'pesegolovtsy', is, most likely, a reproduction of mythic ideas of the Jurchen and the Mongols about the population of Northeast Asia which also have parallels in the Chinese geographical tradition. However, Peng Daya, perhaps, reflects here some historical events too—the Mongols conducted military expeditions (both the Mongols, and the Jurchen who had defected to them) against the so-called 'forest people' of Manchuria and Amur River region. In the epics of some Tungusic nations of Amur River region, there are legends about attacks of the Mongols against them, that's why they had to leave their homes and move from the south, that is Manchuria, to the north.

⁴³ The Mongolian word 'Usu-Irgen', which means 'the water people'. In the explanation of Peng Daya they are also called 水韃靼 '*Shui-Dada*' which means 'water Tatars'. Data of Franciscan missions and William of Rubruck contain news of 'Su-Mongols', or 'water Mongols' (see Giovanni da Pian del Carpine—'Su-moal, id est Moal aquatici Mongoli'), and Giovanni da Pian del Carpine also included them in 'the list of the conquered nations' (as 'Su-Mongal' [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 57]). Considering that the Chinese did not set aside the Mongols among various 'Tata' ('Tatars'), it is possible to identify 'water Mongols' of the European travelers of the 1240–1250s with 'water Tatars'—'the water people' of Peng Daya. 'Water Tatars' are often mentioned in the yuan texts, and usually together with the Jurchen and in Manchuria. See, for example, in Yuanshi, about the solution of Kublai 'to call in garrison troops [people] from the lands of the **Jurchen, Shui-dada** (水達達) and **Harbin**' (Yuanshi, juan 98, p. 2512). According to some researchers, 'water Mongols' were meant by the Tatars—initially Turkic nationality, but over the course of time mongolised, which was conquered by Chinggis Khan. 'Su' in the prefix to their name comes from suu 'most august', the word which accompanied the name of the khan, and, thus, the conquered Tatars are 'the Tatars belonging to the most august'. It is also offered to mean 'su-Mongols' by those Mongols who belonged to Chinggis Khan (see all argument in [Puteshestviya, 1957, p. 201]). However, such an explanation cannot eliminate the independent understanding by Europeans, and Peng Daya of 'su' and 'usu' as 'water' (in Turkic and in Mongolian, respectively) in the prefix to the name of the people. At the same time, the fact that Peng Daya localises 'usu-irgen' to the south-west from the native Mongolian lands near the Tibetan tribes Mubo, perhaps, indicates some other tribes, maybe, kindred to Shpwei or Xianbei (in the Chinese tradi-

tion—ancestors of the Mongols, therefore Peng Daya could consider them to be 'Tatars'), and living near the Tanguts and Tibetans.

⁴⁴ 'Bod' is the self-title of the Tibetans, and 'Mu', according to the Tibetan chronicles, is one of 'four major families': Se, Mu, Don and Ton, 'primal forefathers' of all Tibetans according to the names of whom the historic areas of their settlement were called.

⁴⁵ In other words, the level of these tribes, in Peng Daya's perception, was very low—they had only leaders who obtained different titles of honour in the form of 'favours' from the Chinese emperors.

⁴⁶ The Chinese transcription 'kebishao' reproduces the Mongolian name of the Kipchaks—'Kibchaut', stated as 'Kibčaud' in the pronunciation of the 13th century in 'The Secret History of the Mogols'. Thus, the sign which is nowadays read as 'shao', in the times of Peng Daya was the transcription of the Mongolian termination—čaud (with a marker of the plural '- ud') in ethnonyms, since in the Middle Chinese language the sign 'shao' (modern reading) corresponded to the phoneme * djew[t] (see [Starostin, 1989, p. 682]).

⁴⁷ Most likely, this indicated that the Kipchaks belonged to the Turkic world. It is unlikely that Peng Daya provided information about the common origin of the Uighurs and the Kipchaks here—the time of such community is too far from the time of Peng Daya, besides he gives information of the most common character in his short notes.

⁴⁸ Other sources also give the reasons of fierce war of the Mongols with the Kipchaks: the Kipchaks were constantly attacked by the Mongols since 1216, when they hosted the Merkits and Naimans who had run from their enemy Chinggis Khan (at that time they were taken by the punitive detachments of Subutai and Jebe, see [Rashid al-Din, 1952, I, 2, pp. 177, 183]); later they were at war with the Mongols as the vassals of the Khwarezm Shah during a war with the state of the latter in 1219–1222; and, at last, a part of their clans (in Eastern Turkestan) was assigned to the army of Subutai against their will by order of Chinggis Khan in 1225 ((Yuanshi, juan 121, p. 2976)). Most likely, the events of the last fight are described by Peng Daya as 'conquered... then later rebelled'.

⁴⁹ In the text 常曰 'ch'ang-yue' synonym 常言 'ch'ang-yan', which means 'aphorism, saying'. On the other hand, the sign 常 has another meaning also 'law, establishment'. Apparently, here Peng Daya repeats what he had heard from someone of the Mongols 'bilik' ('saying' in Turkic) of Chinggis Khan.

⁵⁰ India. In Muslim and Turkic sources it was called *Sind*. The agents of Peng Daya call its inhabitants 'Black Muslims' for two reasons: because of the dark skin of the Indians and religion of the dominant class at that time (at the given time a considerable part of India was under Muslim rule). The description of sale of water is quite reliable: in the countries of the Middle East and in India, there is still a profession of a seller of water who sells it in retail.

⁵¹ In Chinese sources, Western Liao, the state of the Kara Khitan, was also called Dashi Linya state, by the name of its founder of Yelu Dasha (*linya* is a Khitan title of the prelature in Liao). The state of the Kara Khitan existed in Mawarannahr and Eastern Turkestan. It was founded by Yelu Dashi (耶律大石), a member of imperial Liao family, after the destruction of the state by the Jurchens.

Material prepared by Roman Khrapachevsky

No. 3

Information of 'History of the Yuan dynasty' ('Yuanshi') about the Tatars

Most information about the Tatars is in the official history of the Chinese dynasty 'Yuanshi', in the section 'Liezhuan' ('Biographies') which contains biographies of the prelatore, military leaders, cultural figures who were in the service of the Mongol khans in the 13–14th centuries, and also short descriptions of those countries where these characters descended from. Among these biographies there are also biographies of Tatars, descendants of the tribes - the inhabitants of Mongolia and regions of Central Asia adjoining it before and in the times of Chinggis Khan, and also their offspring. They are biographies of the Tatars - Vanutai, Timurbuki, Dachzhir, Dakhaytimur, Toinna. In Yuanshi, there is information about a son of Chinggis Khan by name 'U-lu-chi-taichi', 'tsarevitch Uruchi', whose mother, according to Ke Shaomin, the author of history of the Chinese dynasty 'Xin Yuan Shi' ('The New History of Yuan'), was a Tatar.

In Yuanshi, the Tatars are called differently, and their names are written with various Chinese characters—'dadar' / 'tatar', 'dadai' / 'tatai', 'dadalитай' / 'tatalитай'. The biographies of the characters stated above are rather wide, but they contain particularly no data on the events concerning the history of the Tatars of Central Asia in Mongolia before the unification of nomadic people of Central Asia in the state of Chinggis Khan, that is before 1206, and all of them are devoted to biographies of Tatars in the service of the Chinggisids, generally during the reign of Chinggis Khan and his son Ögedei Khan, and also during the times of Yuan—the period of Mongol rule in China (1271–1368).

'Vanutai. From the Mongolian tribe dadar. His grandfather's name was Dasikhorch. Under Taichung's command, (Ögedei Khan) established (Mongolian) order on the Plain of China. He distinguished himself (in actions) and became a darugha (the Mongol governor) in Dunpinlu (province of China). Seriously rose. Vanutai served Shitszu (Kublai Khan, the grandson of Chinggis Khan and the founder of the Yuan Empire—the Mongolian state in the territory of China and actually Mongolia after the fragmentation of the Mongol Empire in 1260) in the Bachjou district (in Northern China) as a 'zong-lu-zonguaguan' (high-ranking official). On the seventh year Zhi-Yuan (1270) became a general of the troops which were at the forefront. (For his merits) he was awarded a golden and a tigerish paiza. On the eighth year (1271) he was transferred (to the position) of the Mongol general... He founded naval units on the southern coast of Wan Shan (in China). On the ninth moon (in September of the same year) he attacked Xianyang and Gucheng (the Chinese cities and fortresses) with the (Mongol) troops... He destroyed the troops (of the Chinese Empire) Sung in Anyang. He fought and disengaged 80 li (from the battle-orders of his troops in the heat of the fight)... On 10 moon (in October) the big army attacked (the Mongols)... (Vanutai) divided the (subordinated) troops and became a patrol on five roads... At that time Vanutai headed the fifth wing of the army... As a reward (for the feat of arms) he got 100 liang (1 liang ≈ 37 g) of gold... Xianyang fell... He burst upon the emperor's eye, was awarded 50 liang of silver, and also... armor and other gifts. On the eleventh year (1274), under command of a Chengxiang (minister) Bayan and a Pingzhang (specially authorised official) Ashu he conquered the South (of China). Received the order to be under command of general Shigeshuai. Repeatedly at the ridge Jiang-shan faced with troops of Song and breached their battle-orders... His troops fought their way and destroyed them (the Chinese army of Song Empire)... (Vanutai) was the first to climb the walls (of the Chinese fortresses during the assaults)...' [Yuanshi, 1958, juan 131, pp. (1514)27466–(1516)27468].

'Timurbuka. From the dadalитай... On the seventh year Zhi-Yuan (1270) received tiger paiza (a special badge of merit signifying the official powers of an official)... Participated in hijacking of the battle ships of the enemy (that is the Chinese ships of the Song Empire) and pursued them to Yunnan (the south-west province of China)... Inflicted a powerful defeat upon the (the Song Empire)... For his merits he was promoted in Xinsheng (marching imperial office—the department responsible for preparation and carrying out military campaigns). He was awarded 50 liang of white gold and one change of clothes, a saddle and a rein. In addition to that, on the ninth year (1272) he became a general. On the eleventh year (1274)... under command of a chengxiang Bayan, took part in the punitive campaign against Song and broke their great commander Fu Gui... The great army of the Mongols crossed the Yangtze. (Here) his merits were great. (For that), he was granted 500 liang of white gold. (Then) again, going with his

troops, forced to abandon (the Chinese fortress and city) Echzhou (key defensive point of the Song Empire), punished Guangxi (province of the southern China)...' [Ibid., juan 132, p. (1530)27482].

'Dachzhir. From the Mongolian Dadar tribe... Battled against the army of Song and broke it... More than once defeated the troops of Song, beheaded more than 500 enemies (in battle)... Captured the battle ships (of the Song Empire)... Again battled against the troops of Song, personally killed more than 10 enemies (in battle)... He was awarded a silver paiza and got an appointment in government army (the Yuan Empire). Then conquered Voduang (Hotana?)... Fought with rebellious Vans (Chinggisids hostile to the Yuan Empire)... Won them... Approached Ganzhou (in the nor-west of China). He was awarded golden paiza and promoted to zonguan... Under control of a Zhuwan (prince) Kheban and Yuanshua (commander-in-chief) Vangudai with their troops approached lands of the Voduang (Hotana in the territory of East Turkestan).. Zhuwan Baba rebelled. (Dachzhir) at the head of soldiers approached and attacked (the rebel) Zhidar. Partially defeated them (the rebels) and executed over 500 people... Advanced (up the service ladder) to the position of the deputy of the general... Took more than 30 people prisoner... was awarded a golden paiza, became the title holder 'the Gallant Commander who Pacified Yang' (that is Xianyang, one of the Song fortresses) and other liu (provinces), he was appointed a daruga in the administration of generals. Died. His son Jiangdu Bukhua (Tyanbuka) was his heir [Ibid., juan 133, p. (1535)27487].

'Dakhaitimur. From the Dadalитай... Served govan (the sovereign of the state) Mukhuli... The Mongol army conquered Zhungyan (Northern China)... (Dakhaitimur) occupied eight western districts (in Northern China), broke the (enemy) military leaders, vans (sovereigns) and the huns (princes) and their army. Beheaded the huns. Then... conquered Hesi (the Tanguts), destroyed Jin (the empire of the Jurchen in Northern China and Manchuria). He was distinguished everywhere (on the battlefield) and was awarded land properties. He conquered Shue (Sichuan—the province of China). Died in Xinyuan. His grandfather Jalatai... His father Badar distinguished himself by his valour... (Dakhaitimur) destroyed the Song army in Baishuijiang. Captured one enemy warship, and 30 enemies. Got promotion and the title of 'the Valorous Commander of Government Troops'. He was at war under command of the military leader Esudar... Under his command he participated in conquest of the countries Xiyu, (to the west from China)...' [Ibid., juan 135, p. (1556)27508].

'Toinna. From the Dadai tribe. In times to Shizu (Kublai Khan) he participated in the pacification of Nayan (the commander of Kublai Khan who betrayed him during the endemic warfares with other Chinggisids, litigating the throne of the Great Khan), distinguished himself and was highly appreciated (by the yuan government). On the seventh year, Ta Te (1303) became the colonel in the personal imperial security guard (of the Mongol governors of China) formed of Jincha (the Kipchaks), and daruga. (Toinna) was awarded the title of a 'Virtuous Commander' and a golden paiza... On the tenth year (1306), he was promoted to the position of a daruga in the administration of generals... and in accordance (with the position) he was awarded a golden paiza. He was promoted and became the title holder of 'the Commander of Faraway Conquests'. His position was changed and he got a title of a 'Nobleman who Faithfully Carried out the Decrees of the Sovereign'... As before he combined the previous positions. On the second year, Zhi-da (1309) became a Canzhi-Zhengshi ('one who participated in the administration of political affairs'), that is the councillor in Xinshen—the imperial marching office in Gansu. Rose (from the ranks) to 'the Nobleman Appointed by the Imperial Edict'. On the fourth year (1311), he became Qing (official) in the Taiyu department. He was promoted to 'the Nobleman who Faithfully Carried out the Decrees of the Sovereign'. On the first year, Huang-Qing (1312) became a daruga in the management of the generals aerlu (Argyn (?)—Turkic tribes) and the Han (Chinese) troops (on the Mongolian service) in the city of Xianyan. As before, he headed the Taiyu department. On the third year, Yan-Yu (1316) was awarded the title of 'the Virtuous Nobleman' and a Yucheng (the deputy of the head of the department) of the imperial marching office in Gansu (in the nor-west of China). On the second year, ZhiZhi (1322) rose (from the ranks) to a Zhengshi (councillor). Several times he was made a Fuyuanishi (the deputy of the head of the department). (Then) again he was given the position of Zheng (councillor)..., divided the departments in Shangdu (Kaiping—summer capital of the empire of Mongols in China). On the eighth moon, in spring (1328), Daolashao (Davlat-shah, a Muslim and the head of the government of Mongols in China) was killed. Wenzong (the Mongol emperor Tuktimur)

accessed to the throne (of the Mongol Empire in China). He awarded Toinna with the titles of the 'Nobleman Fired by Glory', 'Servant Representing Virtue and Devotion', 'Pillar of the State'. (Toinna) served Pingzhang-Zhengshi (an authorised person for management) to Zhongshu (the State Council or government). After that he was awarded the title of 'I-Go-Gun' (the prince, a support of the state). The afterlife name of Toinna is Zhong Ying. He had sons Dingtong and Zhierlakhon. Dingtong inherited his father's post, became a darugha in the administration of generals of the Chinese troops (who subordinated the Mongols) from Xianyang and administration of generals of aerlu troops. Got a golden paiza and a title of 'the Commander Fired by Glory'. Zhierlakhon long before it became a daruga and a general of Imperial Kipchak Guard, had a golden paiza, became the owner of titles 'the Commander Covered by Valour', 'the Nobleman of the Imperial Court'... He was raised to 'the Nobleman Carrying out the Imperial Edicts' [Ibid., juan 135, p. (1561)27513–(1562)27514].

Material prepared by Alexander Kadyrbaev

No. 4

'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini. 'The History of the World-Conqueror'

The source is quoted according to the edition: Genghis Khan. The History of the World Conqueror by 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini / translated from the text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini's by John Andrew Boyle.

PART ONE*<...>

[2]

**Of the laws which Chinggis Khan framed and the yosas which
he promulgated after his rise to power**

... then did God, in accordance with the above mentioned promise, endow Chingiz-Khan with the strength of might and the victory of dominion—*'Verily, the might of the Lord is great indeed'*; and when through pride of wealth, and power, and station the greater part of the cities and countries of the world encountered him with rebellion and hatred and refused to yield allegiance (and especially the countries of Islam from the frontiers of Turkestan to uttermost Syria), then wherever there was a king, or a ruler, or the governor of a city that offered him resistance, he annihilated together with his family and followers, kinsmen and strangers; so that where there had been a hundred souls alive; as a proof of which statement may be cited the fate of the various cities, whereof mention has been made in the proper place.

In accordance and agreement with his own mind, he established a rule for every occasion and a regulation for every circumstance; while for every crime he fixed a penalty. And since the Tartar peoples had no script of their own, he gave orders that Mongol children should learn writing from the Uighur; and that these yosas and ordinances should be written down on rolls. These rolls are called the Great Book of Yosas and are kept in the treasury of the chief tsareviches. Wherever a khan ascends the throne, or a great army is mobilized, or the tsareviches assemble and begin [to consult together] concerning affairs of state and the administration thereof, they produce these rolls and model their actions thereon; and proceed with the disposition of armies or the destruction of provinces and cities in the manner therein prescribed.

At the time of the first beginnings of his dominion, when the Mongol tribes were united to him, he abolished reprehensible customs which had been practised by those peoples and had enjoyed recognition amongst them; and established such usages as were praiseworthy from the point of view of reason. There are many of these ordinances that are in conformity with the Shari'at.

In the messages which he sent in all directions calling on the peoples to yield him allegiance, he never had recourse to intimidation or violent threats, as was the custom with the tyrant kings of old, who used to menace their enemies with the size of their territory and the magnitude of their equipment and supplies; the Mongols, on the contrary, as their uttermost warning, would write thus: 'If ye submit not, nor surrender, what know we thereof? The Ancient God, He knoweth'. If one reflects upon their signification, [one sees that] these are the words of them that put their trust in God—God Almighty hath said: *'And for him that putteth his trust in Him God will be all-sufficient'*,—so that of necessity such a one obtains whatever he has borne in his heart and yearned after, and attains his every wish.

Being the adherent of no religion and the follower of no creed, he eschewed bigotry, and the preference of one faith to another, and the placing of some above others; rather he honoured and respected the learned and pious of every sect, recognizing such conduct as the way to the Court of God. And as he viewed the Moslems with the eye of respect, so also did he hold the Christians and idolaters in high esteem. As for his children and grandchildren, several of them have chosen a religion according to their inclination, some adopting Islam, others embracing Christianity, others selecting idolatry and others again cleaving to the ancient canon of their fathers and forefathers and inclining in no direction; but these are now a minority. But though they have adopted some religion they still for the most part avoid

* Notes are omitted.—*Editor's note*

all show of fanaticism and do not swerve from the yasa of Chingiz-Khan, namely, to consider all sects as one and not to distinguish them from one another.

It is one of their laudable customs that they have closed the doors of ceremony, and preoccupation with titles, and excessive aloofness and the mighty. When one of them ascends the throne of the Khanate, he receives one additional name, that of Khan or Qa'an, than which nothing more is written [in official documents] ; while the other sons and his brothers are addressed by the name they were given at birth, both in their presence and in their absence; and this applies both to commoners and to the nobility. And likewise in directing their correspondence they write only the simple name, making no difference between Sultan and commoner; and write only the gist of the matter in hand, avoiding all superfluous titles and formulas.

He paid great attention to the chase and used to say that the hunting of wild beasts was a proper occupation for the commanders of armies; and that instruction and training therein was incumbent on warriors and met-at-arms, [who should learn] how the huntsmen come up with the quarry, how they hunt it, in what manner they array themselves and after what fashion they surround it according as the party is great or small. For when the Mongols wish to go a-hunting, they first send out scouts to ascertain what kinds of game are available and whether it is scarce or abundant. And when they are not engaged in warfare, they are eager for the chase and encourage their armies thus to occupy themselves; not for the sake of the game alone, but also in order that they may become accustomed and inured to hunting and familiarized with the handling of the bow and the endurance of hardships. <...>

With regard to organization of their army, from the time of Adam down to the present day, when the greater part of the climes are at the disposition and command of the seed of Chingiz-Khan, it can be read in no history and is recorded in no book that any of the kings that were lords of the nations ever attained an army like the army of the Tartars, so patient of hardship, so grateful for comforts, so obedient to its commanders both in prosperity and adversity; and this not in hope of wages and fiefs nor in expectation of income or promotion. This is, indeed, the best way to organize an army; for lions, so long as they are not hungry, will not hunt or attack any animal. There is a Persian proverb: '*An overfed dog catches no game*', and it has also been said: '*Starve thy dog that it may follow thee*'.

What army in the whole world can equal the Mongol army? In time of action, when attacking and assaulting, they are like trained wild beasts out after game, and in the days of peace and security they are like sheep, yielding milk, and wool, and many other useful things. In misfortune and adversity they are free from dissension and opposition. It is an army after the fashion of peasantry, being liable to all manner of contribution (*mu'an*) and rendering without complaint whatever is enjoyed upon it, whether qupchur, occasional taxes (*avārizāt*), the maintenance (*ikhrājāt*) of travellers or the upkeep of post stations (*yam*) with the provision of mounts (*ulagh*) and food (*'ulūfāt*) therefor. It is also a peasantry in the guise of an army, all of them, great and small, noble and base, in time of battle becoming swordsmen, archers and lancers and advancing in whatever manner the occasion requires. Whenever the slaying of foes and the attacking of rebels is purposed, they specify all that will be of service for that business, from the various arms and implements down to banners, needles, ropes, mounts and pack animals such as donkeys and camels; and every man must provide his share according to his ten or hundred. On the day of review, also, they display their equipment, and if only a little be missing, those responsible are severely punished. Even when they are actually engaged in fighting, there is exacted from them as much of the various taxes as is expedient, while any service which they used to perform when present devolves upon their wives and those of them that remain behind. Thus if work be afoot in which a man has his share of forced labour (*bīgār*), and if the man himself be absent, his wife goes forth in person and performs that duty in his stead.

The reviewing and mustering of the army has been so arranged that they have abolished the registry of inspection (*daftar-i'arz*) and dismissed the officials and clerks. For they have divided all the people into companies of ten, appointing one of the ten to be the commander of the nine others; while from among each ten commanders one has been given the title of 'commander of the hundred', all the hundred having been placed under his command. And so it is with each thousand men and so also with each ten thousand, over whom they have appointed a commander whom they

call 'a commander of the *tümen*'. In accordance with this arrangement, if in an emergency any man or thing be required, they apply to the commanders of *tümen*; who in turn apply to the commanders of thousands, and so on down to the commanders of tens. There is a true equality in this; each man toils as much as the next, and no difference is made between them, no attention being paid to wealth or power. If there is a sudden call for soldiers an order is issued that so many thousand men must present themselves in such and such a place at such and such an hour of that day or night. *'They shall not retard it (their appointed time) an hour; and they shall not advance it'*. And they arrive not a twinkling of an eye before or after the appointed hour. Their obedience and submissiveness is such that if there be a commander of a hundred thousand between whom the Khan there is a distance of sunrise and sunset, and if he but commit some fault, the Khan dispatches a single horseman to punish him after the manner prescribed: if his head has been demanded, he cuts it off, and if gold be required, he takes it from him. <...>

Another *yasa* is that no man may depart to another unit than the hundred, thousand or ten to which he has been assigned, nor may he seek refuge elsewhere. And if this order be transgressed the man who transferred is executed in the presence of the troops, while he that received him is severely punished. For this reason, no man can give refuge to another; if (for example) the commander be a prince, he does not permit the meanest person to take refuge in his company and so avoids a breach of the *yasa*. Therefore no man can take liberties with his commander or leader, nor can another commander entice him away.

Furthermore, when moonlike damsels are found in the army they are gathered together and dispatched from the tens to the hundreds, and each man makes a different choice up to the commander of the *tümen*, who makes his choice also and takes the maidens so chosen to the Khan or the princes. These too make their selection, and upon those that are deemed worthy and are fair to look upon they recite the words *'Keep them honourably'*, and upon the other, *'Put them away with kindness'*. And they cause them to attend on the Royal Ladies until such time as it pleases them to bestow them on others or to lie with them themselves.

Again, when the extent of their territories became broad and vast and important events fell out, it became essential to ascertain the activities of their enemies, and it was also necessary to transport goods from the West to the East and from the Far East to the West. Therefore throughout the length and breadth of the land they established *yams*, and made arrangements for the upkeep and expenses of each *yam*, assigning thereto a fixed number of men and beasts as well as food, drink and other necessities. All this they shared out amongst the *tümen*, each two *tümen* having to supply one *yam*. Thus, in accordance with the census, they so distribute and exact the charge, that messengers need make no long detour in order to obtain fresh mounts while at the same time the peasantry and the army are not placed in constant inconvenience. Moreover strict orders were issued to the messengers with regard to the sparing of the mounts, etc., to recount all of which would delay us too long. Every year the *yams* are inspected, and whatever is missing or lost has to be replaced by the peasantry.

Since all countries and peoples have come under their domination, they have established a census after their accustomed fashion and classified everyone into tens, hundreds and thousands; and required military service and the equipment of *yams* together with the expenses entailed and the provision of fodder—this in addition to ordinary taxes; and over and above all this they have fixed the *qupchur* charges also.

They have a custom that if an official or a peasant die, they do not interfere with the estate he leaves, be it much or little, nor may anyone else tamper with it. And if he have no heir, it is given to his apprentice or his slave. On no account is the property of a dead man admitted to the treasury, for they regard such a procedure as inauspicious.

When Hülegü appointed me to [the governorship of] Baghdad, the inheritance taxes were in force in all that region; I swept away that system and abolished the imposts that had been levied in the countries of Tustar and Bayat.

There are many other yasas, to record each of which would delay us too long; we have therefore limited ourselves to the mention of the above. <...>

[4]

Of the sons of Chingiz-Khan

Chingiz-Khan had much issue, both male and female, by his wives and concubines. His eldest wife was Yesünjin Beki. Now according to the custom of the Mongols the rank of the children of one father is in proportion to that of their mothers, so that the child of an elder wife is accorded greater preference and precedence. By this wife Chingiz-Khan had four sons who had risked their lives in the execution of great affairs and glorious actions and were to the throne of the kingdom as its four pedestals and to the palace of the khanate as its four pillars. For each of these Chingiz-Khan had selected a special office. To Tushi, the eldest, he assigned hunting and the chase, which is a great sport with the Mongols and held in high esteem by them; while to Chaghatai, who came next to him, fell the administration of the *yasa* and the law, both the enforcement thereof and the reprimanding and chastisement of those that contravened it. Ögedei he selected for [all that called for] understanding and counsel and for the administration of troops and the equipment of armies. When the matter of Ong-Khan had been disposed of and the tribes of the Mongols had, some by choice and some by compulsion, been reduced to his command and rendered submissive and obedient to his orders he divided the tribes and peoples of the Mongols and the Naiman, as well as the armies, between the aforesaid sons; and to each of his other younger sons and to his brothers and kinsmen he allotted their share of the armies. And thereafter he was wont to urge the strengthening of the edifice of concord and the consolidation of the foundations of affection between sons and brothers; and used continually to sow the seed of harmony and concord in the breasts of his sons and brothers and kinsfolk and to paint in their hearts the picture of mutual aid and assistance. And by means of parables he would fortify that edifice and reinforce those foundations. One day he called his sons together and taking an arrow from his quiver he broke it in half. Then he took two arrows and broke them also. And he continued to add to the bundle until there were so many arrows that even athletes were unable to break them. Then turning to his sons he said: 'So it is with you also. A frail arrow, when it is multiplied and supported by its fellows, not even mighty warriors are able to break it but in impotence withdraw their hands therefrom. As long, therefore, as you brothers support one another and render stout assistance one to another, though your enemies be men of great strength and might, yet shall they not gain the victory over you. But if there be no leader among you, to whose counsel the other brothers, and sons, and help-meets, and companions submit themselves and to whose command they yield obedience, then you case will be like unto that of the snake of many heads. One night, when it was bitterly cold, the heads desired to creep into a hole in order to ward off the chill. But as each head entered the hole another head would oppose it; and in this way they all perished. But another snake, which had but one head and a long tail, entered the hole and found room for his tail and all his limbs and members, which were preserved from the fury of the cold'. And there were many such parables which he adduced in order confirm in their minds his words of counsel. They afterwards always abided by this principle; and although authority and empire are apparently vested in one man, namely him who is nominated Khan, yet in reality all the children, grandchildren and uncles have their share of power and property; a second *quriltai* apportioned and divided all his kingdoms among his kinsfolk, sons and daughters, and brothers and sisters.

When during the reign of Chingiz-Khan the kingdom became of vast extent he assigned to everyone his place of abode which they call *yurt*. Thus to Otegin Noyan, his brother, and to some of his grandchildren he apportioned territory in the regions of Khitai. To his eldest son, Tushi, he gave the territory stretching from the regions of Qayaligh and Khorazm to the remotest parts of Saqsin and Bulghar and as far in that direction as the hoof of Tartar horse had penetrated. Chaghatai received the territory extending from the land of the Uighur to Samarqand and Bokhara, and his place of residence was in Quyas in the neighbourhood of Almaligh. The capital of Ögedei, the heir-apparent, during his father's reign was his *yurt* in the region of the Emil and the Qobaq; but when he ascended the throne of the Khanate he removed it to their original homeland, between Khitai and the land of the Uighur, and gave that other fief to his own son Güyük: an account of his various dwelling places has been recorded separately. Toli's territory, likewise, lay adjacent thereto, and indeed this spot is the middle of their empire like the centre of a circle.

What we have related is but an insignificant part of the story. The children and grandchildren of Chingiz-Khan are more than ten thousand, each of whom has his own position (*maqām*), yurt, army and equipment. To record them all is impossible: our purpose in relating this much was to show the harmony which prevails among them as compared with what is related concerning other kings, how brother falls upon brother and son mediates the ruin of father till of necessity they are vanquished and conquered and their authority is downfallen and overthrown. 'God Almighty hath said: '*And dispute not lest ye become faint-hearted and your success go from you*'. Whereas by mutual aid and assistance those khans of the children of Chingiz-Khan that succeeded him on the throne have conquered the whole world and utterly annihilated their enemies. Now the purpose of these tales and histories is that the intelligent man may learn without the pain of experience and be edified by the study of these discourses. <..>

[38]

Of Tushi and the accession of Batu in his stead

When Tushi, who was the eldest son, had gone to Qulan-Bashi to join Chingiz-Khan and had returned from thence, the predestined hour arrived. And of his sons, Boghal, Hordu, Batu, Sibaqa, Tangut, Berke and Berkecher, these seven had come of age; and Batu succeeded his father and became ruler of the kingdom and his brothers. And when Qa'an came to the throne of the Empire Batu reduced and subjugated all the territory adjoining his own, including all that remained of the Qifcgaq, the Alan, the As and the Rus, and other lands also such as Bulghar, Magas, etc.

And Batu abode in his own encampment, which he had set up in the region of the Etıl; and he built a town there which is called Sarai; and his word was law in every land. He was a king that inclined towards no faith or religion: he recognized only the belief in God and was blindly attached to no sect or creed. His bounty was beyond calculation and his liberality immeasurable. The kings of every land and the monarchs of the horizons and everyone else came to visit him; and before their offerings, which were the accumulation of ages, could be taken away to the treasury, he had bestowed them all upon Mongol and Moslem and all that were present, and heeded not whether it was much or little. And merchants from every side brought him all manners of wares, and he took everything and doubled the price of it several times over. And he wrote drafts on the Sultans of Rum and Syria and granted them yarlıghs; and no one that came to visit him departed without achieving his purpose.

When Güyük Khan succeeded to the Khanate, Batu, at his request and entreaty, set out to meet him. When he had reached Ala-Qamaq the death of Güyük Khan occurred. he halted in that place, and the princes came to visit him from every side; and they settled the Khanate upon Mengü Qa'an, the account whereof will be given in the chapter on Mengü Qa'an. And from thence he went back, and came to his own *ordu*, and busied himself with pleasures and amusements. And whenever a campaign was being organized he would, in accordance with the exigencies of the occasion, dispatch armies led by his relations, kinfolk and commanders. When in the year 653/1255–6, Mengü Qa'an held another *quriltai*, he sent Sartaq, who was an adherent of the Christian faith. Sartaq had not yet arrived when the commandment of God was fulfilled and the inevitable state came to pass in the year... And when Sartaq arrived, Mengü Qa'an received him with honour and respect and distinguished him with all manner of kindnesses above all his equals; and he dismissed him with such wealth and riches as befitted so great a king. He had not yet reached his *ordu* but had only come to... when he too departed to join his father. Mengü Qa'an sent his emirs to console his wives and brothers; and he commanded that Boraqchin Khatun, who was Batu's chief wife, should issue orders and educate Ulaghchi, the son of Sartaq, until he grew up and succeeded his father. But Fate had not willed it thus, and Ulaghchi passed away that same year.

[39]

Of the conquest of Bulghar and the territory of the As and the Rus

When Qa'an held the great *quriltai* for the second time, they deliberated together concerning the extirpation and subjugation of all remaining rebels; and it was decided to seize the lands of the Bulghar, the As and the Rus, which bordered on the camping grounds of Batu; for they had not completely submitted being deluded by the size of their territory. He therefore deputed certain princes to aid and assist Batu, viz. Mengü Qa'an and his brother Böchek; his own sons Güyük Khan and Qadaghan; of the other

princes, Kölgen, Büri and Baidar; Batu's brothers, Hordu and Tangut; and several other princes as well as Sübetei Bahadur from amongst the chief commanders. The princes departed each to his own place of residence in order to organize their forces and armies; and in the spring they each of them set forth from his own territory and hastened to carry out this undertaking. They came together in the territory of the Bulghar. The earth echoed and reverberated from the multitude of their armies, and at the size and tumult of their forces the very beasts stood amazed. First they took by storm the city of Bulghar, famous throughout the world for the strength of its position and ample resources; and as a warning to others they slew the people or led them captive. And from thence they proceeded to the land of the Rus and conquered that country as far as the city of Magas, the inhabitants of which were as numerous as ants or locusts, while its environs were entangled with woods and forests such that even a serpent could not penetrate them. The princes all halted on the outskirts of the town, and on every side they built roads wide enough for three or four waggons to pass abreast. And they set up mangonels opposite the walls, and after a space of several days left nothing of the city but its namesakes, and took great booty. And they gave orders to cut off the right ears of the people, and two hundred and seventy thousand ears were counted. And from thence the princes turned homewards.

[40]

Of the horsemen of the Keler and Bashgird

When the Rus, the Qifchaq and the Alan had been annihilated, Batu resolved to proceed to the destruction of the Keler and Bashgird, who are large nations professing the Christian faith and are said to border on the land of the Franks. With this object in mind he arrayed his armies and set out in the new year. And that people was rendered arrogant by the magnitude of their numbers, the greatness of their power and the strength of their arms; and when they heard the report of Batu's approach they too set out to meet him with four hundred thousand horsemen, each of whom was famous in war and considered flight disgrace. Batu sent his brother Sibaqaq on in advance with ten thousand men to spy out their numbers and send word of the extent of their strength and might. Sibaqaq set forth in obedience to his command and at the end of a week came back and reported that they were double the size of the Mongol army, all men of war and battle. When the two armies drew close to each other Batu went up on to a hilltop; and for one day and night he spoke to no one but prayed and lamented; and he bade the Moslems also assemble together and offer up prayers. The next day they made ready for battle. A large river lay between the armies: Batu sent over a detachment by night and then his [main] army crossed. Batu's brother entered the battle in person and made attack after attack; but the enemy's army was strong and did not budge. Then the [main] army arrived from behind; and Sibaqaq attacked at the same time with all his forces; and they bore down on their royal pavilions and cut the ropes with their swords. And when the Mongols had overturned their pavilions the army of the Keler lost heart and fled. And no more of that army escaped, and those lands also were subjugated. This was one of their greatest deeds and their fiercest battles. <...>

PART THREE <...>

[2]

Of Bachman and his destruction

When Qa'an dispatched Mengü Qa'an, Batu and the other princes to conquer the countries of the Bulghar, As and Rus and the Qifchaq, Alan and other tribes, all those regions were cleared of mischief-makers and such as had escaped the sword bowed their heads in submission. However, one of the discomfited Qifchaq chieftains, a man called Bachman, had evaded pursuit together with a band of Qifchaq warriors, and he had been joined by other fugitives. Having no lair or hiding-place to serve as base he betook himself every day and every night to a different spot. And because of his dog-like nature he would strike wolf-like on every side and make off with something. Gradually his evil grew worse and he wrought greater mischief; and wherever the army sought him they could not find him since he had departed elsewhere and hidden his tracks.

Most of his refuges and hiding-places were on the banks of the Etil. here he would lie concealed in the forests, from which he would spring out like a jackal, seize hold of something and hide himself once

again. Prince Mengü Qa'an ordered 200 boats to be constructed and 100 fully armed Mongols to be set in each. Then he and his brother Böček formed a *nerge* on either side of the river. Coming to one of the forests along the Etil they found the traces of an encampment that had been vacated that very morning: broken waggons and the dung of men and beasts lying around. Amidst all this rubbish they caught sight of a sick old woman. They asked her what had happened, who the horsemen were, and where, and of what manner. They discovered that Bachman had decamped that very moment and taken refuge on an island in the middle of the river and that all the animals and wares he had stolen in the course of his depredations were likewise on that island. They had no boats with them, and the river was billowing like a sea so that it was impossible to swim in it, let alone ride a horse. Suddenly a wind sprang up and blew away the water from the approach to the island so that the bottom appeared. Mengü Qa'an ordered the troops to ride in without delay. Bachman was seized before he was aware, and his army was destroyed within an hour, some being flung into the river and others killed outright. The Mongols bore off their wives and children as prisoners, and they likewise carried off much valuable booty. Then they returned. The water began to move and when the troops had crossed it was back again without one soldier's having suffered harm.

When Bachman was brought before Mengü Qa'an he begged to be put to death by the latter's own hand. Instead he ordered his younger brother Böček to cut him in half.

These indications provide a reason for the transfer of power and the key of empire to the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an such as requires no further demonstration.

[3]

Of the accession of the lord of the seven climes, the just emperor, Mengü Qa'an, to the throne of the Khanate, and of his spreading the carpet of Nushirvanian justice, and reviving the practices of sovereignty, and laying down the principles of monarchy

<...> That is to say, the keys of the kingdom of '*For the earth is God's: to such of His servants as He pleaseth doth He give it as a heritage*' were laid in the powerful hand of the Supreme Monarch, the Lord of all mankind, the Khan of all Khans, Arab and non-Arab, Mengü Qa'an (*may he live till the end of the world!*); and the surface of the face of the earth was again decked out and adorned because of his all-embracing justice, and the affairs of mankind in general and the concerns of the Moslems in particular took on a new freshness and brilliance. Of this the circumstances are made plain in the events which shall be described and the truth hereof expounded in the chapters that shall be written. '*And our trust is in the grace of our Lord. Verily, it is He to Whom we turn for aid!*'

Batu had set out from his ordu in the Bulghar and Saqsin country to proceed to the Court of Güyük Khan and had arrived in Ala-Qamaq, which is a week's distance from the town of Qayaligh, when he heard the report of Güyük Khan's death. He halted where he was and sent messenger after messenger to his kinsman on every side to announce his arrival: he bade them present themselves [before him there]. Mengü Qa'an set out from the region of Qara-Qorum. As for Siremün and the other grandsons and wives of Qa'an who were in that region, they sent Qonqurtaqai Noyan, the emir of Qara-Qorum, as their agent and gave a written undertaking to the following effect: 'Batu is *aqqa* to all the princes. Whatever he commands his word is law. We consent thereto nor shall we refuse whatever he prescribes and sees fit'. As for the other princes, [viz.] the sons of Güyük Khan, being already in that neighbourhood, they came to Batu in advance [of the rest]. They remained a day or two and then, without seeking permission, turned back towards their own ordu on the pretext that the practitioners of the science of the *qam* had not sanctioned a longer stay. They left Temür Noyan as their agent with Batu with instructions that when the necklaces of the assembly was reached between *aqqa* and *ini* he too should give his consent.

The princes now presented themselves from every side. Of the sons of Qa'an there came Qadaghan Oghul and of the sons and grandsons of Chaghatai, Qara-Hülegü and Mochi. [There came also] Mengü Qa'an with his brother Möge and Arigh Böke and the emirs Uhatai and Yesü-Buqa; and from other directions came the emirs and noyans and the other princes and nephews of Batu. They held a great assembly and after feasting for some days deliberated together about the entrusting of the Khanate to a person who was fitted thereto and had experienced the good and ill, the weal and woe of action, and tasted the sweet and bitter of life, and led armies for and near, and won renown in banquets and victory

in battles. For days and nights they weighed and pondered this matter, that is which prince there was of the sons and grandsons of the race and lineage (*urugh*) of Chingiz-Khan who by his sound judgment and penetrating counsel might control the lands and guard the roads; for if the affairs of the Empire were to remain neglected as they were the very basis of the commonweal would be overturned and the knots of administration loosened, so that the ordering thereof by the hand of wisdom and policy would be impossible and mending thereof by deliberation inconceivable.

*And no lord shall be lost to us ever but we shall rear
amongst us a lad to be our lord.*

Finally after much thought and reflection all present in that assembly, whether princes or emirs and *noyans*, arrived at the decision that since Batu was the eldest of the princes and the leader amongst them he was best conversant with the good and ill in the affairs of the realm and dynasty (*daulat*). It was for him to decide whether he should become Khan himself or suggest another as Khan. All being agreed on this decision they gave written undertakings that they would in no way go back on their word or contravene Batu's command. And having thus concluded and wound up their discussion that day they began to drink and make merry.

*The next day when the banner of the light of day was unfurled and the veil of darkness removed—
A day such that [even] the world-illuminating lantern became bright of eye from [contemplating] it;
Its dawn having risen out of Paradise, its wind experienced the breadth of the Messiah—*

the necklace of the princes' assembly was as on the previous day strung in the manner of the Pleiades. Batu took up the speeches of that day and none having anything to add thereto he continued as follows: 'The administration of so great a realm and the advancement of so delicate a matter can be effected by such a person, and only such a person can extricate himself from the straits of entrance and egress, as has known and experienced the *yasa* of Chingiz-Khan and the customs of Qa'an, and in the race-course of wisdom and the hippodrome of manliness has borne off the reed of excellence from all his peers and equals, and has in person supervised important affairs and been in charge of weighty matters, and in the overcoming of difficulties and the crushing of rebels has provided unanswerable proofs. Now of the lineage (*urugh*) of Chingiz-Khan is Mengü Qa'an, who is famous for his shrewdness and bravery and celebrated for his sagacity and valour. The affairs of the Khanate should be ordered and regulated by the excellence of his world-adorning counsel and the welfare of land and people assured by the good fortune of his knot-loosening resolution and forethought.

*In this world there always appears the affair for every man
and the man for every affair.*

'There are men for every action and everything is possible to such as are created for it'. I shall place the reins of this affair in the hands of his proficiency and put the signet of the Empire upon the finger of his resolve and experience, for that unbroken horse, the world, will be tamed beneath the things of his severity and valour and the sword that protects the commonweal and guards the frontiers will be unsheathed from the scabbard of his resolve and intrepidity'.

Hearing these words with the ear of intelligence and understanding all present knew of a certainty that the profits and advantages hereof would accurate to all mankind and to themselves in particular and that whatever was beyond this would be redundant—'when thou dost pass beyond the straight it is crooked'. They exclaimed as one man: 'Though hath given the bow to him that shaped it and hath settled in the house him that built it'. Beyond this stage there is no thoroughfare. 'There is no village beyond Abbadan'. And each said truthfully in allegory:

*'If I tear my heart away from thee
and take my love from thee, upon whom shall I cast that love,
whither shall I take that heart?'*

An every jewel comes to rest when it finds its proper settling.

However Mengü Qa'an would not consent and for days he continued to refuse and would not undertake this immense charge nor accept this mighty obligation. When this persistence had exceeded all bounds his brother Möge Oghul, who was adorned with the jewel of wisdom and authority, rose to his feet and said: 'In this assembly we have all given written undertakings and in this meeting we have all promised to abide by Batu Qa'an commands, and suffer no change or alteration thereof, and desire no

addition to his words. But since now Mengü Qa'an seeks to deviate from the advice of the *aqqa* and his own statement, if hereafter *aqqa* and *ini* should disagree on some matter, let it not give rise to censure or be the subject of reproach'.

He spoke in this fashion and with the diamond of his tongue pierced the pearl of this affair. It was a clear proof and a decisive demonstration, and Batu praised these words and applauded Möge. And Mengü Qa'an was convinced.

And since the rare and wonderful works of God had made the sapling of kingship firm of root and lofty of branch beside the stream of '*And We made you kings*', Batu as is the custom of the Mongols, rose up and all the princes and noyans knelt down with him. He then seized a goblet and set the Khanate in its proper place. All the preachers and novices approved his action.

*The leadership has come to thee submissively,
trailing its skirts towards thee.*

It was fit only for him and he was fit only for it.

*Had another than he desired it, the
earth would have quaked with quakes.*

Everyone who was present in that assembly acclaimed [Mengü Qa'an] as sovereign, and they arranged to hold the great quriltai in Onan-Kelüren in the new year. And with this intention each returned to his own encampment.

Tidings hereof spread throughout the world and penetrated to the farthest corners of the earth. And Sorqotani Beki began to cultivate strangers with all kinds of attentions and favour and to win over kinsmen and relations with all means of courtesy and diplomacy.

As for those who spoke evasively and postponed [a decision] on this matter, fabricating tales and inventing stories, on the pretext that the Khanate ought to remain in the family (*urugh*) of Qa'an or Güyük Khan, they forgot the subtlety of '*Thou givest power to whom thou wilt*' and therefor dispatched messenger after messenger in all directions and also sent messages to Batu to say that they dissented from that agreement and did not acquiesce in that covenant.

Batu would reply: 'With the agreement of the *aqqa* and *ini* we have settled this matter and the discussion is over—'*the matter is decreed concerning which ye inquire*'. It is impossible to abrogate it, and if we did not proceed in the matter in this fashion and if another than Mengü Qa'an were to be nominated, the order of affairs would be upset and the laws of the realm and the concerns of the people thrown into confusion to such an extent that it would be impossible to set matters to rights. And if you ponder this business well with the eye of reflection and farsightedness, it will be clear to you that the interests of Qa'an's sons and grandsons have been respected, for the administration of so great an empire, which stretches from the farthest East to the uttermost West, is beyond the strength and knowledge of mere children'.

Amidst such exchanges the appointed year came to an end and the next year was half over, and still there was no sign of the conclusion of that matter. Meanwhile with each year that passed the affairs of the world became more desperate, and with every month the garment of the people's livelihood more ragged.

Batu sent his brothers Berke and Toqa-Temür as his representatives. Qadaghan set out too, as did also Qara-Hülegü. And the other princes who were of one mind began to journey [thither]. From Ulugh-Ef, which is the ordu of Chingiz-Khan, came other princes.

Meanwhile Mengü Qa'an and Sorqotani Beki sent to those who were not constant and sincere of heart and trod the pathway of consideration, friendliness and helpful advice—'*you must pet the camel before you can milk it*'. Since their exhortations and admonishments produced no effect upon them and there was no sign of any change in their attitude, they dispatched messenger after messenger to them, now cajoling them, now making use of threats and menaces; and so they reinforced their argument hoping that they might be restrained by kindness and conciliation and arosed from the slumber of pride and negligence. But far sighted Wisdom would say:

*O thou who rebukest lovers,
let be a band that God has led astray
as He will lead them aright.*

*Reproach produces no effect upon endeavours whereof the nearest to thee are
the farthest from thee.*

*The unlucky man never does anything at the bidding of the wise man;
never by any device can the unlucky man become lucky.*

When that year drew to an end and there reached men's hearts the gladness of the following spring, the Lord of the Planets began to proceed gradually from the places of his fall and detriment to his apogee in mansions of honour and glory and to direct his course towards the house of his exaltation. Like the victorious Khusrau Parviz he set his world-illuminating face towards the residence of power. And when he placed the burden of royalty upon the litter of Aries, the fertile winds began to blow and move in a gentle manner like the Northern zephyr, which blowing from the bedchamber of the rose stirs the base of the sweet herbs. And the straitened ponds that had been shackled by the cold of Dai and like Bahman imprisoned in the bonds of snow and ice (*bahman*), by the efforts of the gentle breeze now became open-hearted and loose of rein.

*Though the effort of the breeze there appeared on the surface of the water a thousand ripples
(chīn),*

and upon every ripple a thousand Chinese (Chīn) musk-bags.

And the soil of the earth waxed joyous and merry from the heat of the fiery exhalations. The natural powers [of living organisms] came into action with their growth and development, and birds burst into song in the meadows.

*Now we must drink sweet-tasting wine
, for the scent of musk arises from the stream
. Every garden is covered with the petals of flowers
; every mountain is full of tulips and hyacinths.*

<...> Like the days of union with the damsel with the mole, the state of the weather was as temperature as could be wished and the sickness of the year was changed to health. The world was a rose-garden and the season resplendent.

*This spring and these lights of it
—excellent are its nights and excellent its days.*

Most of the princes now assembled on the Kelüren. They sent Shilemün Bitikchi to Oghul-Ghaimish and her sons Khoja and Naqu and 'Alam-Dar Bitikchi and Yesü-Mengü with the following message: 'Most of the family of Chingiz-Khan have gathered together and the business of the *quriltai* has been delayed until now because of you. There is no more time for excuses and procrastination. If you have a mind to concord and unity you should present yourselves as soon as possible as the *quriltai* in order that the affairs of the realm may be dealt with in unanimity and the foul veil of estrangement (*vahshat*) and duplicity removed from the countenance of harmony'.

Previously Siremün also had sent messengers to Khoja and Naqu, for a feeling of friendship and amity had sprung up between them since

in times of stress ill feelings disappear.

When they realized that no good would come of deferment Naqu Oghul set out. Qadaq Noyan and some of the emirs of the Court of Güyük Khan likewise set out. And Yesün-Toqa Oghul, the brother of Qara-Hülegü, [setting out] from his place of abode came with them to join Siremün, so that all these were assembled in one spot; and it was rumoured that they were hatching some plot against the Moslems.

Thereafter Khoja also gradually began to move, saying now 'to-day', now 'to-morrow' and causing time to pass with 'perhaps' and 'peradventure'. And they all still imagined that the business of the *quriltai* could not progress or be successful without their presence and that the question [of the accession] could not be settled. Siremün and Naqu being the nearest, the princes, emirs and noyans in attendance on Mengü Qa'an sent a joint message to them to this effect: 'If you intend to be listless and laggardly in proceeding to the assembly, we [by ourselves] shall raise Mengü Qa'an to the Khanate'. Realizing that delay and deferment would not conduce to the attainment of their aims and desires they gave their promise to reach the assembly at such-and-such a time. And they set out with the speed of the fixed stars, travelling slowly with horses, horsemen and troops, with heavily loaded camels and countless wagons.

*How slow is the camels' gait whether they carry stone
or iron, or men sitting crouched!*

When the appointed time had passed and they still showed no haste to appear and their delay and deferment had exceeded all bounds a group of wise men and astrologers who were present at that assembly selected the 9th of Rabi' II of the year 649 [1 July 1251] because of a horoscope such that the fortunate planets might glean after its fortune, and Jupiter seek to purchase its effects, and Venus light herself with its light. And one of the indications of daily-increasing fortune was that in those few days the clouds had piled up, and the rains poured down, and the face of the sun was enclosed behind a veil of vapour and a screen of mist; and at the selected hour the astrologers were writing but the dark clouds kept off the radiation and they were unable to take the altitude. Suddenly the fair countenance of the sun, like a bride displayed to the bridegroom after being guarded, and kept from him, and denied to him, cast aside its veil at the chosen hour, and the sky was uncovered enough to reveal the globe of the sun and was cleared of the turbidity of the fog; and the astrologers began to take the altitude. The world was adorned with light and brightness, and the face of the earth emptied of shadow and darkness. The rising of the house of the Greater Benefic was ascertained from the movement of the heavens and the strength of the angle of the Ascendant determined: the maleficent planets and the Dark Degrees were cadent from the fortunate Ascendant, the Greater Luminary was erect in its apogee in the Tenth House and the Anaretae (*qavāṭi* ') resident in the Twelfth.

All those present—the princes such as Berke Oghul and his brother Toqa-Temür, their uncle Elchitei the elder, the sons of Otegin, Köten and Kölgen, and the emirs, noyans and great officials of the ordu of Chingiz-Khan as well as such other leaders as were in that neighbourhood, together with troops beyond number or computation—[of all these] the princes took off their hats inside the ordu, slung their belts over their shoulders and raising up Mengü set him upon the throne of sovereignty and kingship. They named him Mengü Qa'an, and from the ringing of the heavens there came this cry as augury to the ear of the innermost soul:

*'O king, remain a thousand years in thy kingdom,
and then for a thousand years take pride in thy glory,
Every year a thousand months, every month a hundred days,
every day a thousand hours and every hour a thousand years'.*

As for the emirs and troops they drew up outside the ordu—more than a thousand men of action, famous warriors, who in truth were lions of battle at the moment of revenge or when in desperate straits—

*A band of men like gloomy Night and broadswords
which shone like the dawn of a dark night—*

and, at the same time as the princes inside the ordu, knelt three times. <...> First he appointed armies for the East and the West, for the lands of the Arabs and the non-Arabs. The Eastern countries and the provinces of Khitai, Manzi, Solangai and Tangut he entrusted to Qubilai Oghul, who is distinguished by his wisdom and sagacity, his intelligence and shrewdness. He nominated noyans of high standing to accompany him and placed under his command all the emirs of the right and the left who were resident in those regions. The Western countries he allotted to his other brother Hülegü Oghul, who is renowned for his firmness and dignity, his vigilance and caution, his powerful protection and his jealous sense of honour; and he appointed double the number of troops to accompany him. And Ked-Buqa Bavurchi set out in advance in the middle of Jumada I, 650 [July, 1252], in order to begin dealing with the Heretics.

*By thy command which has gone forth
let them travel night and day, now from Chin towards Rum, and now from Rum towards Chin.*

And in order to assess the taxes and register the names of the people he appointed governors, and *shahnas*, and scribes. The Eastern countries from the beginning of the Fifth Clime on the banks of the Oxus to the farthest limits of Khitai, which are the First Clime, he settled as previously upon the Great Minister (*ṣāḥib-i-mu'azzam*) Mahmud Yalavach and his worthy heir Mas'ud Beg, giving to Mahmud Yalavach, whose former services had been rewarded with marks of favour and who had arrived before his auspicious accession, the region of Khitai, whilst to Mas'ud Beg, who had come in fear and trembling and had experienced terror and danger because of his devotion and adherence to the Emperor, until in the end after escaping that peril he became all-powerful and enjoyed great honour, there fell the

whole of Transoxiana, Turkestan, Otrar, the land of the Uighur, Khotan, Kashgar, Jand, Khorazm and Farghana. And since their arrival at Court had preceded the *quriltai*, he dismissed them the sooner and all who had accompanied them were distinguished with all manner of favours.

After their departure the Great Emir Arghun, who had travelled an immense distance [along a route] fraught with terrors and menaces arrived in Court on the 20th of Safar, 650 [2 May 1252], after the *quriltai* had dispersed and each of the princes had departed to his home. And since perpetual favour and eternal ability had ever been in attendance on him and he had previously distinguished himself in devoted fidelity to the dynasty and sincere devotion to the royal house by the adoption of firm measures and the employment of perspicacious methods (*and 'in the morning men praise the evening'*), he was singled out by the granting of his wishes and the attainment of his aims; and there was laid in his hands authority over the countries of Khorasan, Mazandaran, India, Iraq, Fars, Kerman, Lur, Arran, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Mosul and Aleppo. And all the *maliks*, emirs and *bitikchis* who accompanied him were at his suggestion and by his favour distinguished and honoured; and on the 20th of Ramazan of the same year they set out [on the return journey]. Some of their number still had all kinds of business to attend to; these remained behind for a few days and then departed joyfully after him.

The Emperor appointed *nökers* to accompany these governors just mentioned and he commanded them to hold a census of the provinces and assess the taxes; and when they had finished, to turn back and proceed in haste to Court. And each of them had instructions to the effect that the conditions previously prevailing should be properly investigated and examined and that none of them should shirk the difficulties of the task. However '*God hath forgiven what is past*' and the Emperor was concerned with alleviating the lot of the people, not increasing the wealth in the treasury. And he issued a *yarligh* reducing the contributions (*mu'an*) on the people, the text of which is preserved in the archives and from which it is clear how great are his concern and solicitude for the affairs of mankind and the maintenance of their interests.

After the death of Güyük Khan the princes had issued an excessive number of *yarlighs*; they had engaged in commercial ventures and dispatched *elchis* to all parts of the world. Moreover persons noble and base had sought the protection afforded by being and *ortaq* and the subjects had fled from the greatness of the burden. The Emperor now gave orders that any *yarlighs* or *paizas* from the time of Chingiz-Khan, Qa'an, Güyük Khan and the other princes that were held by any one of them in the province belonging to him should be returned and that henceforth the princes should not give or write instructions regarding any matter relating to the financial administration (*maṣāliḥ*) of the provinces without first consulting the agents of the Court. As for the more important *elchis* they should not make use of more than fourteen *ulaghs*; they should proceed from yam to yam and should enter no village or town in which they had no specific business; and they should take no more provisions (*'ulūfa*) than the amount allotted for each man. Furthermore the practice of tyranny and oppression having exceeded all bounds and the peasants in particular being crushed and ground underfoot by the collection of casual levies (*'avāriz*) to such an extent that the produce of their crops did not amount to the half of the contributions (*mu'unāt*) from them, he gave orders that all *ortaqs* and financial and administrative agents (*aṣḥāb-i-'amal va shughl*) should behave with self-control in their dealings with the people. Each should pay in proportion to his circumstances and ability the amount due from him according to the assessment (*bar vajh-i-mu'āmalat*) except such as were exempt from the inconvenience of contributions (*mu'an*) by the ordinance of Chingiz-Khan and Qa'an, that is, of the Moslems the great *sayyids* and the excellent imams, of the Christians, whom they call *erke'ün*, the monks and scholars (*aḥbār*) and of the idolaters the priests whom they call *toyin*, the famous *toyins*; and of all these classes of people, those who are advanced in years and no longer capable of earning a living. The Jews heard of this ordinance and not being included in that category they became exceedingly vexed and annoyed; they were perplexed and bewildered and thrust and hand of discomfiture into their beards. As Zahir says in his description of a preacher:

A red-bearded fellow was present. He put his hand to his beard when he heard that.

He said: 'We are not of that number.'

We amount to nothing in either world'.

And in order that every agent (*ṣāhib-shughl*) might not distribute (*qismat*) [the revenue at his own discretion] he instituted an annual scheme (*muwāza'a*) whereby in the countries of Khitai a man of great wealth was taxed eleven dinars and so in proportion down to the poor man who paid but one; and so it was in Transoxiana also; in Khorasan a rich man paid ten dinars and a poor man one. He further ordered that the governors and scribes should not show favour or partiality; that they should not accept bribes; and that they should not falsify the truth or display the false for the true. As for the levy on animals (*marā'i-yi-chahār-pāi*), which they call *qupchur*, if a person had a hundred head of a particular kind of beast he was to give one, and if he had less, none. And wherever there were arrears (*baqāyā*) of taxes and whoever of the peasants owed them, they were not to pay [such arrears] nor were they to be exacted from them. As for the merchants and ortaqs who had made extensive deals with Güyük Khan, his wife and their children he ordered them to be paid from fresh revenue (*az māl-i-nau*).

And of all the peoples and religious communities he showed most honour and respect to the Moslems. It was upon them that he bestowed the largest amounts of gifts and alms and it was they who enjoyed the greatest rights. A proof of this is the following. On the occasion of the 'id-i-fitr in the year 650 [5 December 1252] the Moslems assembled before the Emperor at the gate of the ordu together with the chief cadi Jamal-al-Milla vad-Din, the exemplar of the ulema, Mahmud of Khojend (*may God perpetuate his excellence!*). The chief cadi led the prayers and delivered the sermon, decorating and adorning the *khutba* with the mention of the Orthodox Caliphs and the Commander of the Faithful. And when they had finished the prayer of the festival, which according to a tradition of the Prophet is more excellent than 2000 prostrations performed in the Ka'ba, the chief cadi entered the ordu and acting as *imam* prayed [for the Emperor] to the following effect:

*'May the rising of the star of the Festival be lucky for thee,
for thy horoscope is lucky for
all mankind.
Thy enemy is waning like the full moon from an eclipse;
but thy fortune, like the crescent moon,
waxes day by day'.*

He was viewed with the glance of favour and indulgence and several times commanded to repeat the prayer. And as a gift for the festival the Emperor presented waggon-loads of gold and silver *balish* and all kinds of costly clothing, and the greater part of mankind had their share thereof; although at other times than festivals also his generosity towards the Moslems is great and boundless.

*Because of thy gifts every day is a
festival to us:
how then shall the festival be distinguished
on the day it returns?*

And throughout his realm, wherever there was a criminal or a prisoner in the abasement of captivity, he ordered his release and liberation and so gave him quarter from the trials and indignities of this world. And here I have inserted the following verses, which, although this is not the appropriate place for them, will yet have some appeal to men of taste and discernment:

*Who am I to God that when I sin He should not forgive
my sin?
Forgiveness is expected of the sons of Adam: how then shall it not be expected
of God?*

In how many hearts did hope revive when necks were left upon bodies and dirhems and dinars in purses and wallets! And on this errand alchis and messengers sped to every corner of his realm.

*Let the kings who bestow gold and silver
learn custom of bestowing life from our Sultan Bahram-Shah.
Like the sun in mid-heaven
whose light covereth the lands in the East and West.*

Now were one to begin describing the deeds which spring daily from his being and to commence recounting the charitable acts which thus manifest themselves, whole volumes would be filled to over-

flowing. A little out of much, a drop from the ocean, an atom from the sun has been and will be conveyed with the tongue of the pen to the ear of those interested. *'A little of it is a guide to the greater part'*.

And since the fame of his justice and equity has spread throughout the world, all people, far and near, with a sincere desire seek refuge in allegiance to him and so obtain quarter from his might. Others who are exceedingly far distant cherish the same wish, and ambassadors and *elchis* come from the land of the Franks, and farthest Syria, and the Abode of Peace; and sultans bring and send to his Court numberless gifts and presents of heavily laden horses.

*From these cities they send tribute for they have not the strength
and might to make war on him.*

And they return having satisfied their wants and attained their desires. They will each be mentioned in a separate chapter.

*O Khusrau, may thy kingdom and thy life be increased,
may the face of thy fortune be rosy!*

Thy fortune is the centre of the sun: may it be outside the orbit of decline! <...>.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 5**Literary Monuments of Ancient Rus'.
Russian chronicles about the Tatars and Jochid Ulus**

Russian sources have an important meaning in the study of the history of the Mongolian conquests and the Jochid Ulus. Evidence about the conquest of Russian principalities, the cooperation between the khans and Russian princes and other aspects of domestic policy of this state, such as inter-confessional cooperation, etc. is particularly important and unique.

The data has been grouped together into sections that contain the most important information from the Russian chronicles. The chronicle texts are represented by letters substituted from the ancient Russian alphabet, which is no longer in use, with letters and alphanumeric symbols from the modern Cyrillic alphabet and Arabic numbers.

The text of the chronicle is followed by sources in the form of alphanumeric symbols (Hypatian Chronicle, Laurentian Chronicle, Novgorod First Chronicle, Novgorod Fourth Chronicle). As a rule repeated texts are provided only in the case of significant discrepancies pointing to different sources (columns) or the author's edition of the chronicle.

The Mongolian conquest of Rus'(Ruthenia)**1. Battle of Kalka River**

'In the same year (6731/1223) the pagans came and nobody knew who they were, where they came from, or what their language and faith was. Some people call them Tatars, others call them Taumens, and the rest call them the Pechenegs. Methodius, the Bishop of Patara, says that they came from the Yetrievsky desert which is located between the East and the North. According to him, they are descendants of Ismael and their arrival is a sign of the approaching apocalypses because they are going to capture all the earth from the East to the Euphrates and from the Tigris to Pontus except for Ethiopia. Only God knows who they are and where they came from. Wise men who have the corresponding literature know who they are. As for us, we have no any idea about them except for that they have already captured many countries; they killed many Yasa, Obezias, Kasogas and Cumans. Some of them were captured and died shortly after. The damned Cumans badly damaged the Russian lands. Our merciful God wanted to kill and punish Ishmael's sons the Cumans and avenge the Christian blood on them. They passed through all Taurmenia, the Cuman land, and approached Rus' not far from the Cuman wall. The Russian princes Mstislav of Kiev and Mstislav of Chernigov heard them heading their way and decided to counterattack. So Vladimir sent his messengers to Grand Prince Yuri, Vsevolod's son, to ask him for help. He sent prince Vasilek Konstantinovich and the inhabitants of Rostov. But he failed to get to Rus'. The Russian princes came and fought them and they were defeated. Few of them managed to survive. The ones who did, fled. All the rest were killed: old good prince Mstislav and other Mstislavs, 7 princes in total, and many Boyars and other classes. They say that 10 thousand villagers were killed there. All the inhabitants of Rus' suffered this sorrow. That happened on 30 May, on martyr Yerema's day. When Vasilko heard what had happened in Rus', he returned from Chernigov being saved by God and the saint cross and prayers of his father Konstantin and George and arrived in Rostov praising God and the Virgin'.

Laurentian Chronicle. Columns 445–447

'In the year 6732 (1223) enormous armies of godless Tatars came to the Cuman lands. The Cuman Khan Yuri Konchakovich was the most destructive warrior. The Cumans who had nothing to oppose them had to flee. Many of them were killed up to the Dnieper river. The Tatars had to go back to their lands. The Cumans who reached the Russian lands told the Russian princes, 'If you do not help us, we will be killed and the next morning you will be killed'. The Grand Prince reigning in Kiev said, 'It is better to meet the enemy in another land than in your own'. At that time Mstislav Romanovich was in Kiev, Mstislav was in Kozelsk and Chernigov and Mstislav Mstislavovich was in Galich. They were the elders of the Russian land. Yuri, the Prince of Suzdal, was not there. However, there were the young princes Danil Romanovich, Mikhail Vsevolodovich, Vsevolod Mstislavovich of Kiev and many others. At that time the Cuman prince was christened as Batu. Vasilko was not there; he was in Vladimir.

In April he left for the Dnieper river, the island of Varangians. All the Cuman land came there as well as the inhabitants of Chernigov, Kiev, Smolensk and other towns; they came to the dry Dnieper although it seemed to be covered with water because of the great number of people. The inhabitants of Galicia and Volhynia came with their princes, and the inhabitants of Kursk, Trubich and Putivl came with their princes on horses. The citizens of Galich reached the Dnieper and entered the sea, there were thousands of people, so they entered the Dnieper, constructed barriers and stayed at the passable Khortitsa River. Domamerich Yury and Derzhikrai Volodislavich were with them.

It became known that Russian boats had been seen nearby. When prince Danil Romanovich found out, he sent his armies in that direction. Many princes following him could only see these enormous armies. Looking at them, Yury said, 'They are archers'. Other people said, 'They are common people. Cumans'. Yury Domamirich said, 'They are warriors and volunteers'.

When Yury and his companions got there, they said to Mstislav and the other young princes, 'Mstislav and the other Mstislavs, we should oppose them'. So all the princes, Mstislav and the other Mstislavs of Chernigov, crossed the Dnieper, the other princes came and headed for the Cuman field. They crossed the Dnieper on Tuesday. There the Tatars met the Russian regiments. The Russian archers were victorious and drove the enemy away in the direction of the field. They took their livestock and left.

It took them 8 days to reach the Kalka River where they met the Tatar guards. They had a fight and Ivan Dmitrievich and two warriors of his were killed. The Tatars went away safe and sound.

The Tatar Cumans met Russian regiments at the Kalka River. Mstislav Mstislavovich ordered Danil and his regiments to cross the Kalka and he was riding himself surrounded by his guards. Seeing a Tatar regiment, he said, 'Get ready'. Out of envy he didn't report it to Mstislav and the other Mstislav who had stayed at the headquarters. The conflicts between them were rather significant.

The regiment which took part in the battle got back. Danil left in advance and Semen Olegovich and Vasilko Gavrilovich hurled themselves at the Tatar regiments. Vasilko's people were defeated and Danil himself who was too young and arrogant and could not take a reasonable view of the situation at the age of 18 was rather strong. Danil's people, who were brave warriors, fought against the Tatars successfully. Seeing the power and might of Danil, Mstislav the Mute made a decision to pass the reins of government to Roman from the tribe of Vladimir Monomakh. Being indifferent to his father, he entrusted his volost to him after his death giving it to Prince Danil.

The Tatars galloped, the regiment of Danil defeated them and Oleg of Kursk fought against another regiment opposing them. The Russians were defeated because of our sins. Seeing the failures of his warriors, Danil put his horses to flight. He was hurrying until he reached water to quench his thirst. He did not feel any wounds on his body in view of his young age, insolence and bravery. From top to toe, he had no sins.

All the Russian princes were defeated; it was an unprecedented situation. The Tatars defeating Russian princes for the sins of Christians, reaching Novgorod of Svyatopolk and barely knowing that their flattery is opposed to them with crosses. They killed all of them.

God was waiting for the peasants to repent their sins and directed his attention towards the oriental land. He sent wars to the lands of Tanougousts and other countries. At that time their Khan, Chinggis was killed. The armies of other countries, charmed with their flattery, defeated them. This flattery turned out to be the most destructive'.

Hypatian Chronicle. Columns 740–745

'In the same year (6731/1223) the pagans came and nobody knew who they were, where they came from, what their language or faith was. Some people call them Tatars, others call them Taumens, and the rest call them Pechenegs. Methodius, the Bishop of Patara, says that they came from the Yetrievsky desert which is located between the East and the North. According to him, their arrival is a sign of the approaching apocalypse because returned those who were defeated by Gideon and they are going to capture all the Earth from the East to the Euphrates and from the Tigris to Pontus except for Ethiopia. Only God knows who they are and where they came from. Wise men who have the corresponding literature know who they are. As for us, we have no idea about them except for that they have already conquered many countries; they killed many Yasa, Obezias, Kasogas and Cumans. Some of them were captured and died shortly after. The damned Cumans badly damaged the Russian lands. Our merciful God wanted to kill and punish

Ishmael's sons the Cumans and avenge the Christian blood on them. These Taurmens passed through the Cuman land and approached Rus' not far from the Cuman wall. The damned Cumans killed many of their people, including Kotyan and other princes, Danil Kobaykovits and Gurgi were killed as well as many Cumans; Kotyan was Mstislav Galitsky's father-in-law. He came with the Cuman prince to his father-in-law Mstislav Galitsky and other Russian princes, brought them many presents: horses, camels, bulls, and beautiful girls and gave them to the Russian princes saying, 'Our land has been captured today and yours will be captured tomorrow', and Kotyan asked his father-in-law for help. Then Mstislav told the Russian princes that they had to unite their efforts and to repulse the enemy together, otherwise they will become even stronger. The princes listened to them and decided to fulfill his requirements, so all the Russian princes set off to attack the Tatars and soon they reached the Dnieper. When the Tatars saw the Russians moving against them, they sent their ambassadors to the Russian princes and said, 'We know that you have listened to the Cumans and decided to attack us, but we do not invade your lands, do not burn down your towns and villages, you should make peace with us and rise against the Cumans, seize their possessions, since they had already caused much evil to you'. The Russian princes did not listen to them, beat up their ambassadors and rose against them instead. They did not reach Oleshie and stayed at the Dnieper. Then the Tatars sent their second messengers to them and said, 'If you listen to the Cumans and beat up our ambassadors, we do not want to know who you are, may the Lord be with you' and their ambassadors were set free. Then Mstislav crossed the Dnieper with one thousand warriors of his and defeated them and then they found themselves at the Cuman mound with voivode Gemyabeg and he buried him there. The Cumans asked Mstislav for permission and then killed their enemies. The Russian princes found out about it, crossed the Dnieper, moved for 9 days and afterwards they headed to the Kalka River and sent Yarun and the Cumans to spy out the land and set up camp at the river themselves. At the same time Yarun wanted to fight against the Cumans but they did not make it up, they escaped and devastated the camps of the Russian princes on their way, as the latter were not prepared to resist them, and there was a furious battle. When Mstislav, the Prince of Kiev, found out about that, he decided to stay there and not to move. They fought at a fortified hill on the Kalka River for three days. Some Tatars fought against Russian princes up the Dnieper; there were two voivodes left at the hill, Tsygyrkan and Teshukan, for Mstislav, his son-in-law Andrey and Alexander Dubrovitsky. And voivode Ploskyn went to kiss the cross [take an oath] to Mstislav and both princes promising that they would not be beaten, but betrayed him and gave to the Tatars. At the end of the day, the fortress was captured and its inhabitants were killed, the princes were also killed unmercifully: they were squashed by wooden planks while Tatars were having dinner over them. Some princes were killed at the Dnieper River: Svyatoslav Yanyvsky, Izyaslav Ingovorovits, Svyatoslav Shumsky, Mstislav of Chernigov and his son, Gurgi Nevezhsky. At the same time Mstislav M'stislalic managed to cross the Dnieper and could hardly flee, other warriors turned bridles, some of them were killed by the Cumans. That is how God punished us for our sins, many people were killed, many towns and villages were in dismay and sorrow. That happened on 31 May, on St. Eremy's day. The Tatars returned from the Dnieper and we do not know where they came from, only the Lord does'.

Novgorod First Chronicle. Column 61

2. Battle of Batu

'In the year 6744 (1234) on 3 August there was a solar eclipse; the sun looked like the moon for four days. That autumn godless Tatars came from the oriental countries to the Bulgarian land and captured the great city of Bulgar and killed everyone from elderly people to babies and got a lot of trophies and burnt down their town and captured their land.

In the year 6745 (1237), during winter the godless Tatars came to the Ryazan land from the eastern countries through forests and started waging wars against the Ryazan land and captured it up to Pronsk. They captured it and burnt down the town and killed its prince. Some of them were dismembered, others were executed by shooting and all the rest were bound hand and foot. Many holy churches, monasteries and villages were burnt down. Many estates were misappropriated. Then they headed to Kolomna.

In the same winter Vsevolod, Yury's son, opposed the Tatars. They went into action near Kolomna. They started a great fight. Vsevolod's voivode Yeremey Glebovich and many other soldiers of his were killed. Vsevolod fled to Vladimir with the rest of his retinue. The Tatars headed to Moscow.

In the same winter the Tatars captured Moscow and killed voivode Philip Nyank for his Orthodox faith. Prince Vladimir was captured with the help of Yury's son. All the inhabitants were killed, from elderly people to babies. The town, holy churches, monasteries and villages were burnt down and many estates were misappropriated.

In the same winter Yury left Vladimir with a small part of his retinue and ordered his sons Vsevolod and Mstislav to go to a special place. He headed to the Volga River with his sons Vasilek, Vsevolod and Vladimir. They stayed there waiting for his brother Yaroslav with his regiment and retinue. So prince Yury started machinating against the Tatars. He ordered Zhiroslav Mikhailovich to become the voivode of his retinue.

In the same winter, on 3 February, a week before meat fast Saturday, on St. Semeon's day, the Tatars came to Vladimir. The inhabitants of Vladimir locked themselves in the town. Vsevolod and Mstislav were there and Petr Oslyadyukovich was a voivode. The inhabitants of Vladimir did not open the gate, the Tatars and Vladimir Yrievich, Vsevolod and Mstislav's brother, came to the Golden Gate. The Tatars asked Grand Prince Yury to let them in. The inhabitants of Vladimir shot some arrows at the Tatars. The Tatars also shot their arrows at the Golden Gate. Then the Tatars told the inhabitants of Vladimir, 'Stop shooting!' They did not reply. Then the Tatars came up to the gate and asked, 'Do you know the Prince of Vladimir?' He looked upset and depressed. Vsevolod and Mstislav were standing at the gate and recognised their brother at once. They were agape with amazement and their eyes were full of tears. Vsevolod, Mstislav, their retinue and all the residents were looking at Vladimir and crying. The Tatars left the Golden Gate, passed around the town and then their large army came back and stood in front of the gate. Vsevolod and Mstislav felt sorry for their brother and told their retinue and voivode Petr, 'Brothers! We'd rather die at the Golden Gate for Our Lady and the Christian faith!' But Peter Oslyadyukovich was against their wish. Then both princes said, 'It is all God's punishment for our sins!' And the prophet said, 'It is all in God's hands! May he be blessed forever'.

The Suzdal land suffered great damage as never before, but let us omit it.

The Tatars put up their camps near Vladimir and after that they captured Suzdal and plundered the church of the Virgin and burnt down the court of the prince and the Monastery of St. Dmitry and plundered all the rest. All the monks and priests and the blind and the lame and the deaf and sick people were killed. As far as the monks, nuns, wives and children of all these priests and dyaks are concerned, all of them were taken to foreign countries.

On Meat Fast Saturday the Tatars started preparing the forests and setting traps until the evening and they surrounded Vladimir with a fence for the night. On Meat Fast Sunday after Morning Prayers they attacked the town on 7 February, the day of the great martyr Fyodor Stratilat. And the town was full of tears because of our sins and unfairness, not joy. God led the damned conquerors into our land for our increasing anarchy without patronising them but punishing us to prevent us from immorality. The penalty of God for us is the invasion of the damned Tatars. This is his lash urging us to not to move along the path of miscalculation. So he does on holidays, that is why the prophet says, 'I will turn your celebrations into mourning and songs into weeping'. So the town was captured in the morning and beginning with the Golden Gate, they crossed the town wall at the Church of Saviour, then they came up to Irina's Gate and Copper Gate from the north at the Lybed River and the Volga Gate from the Klyazma. Soon they captured the New Town this way. Vsevolod, Mstislav and all the people rushed to the town at the Pechora. Bishop Mitrophan and the Yury's princess with her daughters, daughters-in-law, grandchildren and other princess of Vladimir with children and many Boyars and many other people locked themselves in the church of the Virgin. And they were burnt down... and died this way.

The Tatars opened the doors of the church by force, saw priests and congregation die in fire, killed the ones who was still alive, plundered the church, tore a fascinating icon decorated with gold, silver and precious stones. They tore away and destroyed almost all the icons in the monastery, some of them were misappropriated. It also comes to holy crosses, sacred vessels and books. They also captivated the vestment of the first canonised princes hanging in the church. The prophet said, 'Lord! Pagans burst into your possessions. They desecrated your holy church, used Jerusalem as a vegetable store, gave the dead bodies of your servants to birds and their flesh to wild animals pouring their blood like water. Pakhomi, the Archimandrite of monastery of the Nativity of Mary, and abbot of Assumption Theodosy of Spassk

and other abbots, monks, priests and dyaks from elderly people to babies were killed. The ones who survived were captivated and taken to the camps naked and barefoot.

The Tatars captured Vladimir and came and attacked Grand Prince Georgy. Those damned blood-suckers headed to Rostov, not Yaroslavl and some of them to the Volga River, to Gorodets. And they captured everything located along the Volga up to Galich of Meschera. Some of them headed to Pereyasavl and captured it. Afterwards they reached and captured all the country and many towns, even Torzhok. There were hardly any places or villages in the Suzdal land where they did not wage war. So they captured 14 towns except for slobodas and villages in February of year 6745.

But we can look ahead. Once the message reached Prince Yury, 'Vladimir was captured and churches, bishop, princess and her children and daughters-in-law and grandchildren were burnt down. The elder son with his brother was killed outside of the city as well as his people'. Hearing that, he started weeping for the Orthodox Christian religion, especially for the church and bishop, and people deprived of wives and children. He took a long breath and said, 'Lord! Please, be merciful to all the people who survived, give us patience and faith!'. Then he started to pray, saying, 'Woe is me! It would be better to die than keep on living in this world. Why have I stayed alone here?' He was saying prayers and crying and suddenly the Tatars approached. He stopped grieving for what had happened and said, 'Lord, hear the prayer of your servant, please. Save my body and my soul'. Afterwards he said his second prayer, 'Lord, I rely on you. Please save me from all the insidious enemies'.

So the godless Tatars came to the Sit' river to fight against Grand Prince Georgy. They heard that Prince Yury, his brother Svyatoslav, nephews Vasilko, Vsevolod, Vladimir and other warriors opposed the damned enemies. Both armies met each other and there was a furious battle and our warriors took to flight. Prince Yury was killed and Vasilko was captured and taken to the camps of the enemy. That happened on 4 March, on the day of the saint martyrs Paul and Ulyana. So the Grand Prince Yury was killed at the Sit' River and many soldiers from his družina died there. Vasilko Konstantinovich was taken to Shernsky forest by force and when they put up a camp there, the damned godless Tatars started to make him adopt their disgusting habits, be with them and fight on their side. But he did not obey and said again and again: 'Oh wretched foul kingdom! You will never make me disown my faith although I've got into trouble. What will you tell God killing so many souls for which God will execute you all the time? He will judge the souls of those you killed'. The Tatars started gnashing their teeth willing to be sated with his blood.

This blessed Prince Vasilko met the same death as Andrey: he washed his sins away with martyred blood as well as his brother and father, the Grand Prince Georgy. It was miracle that even after death God united their bodies; Vasilko's body was brought and put in the Church of St. Virgin in Rostov where his mother had been buried. At the same time the head of the Grand Prince Georgy was placed in the tomb where his body had already been lying'.

Laurentian Chronicle. Columns 460–470.

'In 6745, the godless Ishmaelites came who previously fought against the Russian princes at the Kalka River. They invaded the Ryazan land for the first time and took it by assault, lured prince Yury out of the town by deception and took him to Pronsk, his princess was in Pronsk at that time. His princess was also lured out of the town and both of them were killed. All the land was devastated. They did not spare anyone's life; even children and babies were killed. Kyur Mikhailovich and his people went to Suzdal and told the Grand Prince about the arrival of the godless Agaryans. When the great prince heard about that, he sent his son Vsevolod and all his people and Kyur Mikhailovich there. The warriors of Batu headed to the Suzdal land. They met each other at the village of Kolodna. They fought against each other and both sides suffered sufficient human losses in the fights. Vsevolod was defeated and hurried to report this piece of news to his father so that he could take the corresponding measures. Prince Yury left the town, leaving his son Vladimir and princess there. Having no guards on his side, he was captured by the illegal Bourondaem; he devastated all the town and killed the prince. The warriors of Batu standing near the town walls started enticing the citizens from there saying that the Ryazan princes had disappeared, their town had been devastated and Prince Yury had been killed. Hearing that, the Reverend Bishop Mitrophan appealed to the citizens with his eyes full of tears not to let themselves be led by the Tatars and to care about their life after-death, not the current one. Do not think of them burning down our town and killing you but think of Jesus Christ giving you his wreath'. Hearing his words, everyone

started to fight furiously. The Tatars got angry and shot their arrows at the citizens. Prince Vsevolod sat and decided to surrender at discretion, he left the town with a part of his retinue, bringing numerous presents and hoping to beg successfully for pardon but he failed and he was put to the knives at once. So all the town was devastated. The Reverend bishop, princess and children dashed to the church. The damned Tatars ordered to commit it to the flames. So they yielded to the spirit, Vladimir was devastated, the Suzdal towns were captured, the Tatars came up to Kozelsk where prince Vasily ruled. Soon they found out that the citizens of Kozelsk did not fall for flattery. So the citizens of Kozelsk told Batu, 'Although our prince is quite young, we will still eagerly render life for him and we will become glorious and receive heaven wreaths from Jesus Christ'. The Tatars wanted to capture the town and destroy the town wall, so they climbed a hill. The inhabitants of Kozelsk started their counterattack and they managed to kill more than 4 thousand soldiers from the tatar troops. The inhabitants of Kozelsk themselves also suffered significant human losses. However Batu captured the town and killed everyone including youths and babies. There is no information about prince Vasily. Some people say that he drowned in blood being too young. The Tatars called Kozelsk an evil town because they were fighting for seven weeks and many Tatars were killed. The Tatars could hardly find their friends and relatives in the piles of dead bodies. Having captured Kozelsk, Batu headed to the land of the Cumans. He started sending his regiments to the Russian land from there. He took Pereyasavl by storm, killed everyone there and destroyed the church of archangel Mikhail and stole numerous golden church cups and precious stones. They killed the Reverend bishop Semeon. At the same time his troops headed to Chernigov and they surrounded its walls. When Mstislav Glebovich heard of this attack, he went there to defend it immediately. They fought, Mstislav was defeated and many of his warriors were killed. The town was captured and burnt down. The bishop remained alive and was taken to Gloukhov. The next point was Kiev. His troops stayed on the other side of the Dniester, not far from the town of Pesochny. Looking at the town, enjoying its beauty and grandeur, he sent his ambassador to Mikhail and his citizens, but they turned out to be indifferent to flattery and did not listen to him.

In 6746 (1239), Mikhail and his son were fighting against the Tatars and Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk was in Kiev. Danil was going to join Rostislava and left Dmitri in Kiev to get the upper hand over the godless Tatars.

<...> In 6748 (1240), Batu came up to the town with his large army and the Tatar array surrounded the town. The town was besieged. Batu was near the town. His warriors shot at the town. Nothing could be heard because of the creak of his wagons and noise made by his camels and horses. The Russian land was full of warriors. There was a Tatar called Tovroul among them who demonstrated his strength and deftness to them at once. His strong brothers were the voivodes Ourdyu, Baidar, Biryui, Kaidan, Bechak and Mengou. When Kyuuk found out that the khan had died, he became a khan. Due to his voivodes Sebedyai and the Bouroundai Bulgarian and Suzdal lands were captured. They were literally countless. Batu khan ordered to put gunpowder near the Lyadsky Gates. Firing all day and all night, they broke through the walls. They fulfilled his command and entered the town. There were so many arrows that they eclipsed the daylight. Dmitri was wounded. The surviving citizens created a small asylum at the church of St. Virgin. In the morning they came and started a great battle. Frightened people scattered in all directions. The church walls fell down because of their weight. The town was captured by warriors. Dmitri was tortured and finally killed.

At the same time Danil was on his way to the Hungarians' King, he did not know that the foul Tatars had arrived in Kiev. Batu captured Kiev, heard about Danil who that time was the guest of the King of Hungarians, and headed to Vladimir. When he reached the town of Kolodyazhny, he put 12 siege-guns there but could not break walls. People started talking about that. Listening to his advice, they came out and were killed. Izyaslav's Kamenets was captured. Then he saw that Kremyanets and Danil's town are hard to conquer and retreated. Then he came to Vladimir and captured it, killing the local population without sparing anyone. That also happened to Galich, and countless other towns. Danil's tysyatsky in Kiev told Batu, 'The time had come to attack the Hungarians. Otherwise they will attack you themselves'. He saw the Russian lands dying from the foul enemies. Batu listened to Dmitri's advice and set off against the Hungarians.

'In 6746 (1237)... foreigners called Tatars came to the Ryazan land in large numbers; first of all they reached Nuzla, captured it and stayed there. He sent his ambassadors from there, wife-enchanted and two people from there to the Ryazan princes asking them for a tithe—a tenth part of everything: of people, of princes, of horses, etc. Ryazan princes Yury, Igor's brother, Oleg, Roman Igorevich, those of Murom and Pronsk did not let them in and headed in the direction of Voronezh to oppose them. The princes told them, 'When we die, that will be yours'. Then they let them go to Yury to Vladimir, the Tatars left it for Voronezh. The Ryazan prince sent his messenger to Yury of Vladimir, asking him for help or joining them in a battle. Yury did not agree, as he wanted to go and fight the Tatars separately from brothers. It was late to resist God's anger as God told Joshua: I shall send thunderstorm and fear and tremor on the heads of our enemies. God deprived us of strength and sent bewilderment, fear and trembling to us as a punishment. At the same time the foul Tatars surrounded Ryazan and laid siege; Yury, the prince of Ryazan, and his people locked themselves in the town; Prince Roman Igorevich started fighting against them with his people. Prince Yury of Vladimir sent Yeremey as a voivode and left with Roman; the Tatars surrounded them near Kolomna, they were fighting furiously and drove them away and killed prince Roman and Yeremey and there were many human losses. The inhabitants of Moscow saw nothing. The Tatars captured the town on 21 December and they started storming it on 16 December. They killed the prince and his princess, men, women and children, monks and nuns, priests, some of them were burnt and the others were knived. They violated nuns, priests' wives and other women and girls in front of their mothers and sisters; while God saved the bishop—he had left the city before it was besieged. When we saw that, we got frightened and scared and we were crying day and night; now we are sighing day and night caring of lands and hatred of brothers. But let us get back to the topic. At the same time the foul Tatars who captured Ryazan headed to Vladimir and started mass bloodshed there. Prince Yury left Vladimir and headed to Yaroslavl, his son Vladimir, his mother and all the people locked themselves in Vladimir. Illegal Israelites approached the town and stormed it. The next morning when princes Vsevolod and the Vladyka Metrofan found out what was going to happen, they headed to the church of St. Virgin and took monastic vows together with the prince, princess and many other people there. Then the illegal Israelites came, put up their attacking constructions, captured the town and burnt it down. That occurred before the Great Lent. The prince and princess saw the town burning and people dying from swords and arrows and rushed to the church of St. Virgin to hide there. The foul Tatars hammered in the doors, burnt down the church and killed them unmercifully; that is how they died. Prince Yury headed to Yaroslavl. Prince Yury sent Dorozh as a spy among three thousand. Dorozh, who arrived and said, 'Prince, we are almost surrounded'. The prince started mobilising his army immediately when the Tatars came. The prince did not have time and fled; that happened at the Sit' River; he was caught and killed there. Only God knows how he died; there are many legends about that. Rostov and Suzdal became separated. Then the foul Tatars came to Moscow, Pereyasavl, Yuriev, Dmitrov, Volog, Tver; Yaroslav's son was killed there. Then they surrounded Torzhok during the Holy week and completely devastated it; they fought there for two weeks, people got tired, and they did not receive assistance from Novgorod, so the foul Tatars captured the town and killed everyone from children to elderly people, especially the priests and their relatives. That happened on 5 March, on St. Martyr Nikon's day. Ivanko, posadnik, Yakim Vlounkovich, Gleb Borisovich, Mikhailo Moiseevich were also killed there. At the same time the foul Tatars went to Ignach cross, 100 versts away from Novgorod, killing everyone on their way. Novgorod was protected by God, St. Sofia, St. Cyril, the prayers of priesthood and the great princes. As you know, God let the foul Tatars in because of our sins. This terrific army was led by Devil: God does not want our souls to be destroyed. The devil is happy with the murders and bloodshed. In such cases God either punishes people with starvation, floods, wind or rain or asks to turn to him by saying prayers from the very depth of one's heart. But we are still suffering from God's punishment because of our sins like pigs.'

Novgorod First Chronicle. Columns 74–76

This material was prepared by Iskander Izmaylov

No. 6

Sempad the Constable. 'Chronicle'.

The outstanding military leader and historian of Cilician Armenia of the 13th century Sempad the Constable (1208–1876) composed valuable works. One of them is called the 'Chronicle'. It contains evidence on the Mongols and other peoples. The history is given here in chronological order.

As A. Galstyan noted, Sempad the Constable provided valuable data on the events of his epoch which had not been covered by any medieval historian... The texts of Sempad the Constable published before had almost no evidence on Mongolian conquests except for several pages about Mongolian troops crossing the Syr Darya and Amu Darya ('History of Mongols', ed. 1, pp. 66–67) and a few words on the journey of Sempad to Mongolia to Guyuk-khan...

The ancient Armenian texts of the 'Chronicle' by Sempad the Constable published in Moscow in 1856 and in Paris in 1859 also contain scant information on the Mongols and their conquests. It refers to three Matenadaran manuscripts: No. 4584, 1900 and 4337. A recently found manuscript of the 'Chronicle' by Sempad the Constable dated back to 1315 was published in Venice in 1315. It contains rather interesting materials on the Mongols and their conquests. We only translated the part of the mentioned work which refers to Armenian-Mongolian relations and the invasion of the Mongols in the Middle East, Central Asia, and Transcaucasia.

Sempad the Constable talks about the Armenian-Byzantine, Armenian-Georgian, Armenian-Persian, Armenian-Arabic and Armenian-Turkish relations. Sempad explains in rather great detail the history of Armenian emigration from Great Armenia to different countries of the West, and particularly to the Byzantine Empire.

Sempad thoroughly explores the Mongolian conquests in his 'Chronicle'. He provides interesting information about Khwarezm. Sempad reports that the Mongols defeated Khwarezm shah Darbain and put him to flight. Then he reports about the capture of a town of Middle Asia by the Mongols. Describing the capture of Marakanda (Samarkand) in detail, he writes that the shah of Khwarezm fled to the other side of the river and thought that the Mongols would not be able to cross it. Sempad continues, 'Chinggis Khan, the head of the Tatars, made a bridge from tied boats, crossed the Gokhon and captured the great town Samarkand within four days, but he failed to destroy it within four years because Samarkand means 'a rich town' in Turkish. Afterwards Sempad writes about the conquest of the Rum sultanate by the Mongols. After Getum had returned from Mongolia, he gathered a powerful army and invaded Rum in order to avenge the destruction of the Armenian regions by the Rum sultan during his absence. Gaining victory over the Rum troops, Getum returned to his country with valuable trophies.

Sempad talks in detail the capture of Baghdad by the Mongols. He provides some data on social contradictions in feudal Armenia, on internecine feuds, etc.

The historical work by Sempad the Constable contains reliable data on the history and geography of the countries of Central Asia and the Middle East' [Armyanskie istochniki o mongolax, 1962].

The source and notes are quoted on the basis of: Armyanskie istochniki o mongolax. Izvlecheniya iz rukopisej XIII-XIV vv. (Armenian sources on the Mongols. Abstracts from manuscripts of the 13–14th centuries) / Translation, appendices and notes by A. Galstyan. Moscow, 1962. Pp. 47–64.

'During these days the Tatars arrived in Rum. The sultan's mother took her daughter and they fled to Cilicia. The Tatars sent an ambassador to Tsar Getum (Getum I.—A.G.) who demanded the fugitives be brought back. They said that otherwise the alliance they had concluded would be invalid. He (Getum I.—A.G.) gave up the fugitives, fearing a Tatar invasion of his country¹.

A terrible anger gripped Sultan Kai-Khosrov-shah and all the Muslims then. He gathered the cavalry and instructed paron Konstantin, the owner of Lambron, to head it. He penetrated into the Paparon Mountains burning down everything on his way. Then paron Konstantin Tagavoraayr² and Sempad the Constable³ entered Tarsus and the tsar and his cavalry headed to Adana. The Turks besieged Tarsus then they moved along a riverbank, captured local places and spent six days there. After that they returned to

Kapan through the Kuklka. The tsar and his cavalry chased them. At that time Tagavoraayr and Sempad the Constable arrived at the place called Maitsar.

He (sultan.—*A.G.*) and his numerous troops turned around. Then we attacked him and with God's help prevented their advancement, and having defeated them, we chased him to Putande⁴.

In one year, in 695 (1246), the Turks gathered a large army numbering 260 thousand people and entered Kapan, crossed the Kuklka and besieged Tarsus. Tagavoraayr and I, Sempad the Constable, entered Tars. If we wanted to describe everything we had gone through because of all these catapults and battles, it would be a very long story. The town wall was badly damaged along the entire course of the river at the distance of the flight of an arrow. Both sides suffered significant human losses but the besieging Turks lost many more warriors because we had good Franconian archers.

A Tatar messenger arrived, he suggested raising the siege but the Seljuks refused thinking the town had already been captured by them. However, God who had spared the Christians many times took mercy on them again because on those days sultan Gıyas ad-Din suddenly exclaimed while drinking something in his castle Kalonoros, 'Come to me! Come to me!' and died. Then the emirs who heard about that started negotiations with the tsar and demanded only Prakan to conclude peace and go back. The tsar gave Prakan to them, so they raised the siege and left.

We did not know then that the sultan had died, otherwise we would have been able to punish him properly. In two years we got Prakan back and no single enemy managed to escape according to the lord's will. It never rained during the armistice but as soon as they concluded peace, it started raining and it did not stop for twenty days and nights. All the country was flooded and when the Turks were retreating, more than one hundred thousand infantrymen drowned. We would have annihilated them unless we had taken an oath.

In 697 (19 January 1248) I, Sempad the Constable, went to Mongolia, and in 699 (18 January 1250) returned to my brother, Tsar Getum (Getum I.—*A.G.*)⁵. <...>

In 702 (1253) the Armenian tsar Getum dressed himself up as a driver, left Cilicia with a small number of people and headed to the East to the peoples who were good at archery, to Mangu Khan. He cautiously crossed the lands of Ismaelites who lived in the country called Cappadocia. A coenobite called Barseg⁶ who drove on this road several times was his guide. They reached a place called Vardeni located not far from Thuedosia⁷ and stayed at prince Kurd's house. They stayed there until gifts for the khan were brought from Cilicia. Konstantin Tagavoraayr and people loyal to him sent Getum the gifts prepared in advance. After Getum had received these fine gifts, he came to Mangu Khan and gave them to him. The Khan received the Armenian Tsar with great pleasure and granted all his requests.

He (Möngke Khan.—*A.G.*) ordered his servants, one-eyed Marketey and Bach, to accompany Tsar Getum to his country, Cilicia. In the same year Tsar Getum gave his daughter in marriage to Bohe-
mond—Prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli. <...>

In September 705 (1256) the Armenian Tsar, Getum returned from the aforementioned Mangu Khan; this time he followed the way he used to in secret like a lion, he reached Bardzraber castle successfully where his father Konstantin, sons and daughters were. All of them were glad to see him. Then in October of the same year Tsar Getum gathered all his army with his close relatives and azats, they say their number reached one hundred thousand people. He and his troops invaded the region of Rum at the bottom of Taurusvuoret near Arakli to avenge the destroyed churches and Murand fortress. They took a lot of large and small cattle, horses, mules, slaves, gold and came home with great trophies and had a feast for several days. <...>

In 707 (1258) the archers moved from the east and reached Babylon. All the tysyachniks [head of a thousand] and centurions headed by their Hülegü Khan oppressed them badly (inhabitants.—*A.G.*). There were many locals; in addition many Muslims gathered there. There were several reasons [to gather] : firstly, they found out about the attack of Hülegü Khan one year ago, so they were preparing for the war properly; secondly, the caliph who was in Cairo died under King Baldwin who reigned in Jerusalem and oppressed Egypt.

The Sultan of Halab arrived and killed the caliph, afterwards their impious patriarch throne was passed to Baghdad. That is why so many [Israelites] headed by their leaders gathered in the town. Then the inhabitants of the town rose against them [the Tatars.—*A.G.*] and destroyed many archers and put

them to flight. Driving them away a little they left them and returned to the town. Then they started the second offensive to continue the war. The caliph sent his people to Hülegü Khan and said, 'Leave our town with your army immediately, otherwise if we declare war, all of you will die⁸ but if there are people of our confession among you, I will spare them'.

When the Khan [and his people] heard his words, they started laughing at him and seemed to be spitting in the caliph's face chewing [betel]. Khupagu pronounced loudly, 'With the help of God and by the order of Chinggis Khan I will put you to the sword for boasting of his message. The nation of archers is oppressing them everywhere raising cries. They attacked them bravely and broke their resistance and put them to flight. Afterwards they entered the town and killed all the men and women so that the broad Euphrates river flowing through the town was full of blood for many days. They exterminate the residents of the town until they got tired, after that they appointed their vicegerents and tax collectors and returned with great trophies. <...>

In 709 (1260) Hulagu Khan and his large army moved [west] like a spring flood. Wherever he went, he subordinated people via persuasion or hostilities. He reached Halab and besieged it, then he sent his people to tsar Getum so that he came to him. His troops and he [Getum] came to the khan without hesitation. The khan received him with joy. The victorious khan besieged Halab with the help of numerous machines. He destroyed the wide town wall within seven days and made a deep ditch around the town easily passable for attacking troops.

A roar of cries ascended and the earth rang with their (the khan's troops.—*A.G.*) voices. They broke into the fortress and started killing the Ismaelites with swords unmercifully. As for the Christians, they did not kill them; they only robbed them. Nobody can describe the number of victims. They headed to Damascus with trophies and captives. All the towns, villages and fortresses up to Jerusalem were conquered. They appointed their vicereagents everywhere and a Kitbuga was appointed as a byurapet⁹. The powerful khan mobilised his troops and headed east with his son Abaga, but byurapet Kitbuga did not stay at his place as he had been ordered but gathered his own army and demanded 500 people from the Cilician Tsar and rose against Egypt. When the Egyptian scouts learned about this, they reported it to their countrymen, they armed themselves, got ready and headed for them (Kitbuga's troops.—*A.G.*). They travelled for four days and reached a place called Prr. They set up their camp and were half a day away from Kitbuga. A terrible battle broke out at sunrise but the nation of archers was defeated because of the terrific heat and weakness of horses¹⁰, so they took to flight and the Egyptians chased them. Few of them managed to survive. The military leader Kitbiuga was killed in this fight and his wife and children were captured and taken to Egypt. All the rest returned to Khupagu-khan and told him what had happened. He started roaring like a lion and threatened to go there and take revenge on his army. In the same year the Armenian tsar Getum gathered an army and crossed Cappadocia and Iconia to join the troops of the nation of archers in Galatia, Gangra, at the frontier of Smyrna and Laskar. He received an invitation to go there in advance but when he was getting ready to go to their side, they had already got to the other side. They were so afraid of the Mongols that he did not turn back but, exposing himself to danger, kept on going as it was mentioned above and went to them. But it was in vain because the ones they attacked had learnt that in advance and settled in caves and on the tops of the rocks. That is why they had to return with nothing. One of the princes from the army of Tsar Getum who was of Greek origin, Vasil Keronents, died on his way back but he was taken to Cilicia and buried next to his ancestors. <...>

On 6 January 720 (1271) Tsar Getum's son Levon was crowned as the Tsar of Armenia in Tarsus of the cathedral of St. Sophie. All the Christians gathered to enjoy this worthy spectacle. On this day people were rewarded, an amnesty was announced and many people were set free. Several days after the assembly had been dissolved, the newly-crowned tsar headed to Isauria to look at this region; after that he came back home joyful. In the same year the Egyptian sultan Beybars Punduktar opposed Cilicia but tsar Levon sent ambassadors to him who persuaded the sultan to return to Egypt.

After that Tsar Levon headed east to Abaga-khan. The khan placed him at the disposal of 20 thousand warriors who had to go to Cilicia with the tsar to defend his country. The khan promised to go to Armenian Cilicia some months later. Tsar Levon returned to his country taking several warriors. <...>

Notes

1. Kirakos of Gandzak describes this story in a different way. He says that when tsar Getum I saw the Mongols ruin a powerful state such as the Sultanate of Rum, he hurried to conclude an alliance with them and sent his representatives to do that. Bayju Noyon accepted the offer of the Armenian Tsar with joy, demanding him to give up the mother, wife and daughter of the sultan who took shelter in Cilicia first of all. According to Kirakos, Getum was very upset. 'It would be easier if they wanted my son Levon, but not them', said Getum, but the fear of a severe penalty forced him to satisfy the requirements of the Mongols and give up his guests (Kirakos, p. 270). See also: Malachia, *History of the nation of archers*, p. 16; Malachia, p. 76, note 29; G. Altunyan, *Mongols and their invasions in the 13th century*, p. 39.

2. Tagavoraayr—the great paron Konstantin, as Tsar Getum's father was called in Armenian historical literature. After Levon II had died, Konstantin Tagavoraayr was a regent under Tsarina Zabella. Later he engineered a coup, seized power and announced his son Getum as king. But as his son was underage, he was ruling the state himself for a long time.

3. Constable—this term was borrowed from the Old French (*connétable*). It was explained in folk etymology (this word was used in Old Armenian to denote military leaders commanding the armed forces of the country. This position was introduced in Cilician Armenia under Levon II.

4. All the cities mentioned above are in the territory of former Cilicia.

5. It seems to us that the trip of Sempad the Constable to Karakorum is dated here improperly. Writing about his trip in a letter from Samarkand, Sempad himself indicates 1246. In our opinion we are dealing with the interpolation of the scribe as there is no such phrase in the Yerevan manuscript. Other historians who were contemporaries of Sempad the Constable also talk about his trip to Mongolia (Kirakos, p. 301–302, 350; Mekhitar of Ayrivank, p. 82, Malachia, p. 17, 'Brief chronicles', vol. 1, p. 81, 215; Johannes Dardell, *Chronicle History*, Saint Petersburg, 1882, p. 17, in Armenian). <...>

6. Barseg was an active diplomat. He held heated negotiations with the Mongolian khans in their residences. At first he visited Batu and then headed to Möngke Khan. He was one of the people who accompanied Tsar Getum I during his journey to the residence of Möngke (Kirakos, p. 352; Alishan, *Aiapatum*, p. 462; 'The History of the Mongols', ed. 2, p. 82, Acharyan, *Dictionary of personal nouns*, vol. 1, Yerevan, 1942, p. 397.

7. Theodosia is the city of Theodosiopol on the Euphrates.

8. The text says: **զի մի յորժամ հանիցեմ զպատմունքանն, պատգամաբերին մեր ի տեսս մարդիան առ հասարակ կորիցէր**. It can be literally translated as: 'If I pull off the raincoat of the messenger in full view, all of you will die'. In our opinion, this symbolical expression is equal to 'throwing down the gauntlet'.

9. Byurapet—a temnik [general], commander of ten thousand warriors.

10. According to Kirakos of Gandzak, Kitbuga was defeated because he had not ensured the protection of his troops (Kirakos, p. 152) and Malachia says that when Hülegü Khan made him his viceregent, 'Tatar headman Kitbuga did not take precautions, entered the hostile lands ten days away from Jerusalem. Having found out about that, the foul and impious Egyptians attacked the Tatars with a large army, they partly annihilated it and partly put it to flight' ('The History of the Mongols', ed. 1, p. 38). As far as information goes, Kitbuga was of Naiman origin and he practised Christianity ('The History of the Mongols', ed. 1, p. 97, note 71; Rashid al-Din, p. 23, 'Brief chronicles', vol. 2, p. 82)'.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 7

Anonymous Georgian 'Chronograph' of the 14th century.

The main source for the history of Georgia in the late 13–early 14th centuries is a chronicle narration of the 14th century 'Zhamta-agmtsereli' which is usually called 'Chronograph' in Russian. No doubt the unknown author of this fundamental work is a unique and talented writer.

As the publisher of the source writes, 'The postscript composed by the 'Commission of wise men' headed by Tsar Vakhtang VI in the first third of the 18th century says that this work completes the cycle of Georgian chronicles 'Kartlis Tskhovreba' ('The History of Georgia').

The name of the author was lost. This circumstance is connected with the fact that the compilers of the mentioned cycle (since the 12th century) initially aimed to create a continuous narration in the history of Georgia and put together separate written monuments. As a result their initial and final lines were destroyed unintentionally. So the real names of their authors were committed to oblivion. Moreover, based on some idioms, 'Chronograph' went through the whole range of interpolations carried out by either scribes or even the authors of entire plots...

Researchers always recognised the importance of the source of the given written monument and a strict researcher such as the famous expert in Mongolian studies B. Vladimirtsov referred it to narrative sources in history and ethnography of Mongols which describe the appearance of the Mongolian nomadic empire, and relate to us the great conqueror called Chinggis Khan...

... As a matter of fact the author (or authors) of this fundamental work is the forefather of Georgian historiography of the ensuing centuries (Parsadan Gargijanisdze, Beri Egnatashvili, Vakhushti Bagrationi, 'Commission of Wise Men' under Tsar Vakhtang IV, etc.). The enumerated authors and other compilers of the later Middle Ages belonging to the realistic movement of medieval Georgian literature decisively denied the romantic estimation of facts which was typical for writers and historians of the golden age of the Georgian feudal kingdom.

In view of the reality of the artistic manner of the anonymous author portraying a true image of the internal situation of his country in a difficult historical period, his information on the ethnopolitical history of Georgia and neighbouring peoples have taken on special value...

The translation is provided according to the publication 'Centenary history'. Preface and notes by R. Kiknadze. Tbilisi, 1983.

The source is quoted on the basis of: Anonymous Georgian 'Chronograph' of the 14th century / Edited by L. Basheleishvili. Translation from the Old Georgian and introduction by G. Tsulay. Moscow, 2005. Ed. 1. Text. p. 22–152.

'Now let us say a couple of words about the children of Chinggis *Khan*

This Chinggis *Khan* had many wives as well as children. The senior wife Sevinji bore him a son who was called Tushi and the Georgians called him Jochi. The second one was Chagate, the third one was Okota and the fourth one was Tuli. These four sons who were Khataeti were appointed as *khans* by him. The elder one—Tushi—got half of his army and was sent to the Great Kivchakia, Ossetia, Khazareti and Rus' (Ruthenia) up to the lands of Darkness. He passed it all on to this son. As far as all the rest are concerned, we will mention them a bit later.

So upon learning that the Tatars were approaching, the greatest Tsar Khwārezm-Shāh who was a rather elderly ruler at that time and who passed the reins of government to his son Jalāl al-Dīn possessing the country of Genoa, Khorasan and Iran, he mobilised Jalāl al-Dīn and all his army numbering six hundred thousand people and set off for Chinggis *Khan*.

He opposed the Shah of Khwarezm. A fierce struggle began between them, both sides suffered enormous human losses but the Khwarezmians were defeated.

But the elderly Khwarezm Shah and his small detachment were among the fighters and they were surrounded by the Tatars. Seeing that his son sultan Jalaldin, a heroic and brave, courageous and fearless man seeming to be incorporeal, an extremely strong man with no match in fights, came to the rescue of his father with his small detachment, saved them immediately and both of them fled to Khorasan.

After that Jalaldin fought against the Tatars several times more, to be more precise, he fought them in Jeon three times and in Khorasan four times, on the other side of Jeon. So God gave our country to the Tatars because of our sins, our people were completely defeated and driven away. Having learnt about the escape and his hiding in fortresses, Chinggis *Khan* sent the two pursuers mentioned above—Iama and Salpian—to get him. The Georgians call them Seba and Jebo. He ordered them to cross the lands of Khorasan and Iraq and do everything to scout out those countries. They headed there with twelve thousand horsemen without armour and provisions, but only with bows and without swords.

They crossed Turan, Jeon, Khorasan, Iraq, Adarbadagan and reached Gandza. Nobody resisted them. Whoever appeared, they beat them. Soon they reached the frontiers of Georgia and started devastating the lands of Gaga. Varam of Gaga and *atabag* Ivane found out about this and reported to tsar Lasha about the invasion of foreign tribes, foreign languages, the devastation of Armenia. The tsar gathered his army, *imers* and *amers*, and ninety thousand horsemen. They set off to attack the Tatars located not far from Gaga. Then *atabag* Ivane and his nephew Chanshe, his brother *amirspasalar* Zakare's son, *msakhurt-ukhutses* Varam of Gaga joined them with a large army and attacked them.

The (Tatars) set up camp there on a bank of the Berjuji River which is now called the Sagim. They saddled the horses immediately and went into action. A furious battle broke out. Half of the Tatars fled, the other half hid and was ambushed. At that very moment we were punished by the Lord for our lack of faith and sins, the Georgians and their warriors fled as well as their tsar Lasha and an incredible number of Christians died. The great *atabag* Ivane, Samtskhiy *spasalar* barely managed to survive in this fight and *mechutlet-ukhutses* Kvarkvare's son, the great warrior Beka was killed. At that very moment we felt the anger of the Lord, the Georgian tribe was doomed because of our lack of faith, the luck of war turned its back on Gavid's victorious, great and renowned clan because God used to grant his clan with victories all the time and the victorious clan of David and Gorgasal had never been defeated. Since then he did not gain any victories in view of the ups and downs of the fate of Georgian people. Those who used to be glorious and mighty became fugitive runaways. Finally they reached the town. Their power and glory were substituted for sorrowful sighs because our wicked deeds disturbed God and he filled up our hearts with grief and disgraced us before our enemies.

The Tatars reached Samshvilde and turned round there and committed a rather impulsive act: they went down the Darband road, then they went through the Darband Gate as neither the shirvan-shah nor inhabitants of Darband could resist them, they entered Kivchakia and imposed a battle on the local population, so they were fighting against the Kivchaks in many places but the Tatars gained a victory everywhere and they gradually moved away from there. As I have already said, having unshod horses and no armour, they did this journey, went through Kivchakia and went round the Darband Sea, reached Karakurum and came to see their tsar Chinggis Khan. It was very spontaneous of them to do such a journey leaving Karakurum on unshod horses and returned there again without having a break.

Having found out about the victories of the Tatars occurring everywhere, Chinggis Khan sent his sons to search for Khorasan sultan Jalaldin. When Sultan Jalaldin found out about that, he gathered an army and engaged in battle several times as I have already said. But when he felt his own weakness, he and his relatives pulled up roots and fled from the Tatars and headed to our country which will be described in the chapters below.

Tsar Lasha died as the anger of the Lord vexed by us was not pacified.

Feeling the attack of cavalry, Tsar Lasha called for renown magnates of his tsardom and entrusted his sister Rusudan to them saying with his eyes full of tears, 'I know that the royal clan is absolutely loyal to you, Georgian grandees, so I entrust my sister Rusudan to you relying on God, so that you can make her a tsarina, which has been a custom for generations of our ancestors. Serve her loyally and may your courage protect the tsar's throne from the evil of hostiles. Although she is a woman, not a man, she is still very wise and good with public affairs. You, noble magnates of this tsardom, remember the mercy, generosity and honours of my brilliant mother who was distinguished from other tsars. If the Lord does not mind, my sister will also be honoured with your respect. Now I am begging you before God to make her a tsarina, my successor. I entrust my sister Rusudan before God to bring up my son David and when he gets strong enough to rule and become a warrior, she will make him a tsar and the heir of my tsardom.

Although he is a youth now, if God lets him grow up, I think he will deserve to be a tsar because he is well-built and has inherited good looks'.

He finished his command and passed away. They grieved over him unspeakably. His sister Rusudan was in mourning for him for many days, he was taken to the Gelati Tsar burial-vault. <...>

Now let us get back to Chinggis *Khan* mentioned above. As soon as the Tatars reached our country, the persecuted sultan Jalaldin fled and left his tsardom. The (Tatars) easily secured a grip on Turan, Turkey and all Khorasan. So Chinggis Khan divided his army into four parts and appointed his four sons as khans:

the first son was given half of his army and went to the Great Kivchakia to the country of Mrak, Ossetia, Khazaria, Rus' to the Bulgarians and Serbians, to all the inhabitants of the Northern Caucasus as I have already said;

the second son Chagata was sent warriors and the country of Uighurs to Samarkand and Bukhara to the country of Alma-Ata; it seems to be Turan;

the third son Okota was given his throne as well as Karakurum, Chin-Machin, the countries of Eme-ly, Kutak and Khataeti;

the fourth son was called Tuli; he was given troops and lands located to the east of the dominions of Okota. These four young men were assigned to be khans and reported; once a year the elder brothers must come and see Okota to convene Kurultay as the throne was given to him. <...>

Then a messenger was introduced to the great *khan* who reigned in Karakurum on the throne of Chingis *Khan* because Chinggis *Khan* was dead and his son called Okota secured a grip on his *khanate*. He was a good, rather generous and fair man but he also died. Then Okota's son called Kuka became a *khan* but he also died and then Kuka's son Mangu secured a grip on the *khanate*. A messenger was sent to him to notify him about the capture of Persia, Georgia, and Greece; they sent him hats, armour and clothing from everywhere and notified him about the following order: 'Many Georgians appeared, their Tsar and *mtavars* who are extremely religious and avoid falsity, one can hardly find a poisoner among them'. As far as Persians are concerned, they said 'Persian are liars, betrayers and perjurers, many of them are poisoners and sodomites'.

First of all the messenger came to Batu who was the son of Tushi, Chinggis *Khan's* first son, as Batu had a whole range of advantages; he captured Ossetia, the Great Kivchakia, Khazaretia and Rus' up to the lands of Mrak and the Darban Sea. He sent him to Mangu *Khan*. When he saw the messenger, he rejoiced, and when he saw his helmet, he was surprised. Mangu *Khan* told the *noins* the following thing, 'As you made sure that the Georgians are good at fighting and falsity is not typical for them unlike loyalty, be friendly with them for battles against your enemies. As far as Persians are concerned, annihilate them and send their leaders to the *khan*'. When this messenger returned, Avague, who used to be an *amirspasalar*, and became an *atabag* due to tsarina Rusadan was sent by *noin* Chagata to *khan* Batu with the *khlat* sultan. They kept to unknown roads that had never been used by Georgians. When they reached Batu, who was the leading *khan* at that time, his mighty handsomeness surpassed anyone else's, Ivane Akhaltsilhsy's son called David, *ejib* of Avague, told *atabag* Avague, 'As we came to an unknown tribe and we do not know what may happen to us, I strongly recommend you to pretend to be my servant and I am your *patron* and master. If he wants to kill you, let it be me, not you. I do not think they will kill both a master and his servant'. Yielding to persuasion, Avague agreed to act this way. When they got to Batu, Avague let David walk first as if he was a leader. So David was ready to immolate himself for the good of his *patron*. Batu saw them, rejoiced and paid compliments for many days. As soon as they got used to largesse of Batu and there was no mortal danger any more, one day Batu called for David and Avague decided to walk first. The shocked *khan* told Avague, 'Are you completely impolite?' But David replied with a smile, 'Oh, great victorious tsar! He is my patron and I am his servant'. The shocked *Khan* asked what had made them pretend. He answered, 'Oh, great *khan*, we acted this way because we were not aware of your nobility and we did not know what you were going to do with us. If you decided to execute us, you would first have me executed, not my master'. He was really surprised, praised David and said, 'If Georgians are such people, I order them to be considered the best and the noblest nation among all the nations subordinated to the Mongols and be reckoned to the Mongolian army, their patrimonies and possessions must be only t'. He ordered that this edict be published and it was sent

to Mangu *Khan*, to Khataeti and Karakurum. That is how it was; now we will get back to our narration. Tsarina Rusudan left Likhi for Tbilisi and the entire nobility of the kingdom met her. She sent her son David to the *khans* who received him with respect and gave him his tsardom in full, all the nobility and *mtavars* of Georgia. So the kingdom was again under the authority of Tsarina Rusudan. <...>

The following thing happened at that time: as *Khan* Batu who was the greatest *khan* decided to count all the lands and make a list of them, he found a man from the Oird clan called Argun who was extremely wise and good at law and logic. He sent him to every corner of the empire which was subordinate to him—Rus', Khazaretia, Ossetia, Kivchakia, up the Mrak, to the east to Chin and Khataeti to count and figure out the number of horsemen and warriors who are able to take part in military campaigns of varying scales with the *noins* depending on their *ulupa*, that is offerings for wayfarers, the price of horses and packs.

As soon as he put the empire of Batu in order, he sent him to Karakorum to *khan* Kubil to put his territories in order with the help of Argun. When he reached *khan* Kubil, he did the same and sent him to put his state in order, which he did. Then he went to the *khan* of Chagat and Urkan. He put Turan in order and completely arranged the local affairs. He crossed Jeon and arrived in Khuarasan, Eraq and all of Romgur and put them in order as well.

Then he went to *Khan* Ulo, he received him with great honour and sent him to Georgia, to Tsar David and to Greece and all the lands which were subordinate to him to take a census and administer them. When he got to Georgia, all the inhabitants of David's tsardom were in distress. They started making a list of everything from people to livestock, from cornfields to vineyards, from gardens to vegetable gardens. One wealthy peasant out of nine was recruited for military campaigns. Nine *dumans* of horsemen were formed in David's kingdom who were supposed to accompany the Tatars which makes up nine *bevrs*. The size of the offerings was established—one village had to give the leader of one thousand horsemen a lamb and a *drakhkan*, as for the leader of *bevr*—a ram and two *drakhkans*, a horse cost three *tetris* a day. So he put everything in order and left for Greece and Baghdad and so on and so forth.

When this Argun had put four *khanates* in order, he was satisfied as he was an active man. But he did not introduce any taxes, duties or *qalan* in clerical institutions, monasteries or churches and he set the sheikhs and dervishes and people practicing different religions and all the priests free. <...>

Everyone was waiting for evil to happen to the Tsar and Sargis to be executed. Then the Lord sent down his mercy to those who relied on him and protected them. When the tsar exchanged a few words with the *khan*, a man from Darband appeared, one of the *khan's* bodyguards who were called sentries, and while the negotiations were in progress, this man of the *khan* entered the Horde and reported to the *khan*, 'There is no time left for conversations, because the *ulus* of the greatest *khan* Batu has set off and his son the great *khan* Berke is on the Darband way with his enormous army'.

When the *khan* heard that, he gathered his army in a hurry and it got battle-ready rather quickly. They set off to engage in battle at once and when both armies approached, the tsar asked the *khan* to allow him and his warriors to assign him a vanguard as was customary for a Georgian. Ulo listened to him and assigned him an advanced warrior standing near him. Sargis Jakeli was placed personally in front of him, on the right and on the left. The organisers of the detachments set off.

But then the following thing happened. A deer suddenly appeared in the detachment. Sargis Jakeli wearing armour killed it by shooting. A bit later his arrow struck a fox. Then he killed a hare as it passed by. *Khan* Ulo was a witness of all three cases and praised Sargis and said many good words to him.

Then the two armies approached and a noble man sent by the great *khan* Berke appeared among them as the *khan* himself did not step forth. He approached Tsar David which put the tsar warriors on alert as he was a strong warrior and a brilliant archer. But the Tsar drew an arrow from his quiver, struck the breast of his horse, and pierced the heart of the warrior. The Georgians rejoiced, recovered their spirits and rushed forward.

A brutal battle took place in the field of Shabaransky. The tsar and his warriors were fighting selflessly, Sargis performed such a glorious feat that the *khan* was shocked. The battle lingered, both sides had numerous human losses. The army of Berke fled, they started chasing them rashly, then the following thing happened; while they were being chased, the *khan* and his four warriors stood on a hill. When the runaways saw him, seven of them who were brilliant warriors hurled themselves at the *khan*. Seeing

that, Sargis passing by with three people attacked those seven warriors and fought with three soldiers, Sargis and his *aznaurs* defeated four of them and all the rest managed to flee. Then Ulo saw Sargis and his servants with his own eyes and rejoiced. They continued chasing the warriors of Berke up to Darband Gate, crossed Darband and chased them for three more days. <...>

When the time came to gather the harvest, the *khan* headed to the country of Shirvan, to the Georgian borders, to a place called Chagan-usun, that is White River. They fenced a bank in and called it Siba because he was thinking of the invasion of Berke-*khan*. Thenceforth the Tatars stayed in Siba from the harvest time to spring. In spring they went to their summer camps.

But *Khan* Ulo captured the *khan's* children mentioned above—Tutarm Kuli and Abaga and had them executed. He conquered the country and all its treasures. The inhabitants of this land who were in Greece at that time found out that its ruler had been murdered. The noble man Ala-Temur was their headman. He left Greece with his relatives and all his possessions and headed to Samtskhe.

When the Tatars of Ulo *Khan* found out that Ala-Temur had fled, they chased him and caught up with him. They turned round and fought with them and defeated many of Ulo-*khan's* people. To make a long story short we will say that they were caught up twelve times before getting to the Kolai Mountains and Ala-Temur defeated and drove them away twelve times as well. So they reached Lower Artan, a village which is called Glinavi. Murvan Gurkliysky met them there. Mukhajag's son met the hunter, the Tatars captured him and nearly killed him. He begged for mercy and promised to take them to Likhtimeri and introduce them to *khan* Berke. They believed him. He led them to Samtskhe, then to Gurklischalu and betrayed all of them there. A man was sent to ask Sargis Tmogveli and Shalva, Botso's son, and all the *meskhs* and warriors of Sargis Jakeli to gather and capture Ala-Temur and give him to Ulo-*khan*. They set off but Ala-Temur found out about it, left his home with his family and possessions, crossed the Kura and headed in the direction of Javakheti. He crossed a place called Elasi near Oshori and arrived at an area called Lerdzavi where he saw Tmogveli and avoided meeting him. Sargis, Botso's son and their army chased them together and Murvan Gurkleli followed in their tracks. Gurkleli and his small number of troops caught them up because neither the warriors of Botso's son and Sargis nor Tmogveli came to help Gurkleli.

They entered into a bloody battle, the Tatars gained victory and many court *aznaurs* were defeated and Gurkleli fled.

The Tatars crossed Javakheti and Trialeti and crossed the Kura near Rustavi. The armies of Tatars and Armenians clashed everywhere, we have no time to narrate it. Ala-Temur remained a victor everywhere. They stormed their way forward in Kambechani, Kakheti, Ereti and retreated following the Balkan way, invaded Khundzeti, because the Khund tsar opposed them but the Tatars won again and returned to Berke-*khan* as victors. The feats they performed were so great that the people who stayed there were called *agnars* which means headmen. Infuriated, Berke started to prepare for an attack. These Tatars constructed a fence near the river and spent the winter there as I have already said. <...>

At that time the great *khan* Berke set off along Darband road with his army to avenge the Tutar, Balaga and Kuli affairs. Having been informed about this, *Khan* Abaga called up his and Tsar David's warriors and went to meet them. When he found out how powerful and large in number Berke's army was, he changed his mind and did not cross the Kura, but rather went along its bank and occupied all the high spots and left his warriors at the junction of the Kura and Rakhsi—from here and up to Mtskheta.

Berke devastated the lands of Shirvan, Ereti, Kakheti and the entire shore of the Lori river, his army reached Tbilisi and they annihilated many Christian souls. *Khan* Berke stayed at the Gareja Mountains. Then the Lord looked at the country and *khan* Abaga mercifully, Berke suddenly felt bad and he died. When the warriors found out that their *khan* had died, they took his body and went through Darband Gate. And in this way a calm overcame the country <...>

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 8**'The Great chronicle' about Poland, Rus' (Ruthenia) and their neighbours in the 11–13th centuries.**

A historical composition known as the 'Wielkopolska Chronicle' is a fundamental compilatory chronicle which contains significant new materials as compared to works by previous authors. The chronicler of Great Poland continued his narration to 1273. Highlighting the events of the 13th century, he mainly used the data of Polish records. According to the author of the source, the Wielkopolska Chronicle is considered to be an exceptional work by right which was created gradually and reflected the two stages of development of historical thought of the 13th century and the latter half of the 14th century, and for this reason this is a source of both the period of feudal fragmentation and the next stage connected with the unity of the country under Casimir the Great. But first of all it is noteworthy because the history of the 13th century written by direct eye-witnesses fills in the gap which emerged between the chronicle by Vincent Kadlubek and compositions written in the ensuing centuries. The chronicle by right can be considered the most fundamental work of medieval Polish historiography'.

The source and notes are quoted according to the publication: "Velikaya xronika" o Pol'she, Rusi i ix sosedyax XI-XIII vv. ('The Great Chronicle' about Poland, Rus' (Ruthenia) and their neighbours in the 11–13th centuries.) / Edited by the associate member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR V. Yanin—Moscow, 1987. Pp. 154–155, 235–236.

'Chapter 71. On the first Tatars who penetrated into Poland and Hungary

In 1241 Tatar Khan Batu and his army consisting of numerous and cruel people crossed Rus' and decided to invade Hungary¹. Before he reached the borders of Hungary, he sent part of his army to fight against Poland. They devastated the town on the day of Ash² and the Sandomierz land without sparing people of any sex and gender. Then they arrived in Krakow through the village of Wiślica, devastating everything that they saw³. Princes Władysław of Opole and Boleslav of Sandomierz met them not far from Opole and started fighting against them but they fled without having a chance to resist both their number and God's will. So the mentioned part of the Tatar army reached Silesia, devastating Sieradz, Łęczyca and Kujawy. Henry, the son of Bearded Henry, the prince of Silesia, Poland and Krakow, with many thousands of armed warriors met them in the field near the Liegnitz fortress and confidently fought against them relying on God's mercy. The famous prince Henry mentioned above and thousands of his warriors were defeated in the battle field by the favour of God who sometimes allows the death of his servants for their offenses⁴. Prince Boleslav, who was called Schepelka was defeated there as well. When the Tatar khan Batu invaded Hungary, the Hungarian kings, Béla's brothers and Koloman blocked his way⁵. The last people, having lost the main part of their army in the fight fled in disorder. Devastating Hungary and killing people from babies to elderly people without sparing representatives of any sex and age, khan Batu crossed the Danube. He spent a year and more in this kingdom inflicting butchery among people and the unholy devastation of towns⁶. <...>

Notes

¹ Before invading Hungary Khan Batu wrote to the Hungarian King and demanded subordination. King Béla IV sent numerous Dominican and Franciscan missions on reconnaissance (Fontes autentici itinera (1235–1238) fratres Juliani illustrantes / Ed. L. Bendefy // Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis. Budapest, 1937. Vol. 3. Pp. 1–47; Istoriya Vengrii (History of Hungary). Vol. 1. P. 147; V. Matuzova. The Mongolian invasion from the standpoint of the political views of Matthew of Paris // Metodika izucheniya drevnejshix istochnikov po istorii narodov SSSR. Moscow, 1978. Pp. 189–190).

² Wednesday before the first Sunday of Lent

³ Krakow was devastated on 22 March 1241

⁴ On 9 April 1241 one of the most powerful Polish princes, the prince of Silesia Henry the Pious died in the battle of Legnica. But the Tatars failed to capture Legnica (see: Pashuto V. Foreign policy of Ancient Rus'

(Ruthenia). Moscow, 1968. p. 286; Groblewski W. Skutki pierwszego najazdu tatarów na Polskę // Szkice legnickie. Wrocław, 1971. Vol. VI. P. 81–99).

⁵ The chronicler permits an inaccuracy, when talking about Koloman (Kalman) as a 'city of the Hungarians'. Kalman (1208–1241) was the King of Galich and from 1226 he was the Duke of 'all Slavonia'. <...>

⁶ Batu defeated a Hungarian-Croatian army numbering 60 thousand people in the battle of Mohi (April 1241). The Tatars captured Pest, devastated the left-bank of Hungary as well as Slovakia which was subordinate to Hungary. They only left the country in March 1242 (Rogerii Carmen miserabile // SRH / Ed. E. Szentpetery. Budapest, 1937. Vol. II. P.569–571, 576–580; Berteni I. Mezhdunarodnoe polozhenie Vengrii posle tatarskogo nashestviya (The international position of Hungary after the Tatar invasion) // Vostochnaya Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e. Moscow, 1978. Pp. 315–319). <...>.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 9

**Matthew of Paris.
'The Great Chronicle' ('Chronica majora')**

Matthew of Paris (around 1200–1259), the author of 'Chronica Majora' ('Historia major') was one of the most outstanding and interesting chroniclers of the English Middle Ages. His own compositions are the main source of evidence on him as for most medieval authors. Much remains unclear in his biography. His nickname 'Paris' is explained either by his origin or the fact that he studied at Paris university.

The documentary material of chronicles picked up by Matthew from the royal archive he gained access to as a confidant of King Henry III (1234–1272) is also unique. Many messages of the Pope and the emperor (for example, a message from the German Emperor Frederick II—passage 6) can only be found in 'Chronica Majora'. This composition by Matthew of Paris is valuable because it reflected many events witnessed by the chronicler; among them being the Council of Lyon of 1245.

Matthew was well read in the sphere of medieval historiography. He was familiar with the works of Bede, the chronicles by William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntington, John of Worcester, Gervase of Canterbury, Geoffrey of Monmouth, etc. He used the records of some English and French monasteries. Matthew also mentions compositions by Gregory of Tours, Peter Lombard and Petrus Comestor. He was also familiar with works by ancient (Roman) authors: he numerous times cites Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Lucan, Terence, Seneca, etc.

Besides the 'Great Chronicle', Matthew of Paris also wrote the 'History of the Angles, or Brief Chronicle' ('Historia anglorum, or Hisroria minor'), 'Deeds of abbotts of St. Albans Monastery' ('Gesta Abbatum Sancti Albani') and some hagiographic compositions.

The source and comments are quoted according to the publication: Matuzova V. Anglijskie sred-nevekovy'e istochniki IX–XIII vv. (English Medieval sources of the 9–13th centuries). Moscow, 1979. Pp. 107–171.

'TRANSLATION

1

[1237]

*[Epistle to the cardinals of Germanus II, the Patriarch of Constantinople]*¹

<...> The only thing I wil add is that evidently there are great peoples who believe as we, the Greeks do, who are similar in all manner. First of all, they live in the nearest part of the East: Ethiopians, Syrians and others who are more significant and powerful, to be more precise: Iberians², the Laz people³, Alans⁴, Goths⁵, Khazars⁵, the incalculable people of Rus' (Ruthenia) and the victorious kingdom of Ulgars⁶. All of them seem to be obedient to our church and are loyal to Orthodox faith. <...>

2

[1238]

About the Tartars leaving their lands and devastating the northern lands

During these days official ambassadors were sent to the King of the Franks⁷ by the Saracens⁸. They reported mainly on behalf of Mountain Old Man⁹ that a monstrous and inhuman tribe was moving from the Northern Mountains, occupied vast and fertile lands of the East, devastated Great Hungary¹⁰ and sent frightening messages through their ambassadors. Their headman claims that he is a messenger of the Lord to pacify and subdue¹¹ the peoples who rose against them. Their heads are too big and their are not proportionate to their bodies at all. They eat raw meat and human flesh as well. They are great archers. They cross rivers at any place on portable boats made of leather. They are strong, thickset, godless and pitiless. Their language is unknown to any people. They have large numbers of large and small cattle and herds of horses. They have extremely fast horses which can cover a distance of three days within one day. Their armour protects them well at the front, but not from behind to prevent them from taking to flight. They have a very cruel headman called a Khan¹². It is believed they are called Tartars (it comes from the name of the river Tar¹³), they are large in number and reside in the northern lands. They befall humanity like a plague either from the Caspian or neighbouring mountains, although they have already appeared several times, this year they have behaved especially outrageously. That is why

the inhabitants of Gothia¹⁴ and the Frisian Kingdom¹⁵ who were afraid of their invasion did not come to England, to Gernema¹⁶ as it was usual while fishing herrings they usually ship. That is why that year herrings went for a song in England because of its abundance—forty-fifty fish went for one silver coin even in remote places although they were choice ones. This Saracen messenger, having the powers of a noble clan, came to the king of Gaul who was ordered to notify about that on behalf of the whole East, and who asked western countries for help to deal with the Tartar threat in a more efficient way, sent the Saracen messenger to the king of England¹⁷ who came to the king to notify him about that and he said that if the Saracens were not able to suppress their onslaught, only one thing would be left: the Tatars and western countries would devastate them. As a poet said, 'It is your business as well when your neighbour's wall is burning'¹⁸. This messenger asked for help at the moment when they were threatened with danger so that the Saracens could counter the attack with the help of the Christians. The Bishop of Winchester¹⁹ who happened to hear the conversation replied him wittily making the sign of the cross, 'Let the dogs²⁰ bite each other until they eat each other up. When we attack the enemies of Christians who survived, we will wipe them off the face of the earth. The whole world will be subordinate to the united Catholic church and there will be one shepherd and one flock'²¹. <...>

5

[1241]

On the terrible destruction caused by an inhuman tribe called the Tartars

In the ensuing days this inhuman and ferocious barbarian and indomitable tribe having no laws which is called Tartars made violent incursions into the northern lands of the Christians and devastating them, caused immense fear and trepidation among the Christians. Frisia²², Gothia²³, Poland, Bohemia and both Hungaries²⁴ were mainly turned into a desert by their unprecedented cruelty after the rulers, prelates, citizens and peasants had fled and had been killed. The following illustration was preserved among the written testimonies on this event:

Letters concerning the aforementioned, sent to the Duke of Brabant:

'To our kind and highly esteemed father-in-law, Henry, Duke of Brabant, by the mercy of God Count of Thuringia, Palatine of Saxony, expresses his sincere desire and readiness to serve him. The misfortunes predicted in the Holy Writings and sent to us because of our sins today are not decreasing, but expanding. A certain countless and cruel, furious and illegal tribe invaded neighbouring lands and occupied them and reached the Polish land, passing through many lands and annihilating many peoples. We received a report on them from ambassadors and the king of Bohemia²⁵ and we heard his appeal to deliver him assistance to protect the faithful. We know for sure that this Tartar tribe is going to approach us in a week after Eastern approximately and invade the lands of Bohemia. If we do not get assistance on time against them, the Tartars will cause unprecedented damage to us. As all the neighbouring lands are either being devastated at the moment or getting ready to resist²⁶, we kindly ask you to deliver assistance to us and give some advice for the sake of the Church. As delay is similar to death in this situation, we ask you to hear us, get armed and hurry up to help us for the sake of our and your salvation. We are going to send our ambassadors to you again so that you mobilized an enormous army calling for powerful and brave representatives of nobility and people subordinate to them. We announce a crusade through our prelates, preachers²⁷, and minorities²⁸ as it comes to the crucified tsar, establish public prayers and fasts everywhere, we appeal to wage a war for Jesus Christ and all our lands. We should also add that the main part of this foul people and those who joined them are devastating Hungary unmercifully, they say the king²⁹ hardly managed to reserve a part of his possessions. To cut it short let me say that the church and the people of northern countries are humiliated so badly that there are no analogs to that. Given in 1241, on the day when they sing, 'Rejoice, Jerusalem!' The same message was sent by the Duke of Brabant, to the Bishop of Paris³⁰. The archbishop of Cologne³¹ sent the same message to the English King³².

This awful discord between the Pope and the Emperor³³ which turned out to be disastrous for the church caused many fasts and public prayers to be called in many lands with generous alms-giving so that God would take compassion on the people, precipitated the arrogance of the Tartars because he equally celebrates victory over his enemies of all sizes, be they small or great peoples.

When the mother of the King of the Franks³⁴, an honourable woman beloved by God, Queen Blanche of Castile³⁵ found out that the Scourge of God had threatened the people, she said, 'Where are you, my son Louis?' He came up to her and said, 'What is wrong with you, my mother?' She took a deep breath and started sobbing, but being a woman she still realised this danger and said, 'What should we do, my beloved son, under such terrible conditions? An awful rumour has gone abroad. The uncontrollable invasion of the Tartars threatens to destroy all of us and our church'. When the king heard that, he replied with tears in his eyes, 'Mother, may God's consolation strengthen us. Because if the people we call the Tartars attack us, we will either overthrow the Tartars³⁶ in the place they come from or they will send us to God'. It was a kind of saying, 'We will either counter the attack or will depart to God as true Christians or martyrs if we are defeated'. This speech which deserves mentioning and praise encouraged and inspired not only the nobility of France but also inhabitants of the neighbouring lands.

6

[1241]

Upon learning of this, His Majesty the Emperor³⁷ sent to the Christian rulers, primarily to the English King³⁸ the following message entitled '

*A message from the Emperor on the invasion of the Tartars*³⁹

'Emperor Frederick and his entourage greet the King of England. We cannot help mentioning the affair concerning both the Roman Empire whose duty was to preach the Gospel and all the kingdoms of the world practicing the Christian religion because the entire Christian world is in danger of destruction, and although we have heard the truth quite recently, we will still offer it to your attention. People of barbarian descent and lifestyle who were hiding in a sun-burnt area for a long time in a red-hot desert came from a southern region. Afterwards they stayed in northern regions having capturing these areas suddenly and propagated their kind like locusts and we do not know if they are called Tartars in view of their origin or natural habitat. They have survived to our times not without reason; it is an act of God who sent them to correct our Christian world, not to annihilate it! Their invasion caused a disaster, the devastation of all the kingdoms and death of fertile lands conquered by ungodly people who spared no one, with no regard to their age, sex or social position and who regarded themselves the only nation deserving to rule in all lands due to their supernatural power and population. So killing and devastating everything that they lay their eyes on and causing devastation, the mentioned Tartars (moreover—emigrants from Tartarus) came to the overpopulated area of the Cumans⁴⁰. As they do not spare their lives and bows are the commonest kind of weapons for them as long as arrows and other missile weapons they use all the time (that is why their arms are stronger than those of other people), they crushed the Cumans. The ones who failed to escape were killed by their bloody swords. But this dangerous neighbourhood did not make Ruthenians⁴¹ living by their side be cautious at least to think how to protect themselves from irregular raids of this unknown people they are afraid of. Because they attack all of a sudden to plunder and annihilate. One of the largest towns of this kingdom—Kleva⁴²—fell down under pressure of raids of this Barbarian people. After its inhabitants were killed, all the kingdom had been destroyed. It should be a sign for neighbouring Hungarian Kingdom to get armed and erect fortifications but they omitted it carelessly. Their lazy and irresponsible king⁴³ who was asked to give up and pass his kingdom without fighting through messengers and ambassadors so that he hurried up to enjoy their favour for his citizens and himself, being scared and afraid did not show them a proper example to get ready for defense and protection from raids. As long as they were sleeping in peace next to their enemies being arrogant and unaware relying on natural fortifications⁴⁴ they invaded like a storm and surrounded them. Surrounded and defeated Hungarians being absolutely unprepared for this attack tried their best to resist. When the Tartar army was 5 milliaris⁴⁵ away from the Hungarian one⁴⁶, Tatar advanced detachment moved forward at the dawn and surrounded Hungarian fortifications, at first they killed all the nobility and prelates who had opposed them, killed the hostile people demonstrating an unprecedented outrage—one can hardly remember any other battle since ancient times which was similar to that⁴⁷. The King chose the fastest horse and fled away, he hardly managed to survive. Being accompanied by several horsemen, he headed to the Illyrian kingdom⁴⁸ to take asylum there at least. The rejoiced winners took left fortifications and trophies of losers. Now they are unmercifully devastating the largest and the most fertile part of Hungary across the Danube river with fire and sword which we knew from the Bish-

op of the Vatican⁴⁹, ambassador of the aforementioned King of Hungary directed to our throne at first and then to that of Rome. Going through our possessions he approved what he had seen and his evidence is absolutely true⁵⁰. We can also learn about that in detail from messages of our beloved Konrad's son⁵¹ who was elected as a Roman king, the heir of the emperor and Jerusalem kingdom, and from the king of Bohemia⁵² and from dukes of Austria⁵³ and Bavaria⁵⁴ as well as from messengers who knew that the enemies were quite close based on their own experience. We listened to these reports full of heat passion. Indeed, as it turned out and according to rumours, their countless army is moving forward divided into three parts causing damage and grief as God gratifies their designs. One part was sent against the Pructens⁵⁵ and entered Poland; the leader of that land was defeated in a battle initiated by them⁵⁶ and afterwards all that kingdom was devastated by them. The second part invaded Bohemia but it was stopped due to the brave resistance demonstrated by the King of Bohemia and his warriors. The third part was riding through the territory of Hungary approaching the borders of Austria. Fear and thrill caused by insane outrages of the invading enemy encourage some rulers to act, the need itself which is reinforced by direct danger requires to oppose them and urges all the rulers, mainly those of the Christian world, to unite their efforts in struggle against them. Because this people is wild and they do not know what humanity and laws are. However they have a leader⁵⁷ they follow, eagerly obey and respect and consider God on Earth. As for height, they are a short people, strong and athletic. They are sinewy, strong and brave, they are ready to perform risky deeds as soon as they are ordered to. They have broad faces, a sidelong glance; they make terrific noises which are consonant with their hearts. They wear unmanufactured bull, donkey and horses' skins. Their armour is made of iron plates attached to leather; they have used them until now. But we have to say with a certain degree of regret that now they are armed with weapons stolen from Christians which are better and nicer because according to God's design, we were doomed to be killed with our own weapons. In addition, now they have the best horses, eat the most delicious dishes, get dressed in the most beautiful costumes. These Tartars are excellent archers, they take special bubbles made of leather with the help of which they cross lakes and fast rivers. People say that is there is shortage of food, the horses they ride get satisfied with bark, grass and leaves; however they are extremely fast and hardy when necessary. We foresaw that and often warned his royal majesty and other Christian rulers in messages and through our ambassadors, recommended and required to put an end to their quarrels and conflicts which often cause damage to the state of Christ and rise against the common danger which has arisen recently, as an expected arrow is not so dangerous so that the common enemies were not too happy getting ready for a long military campaign because quarrels like this are wide-spread among Christian rulers. Oh my God! We groveled in the dirt so many times so that the Pope⁵⁸ stopped biasing everyone against of us because of his dislike and cope with unreasonable anger so that he could calm down our indignant citizens in the battle with whom we spent enormous sums of money and wasted human resources, our might would increase and it would be easier to oppose the common enemy. But as his own will was a law for him and he did not stop a rampant flood of words and found it needless to stop countless attempts of quarrels, to the joy of rioters minding our honour and glory, he ordered to organize a crusade against of me, the main helper of the defender of church, through his servants which should be organized against tyrannic Tartars and Saracens who invaded the Holy land and conquered it. As our main task is to get rid of internal enemies, how should we resist the Barbarians? As they are good at military art, due to their scouts whom they send everywhere they learn about social fragmentation and weakness of lands; they get even more encourages and inspired when they learn about those problems and fragmentation among kingdoms. Oh, this joyful encouragement helps them so much! Thus meaning both things, we should do our best to resist the danger facing the church both from the Barbarians and internal enemies with the help of God. We decisively ordered our beloved son Conrad and other noble people of other empire to oppose the powerful invasion of the Barbarians. We also kindly ask your Royal Majesty to get ready with efficient assistance against invaders as soon as possible for the good of the commonwealth and Christian religion, thinking of him and his kingdom blessed by God. We required that for the sake of Christ's blood and a union connecting us⁵⁹. Let them join us to fight for the liberation of the Christian world bravely and fearlessly in the battle against the enemies who are about to invade Germany like the gate of the Christian world, gain a common victory for the God's army. Please notice that and not delay it. If they enter Germany and face no

barriers and boundaries, all the rest will invade all of a sudden like thunder and lightning which appeared by the order of God as the world is blackened by awful deeds and love faded in many people⁶⁰ who are supposed to confess faith, because of the world is full of vanity and anarchy. May your royal majesty do your best to resist the enemies as soon as possible carrying out outrages in neighbouring; because they left their lands to conquer all the West and destroy the belief in Christ. They got so mad feeling the support of God that they think that all the kingdoms of the world belong to them and that they humiliate their kings and leaders subordinate to their power. We only rely on Jesus Christ whom we owe our triumph being free from our enemies so that they lost their pride and got back to their Tartar. They should not be proud of passing so many provinces, conquered so many peoples, caused so much damage when the devil himself will make them die in front of triumphant flags of the powerful European empire as soon as Germany facing the war bravely, France being the mother of knighthood, military and courageous Spain, England famous for its men and fleet, Alemagne⁶¹ abundant with energetic warriors, maritime Denmark, irrepressible Italy, Burgundy recognizing no peace, calmless Apulia with pirate victorious islands in the Greek⁶², Adriatic, Tyrrhenian seas, Crete, Cyprus, Sicily with islands and lands, adjoining to the ocean, bloody Hybernia⁶³ with cheerful Wales, Scotland full of lakes, icy Norway and other famous and glorious kingdoms located in the west will create their own army headed by a flag with a life-giving cross on it which frightens not only many peoples but also revolting demons. Given on the way back after Favencia⁶⁴ had been captured and devastated, on 3 July <...>

8

[1243]

*A rather terrible address sent to the Archbishop of Bordeaux*⁶⁵

In those same days, the following message, given to the Bishop of Bordeaux⁶⁶ and sent out to many Christian rulers, which was mainly consonant with the message of the emperor on the terrible devastation caused by the inhuman people called the Tartars⁶⁷ (although they are called the Tatars or Tatars in it [in the message.—V.M.]) sent a great many people into fear, including imperturbable people.

'By the mercy of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Giralda welcomes John of Narbonne who used to be one of the most unworthy religious figures... [At the beginning of the message John repents of his sins interpreting the Tatar invasion as a God's punishment.] I told about that because a certain countless tribe, unmerciful people, whole law is anarchy, anger—fury, the Scourge of God, were invading boundless lands and devastating them violently destroying all the barriers with with fire and sword. This summer the mentioned people called Tatars entered Pannonia which was captured without resistance, that town⁶⁸ was besieged by a countless army⁶⁸ where I happened to be. There were only fifty warriors there who were left there with twenty arbalesters⁶⁹ to guard the town by the Duke⁷⁰. All of them got frightened because of rare cruelty of followers of Antichrist, when they saw the army from a high fortification, One could hear Christians crying addressed to God. They equally died, no one was spared by conquerors whatever their age, gender, or social status was. They were caught unawares and were killed in an adjoining territory. The chiefs and their lotus-eaters ate their dead bodies like bread and they left only bones for black kites. What is surprising is that the hungry and insatiable black kites were squeamish about eating up leftover pieces of flesh. They put old and ugly women at the mercy of the so-called cannibals like a field ration; they did not eat up beautiful ones but they violated to death the ones who screamed and shouted. They also beat girls to death, cut off their bosoms and left them for military leaders as a delicacy and ate their bodies themselves with great pleasure. When the scouts saw the duke of Austria and King of Bohemia⁷¹, the Patriarch of Aquileia⁷², duke of Karintia⁷³ and supposedly Margrave of Baden⁷⁴ with enormous armies of neighbouring states from the spur which had already been formed up, all these impious troops disappeared at once and all these horsemen returned to poor Hungary. They retreated as sweepingly as they attacked; that is why they put in fear everyone who saw that. The ruler of Dalmatia⁷⁵ captured eight runaways, the duke of Austria knew that one of them was an Englishman who was convicted to permanent exile because of a crime. He visited the king of Hungary⁷⁶ twice on behalf of the Tatar king as an ambassador and translator and threatened by mortal danger giving enough examples unless he gives his kingdom to the Tatars and becomes their captive. When our rulers forced him to tell the truth about the Tatars, he seemed to keep in himself nothing but he gave some details which made it possible to believe in the devil himself. [Then comes follows a story of an Englishman

on his misadventures after exile from England.] After he had been caught by scouts, he was taken by the Tatars; afterwards they received a reply that would dominate over the whole world⁷⁷, persuaded him to be loyal to them and serve them with the help of numerous gifts as they needed interpreters. As for their morals, manners, and beliefs, their physique and height, homeland and the way they fight, he gave his solemn word that they had no match in greed, anger, cunning and heartlessness; but due to the severity of the punishment and cruelty of penalties imposed by their rulers, they avoid quarrels, mutual atrocities, and lies. The founders of their tribes are called gods; at a fixed time arrange commemorative celebrations in their honor; many [of the festivals] are local and only four of them are overall. They are convinced that everything was created only for them. They do not consider a sin the manifestation of cruelty towards providing resistants. They have strong and mighty breasts, thin and pale faces, hard and straight shoulders, squashed and short noses, sharp and prominent chins, the upper jaw is tiny and deep set, teeth are long and rare, the slit of eyes comes from the temples to the nose, pupils of the shifty and black, eyes are shifty and black, glance is sidelong and sullen, oblique view and sullen, limbs are bony and sinewy, shanks are thick, but although their cannon-bones is usually made up at the expense of upper parts of body. are shorter than ours, they are still as tall as us, as what lacks in cannon-bones leg bones are shorter [what we do], yet they are the same with us growth, because what is lacking in the leg bones, filled in the upper parts of the body. Their homeland which used to be desert and extremely vast is situated beyond from where they drove away lions, bears and other predators using bows and other weapons. They produce light but still impenetrable armour from their skin. They got used to not very tall but very hardy horses being content with a small number of food, they sit on them being tightly attached to them; they were fighting tirelessly and bravely using spears, pole-axes, clubs, and swords, but prefer archery and they have no match in it. As their backs are poorly protected not to take to flight, they retreat being attacked only when they see the banner of their leader disappear. If they lose, they do not pray for mercy and never spare losers themselves. All of them are equally striving to subdue the whole world to their domination. But there are only a thousand of thousands of them. When their followers numbering six hundred thousand people are sent to prepare a place to stop for a rent, cover the distance of three-day marches within one night riding on their horses. They suddenly scattered across all lands, capturing all the people, unarmed, defenceless and fragmented, they cause so much destruction that the King or chief of the captured and can hardly find someone to oppose them. They treacherously attack peoples and chiefs of these countries for the reason which is not a reason at all. They believe they leave their homeland to get there three Bethlehem Tsars and sorcerers⁷⁸ whose relics make Cologne famous; to put an end to greed and pride of the Romans who oppressed in antiquity; to conquer only the barbaric and hyperborean peoples; being scared of Teutons⁷⁹ to humble them; to learn military science from the Gauls; to seize the fertile lands that can feed many of them; because of the pilgrimage to Saint James with the final destination in Spain. Because of these inventions some unsuspecting Kings allowed them to pass freely through their land because and of these inventions concluded a union with them but they still died because they did not follow these unions.

9

[1244]

*It was said by Peter, the Archbishop of Rus'**(Ruthenia) who managed to escape from the Tartars when he asked about their life*⁸⁰

As long as this fateful draw advanced on the world, an Archbishop from Russia called Peter, a noble, honest, devout, trustworthy man by all appearance exiled by the Tartars, left his Kingdom and escaped, crossing the Alps to get advice and assistance for his archbishop and consolation from his brothers if the Roman Church and merciful favour of the [local] rulers would help him by order of God. When he was asked if he was aware of the actions of these Tartars, he replied,

'I think they were the last Midianites who fled from Gideon to the remotest areas of the East and North and settled in the terrible place and uninhabited desert called Etrev. They had twelve leaders, the major one was called Tartarkan. That is why they are called Tartars although some of them say they were named after Tarakhont. Chiartkhan having three sons also descended from him. The first one's was called Tesirkan, the second one was called Churikam and the third one—Batatarkan. Although they were raised in the highest and almost unavailable, rude, recognizing no laws, wild and brought up in

caves and dens of lions and dragons which they drove away, they yielded to temptations. were exposed to temptations. So the father, his sons and humerous troops armed in their peculiar way set off, besieged a great town called Ernak and captured it and its ruler who was killed at once and purchased Kurtseva, his runaway nephew, in many provinces devastating the ones which granted shelter to him. Russia which has been mainly devastated for 26 years was among them. As soon as their father died, the three sons were separated. Having become shepherds of herds, they were capturing all neighbouring shepherds for a long time, they killed them or turned into their slaves. So they attacked the remotest areas and conquered towns winning their inhabitants becoming the largest in number and the most powerful, electing leaders from among them. Tesirkan attacked Babylonians, Churikan—the Turks, Batatarkan stayed in Ornaka and sent his chiefs against Russia, Poland, and Hungary and many other kingdoms. And the three brothers and their large armies are going to attack neighboring parts of Syria. They say 34 years have passed since they left Etrev desert for the first time.'

When he was asked about [their] confession, he said that they only believe in the Lord of the world and when they sent ambassadors to the Ruthenians, they were ordered to say, 'God and his son are in heaven, Chiarkhan is on land'.

As far as their lifestyle is concerned, he said, 'They eat horse and dog meat and that of other animals which are usually despised but they do not eat raw meat; they cook it. They drink blood, water and milk. They strictly punish crime, fornication, stealing, lies and for murder they apply capital punishment. They do not condemn polygamy and each of them has one or more wives. They do not allow foreigners to live with them, trade or take part in councils. They set up camps separately and if someone decides to penetrate there, he will at once be killed'.

As for their rites and beliefs, he said, 'In the morning they they hold up their hands to heaven everywhere worshipping the creator. While having a meal, they throw the first piece of food up in the air; when they start drinking something, at first they pout a part [of liquid] onto the ground, worshipping the creator. And they say that their leader is St. John the Baptist. They have noisy celebrations in the dark of the moon. They are stronger and more flexible than us. It is easier to them to deal with various problems; it also refers to their horses and livestock. Their women are great warriors, especially archers. Their armours are made of leather, they are almost impenetrable; offensive weapons [was] are made of iron and impregnated with poison. They have numerous devices which destroy accurately and powerfully. They sleep under the open sky paying no attention to severe climate. They have already incorporated many people from different nations and tribes. And they intend to conquer the entire world and they got a divine revelation according to which they destroy the whole world in thirty-nine years. They argue that they are similar to the divine punishment which purified the world with the help of flood in the past. They believe and say that they will have a severe struggle with the Romans because they call all the Latins Romans and they are afraid of miracles as they believe that the verdict on the future retribution may change. If they win, then claim that will rule the whole wide world indeed. They observe treaties with [those] who give up immediately as prisoners rather properly; they select warriors from among them who always fight in the front line. They also spare various artisans unlike the one who oppose them and disregard their yoke. They graciously receive ambassadors, interview them and set them free'.

In the end, when he was asked about how they crossed rivers and seas, he said they crossed them on horses or with the help of bubbles specially prepared for this. In three places they have prepared vessels for the sea. He also said that a Tatar called Kalaladin, Chirkan's son-in-law, fled to Russia because he was exposed as a liar. Only thanks to his wife he was spared by Tatar elders and was not killed. <...>

16

No. 61. [*Report on the Tatars communicated in Lyon*⁸¹ by the Dominican Andre⁸². 1245]

[...] In addition, lay brother Andreas and another preacher have arrived in Lyon recently; one of them was sent two years ago by the Pope to the Tatars tsar. That lay brother found a Tatar troops being forty-five-day marches away from Akon numbering about three hundred thousand horsemen from among Tartar themselves without mentioning prisoners paying tribute from many peoples. And this army [was in the forefront of?] troops of the great tsar who was five-mon-march away from it. An ardent Catholic judging by his actions, appearance and faith, one of those who are normally called monks was alleged to appear in the army and he received such a power from the tsar that conquering any kingdom, he asks

to [protect] what is peaceful and protects churches and erects and restores the destroyed ones; he extended his patronage to all believers and all Christians who give themselves to the authority of this tsar. Because the Tatar tsar only desires to dominate over all, and also to the monarchy all over the world and does not thirst after anyone's blood but allows everyone to practice his religion and forces no one to convert into another faith.

On their religion

The brother who was asked about their religion also replied that they believe there is only one God and have their rites which should be followed by everyone on pain of punishment. They govern their state in the fairest way possible. If they catch someone ignoring his wife and servants with someone else's wife, servant or daughter or exposed as a liar, he will be unmercifully put to death.

On their power

They are so powerful that they have already conquered almost all Eastern Asia being only two daytime marches away from Antioch⁸³ and would have invaded it unless the aforementioned monk had not held them back. But he cannot do it any more. Twenty years have passed since they drove away the inhabitants of Khwarezm⁸⁴ from their lands and they (the inhabitants of Khwarezm.—*V.M.*) gained a victory over Christians in the Holy land⁸⁵, so they (the Tatars.—*V.M.*) were laughing at them (Christians.—*V.M.*) as they dared to oppose the most powerful Tartar Tsar. The Sultan of Konya⁸⁶ was among kingdoms he had conquered, his land was much larger than all the kingdoms on the other side of the mountains; every day he sent him one thousand golden perpers⁸⁷ and a quirite to serve him. Their armament is light and made of leather. They do not use mangonels but they are excellent archers. Their food is quite modest as they turn cured and dried meat of horses and other similar animals into powder and dissolve it in water or in mare's milk and drink it and become sated in this way.

On the origins of the Tatar tsar

That brother also said that their Tsar was a son of a Christian woman because when his father conquered India and killed the one who was called Prester John⁸⁸ (the name which is given to all Indian Tsars), he married his daughter who bore him the son who is ruling the Tartars now. The mentioned monk was taken to the Tartar Tsar at the urgent request of that woman as he used to be with Prester John mentioned above. And when the Tartar Tsar realised that he was a holy man giving good advice, he had left him and passed him the indicated power. This monk sent to the Pope⁸⁹ through the mentioned lay brother staff a crozier made of ivory as a gift and wrote to him and Frederick that he loved them [but] condemned for the fact that being headmen of the Church, they are hostiles without paying attention to the fact that the most powerful Tartar Tsar is about to attack them, and the whole Christian world was unable to resist their power.

On the brother mentioned as well

The aforementioned brother told many things which could exceed the limits of reality unless his authority was proof of the truth of what he had said. He also knows the Arabic and Chaldean languages and nothing they were talking about could be hidden from him. He was with the mentioned above for twenty days, and the monk granted honours to him and sent his Messenger with him to the Pope.

The uncle of this Tartar Tsar leads the troops which attacked the Hungarian kingdom⁹⁰. I also heard from someone that the Pope had written to the bishop of Osan (?) that a new tsar would be elected soon and he would be better than the previous one. <...>

Comments

¹ The Patriarch of Constantinople, Germanus II (1222–1240) turned to Pope Gregory IX several times suggesting him to create a union of the Greek and Latin churches claiming that the Latins and Greeks having the common faith should join their efforts to fight against the enemies of the church. In 1232 he wrote a message by the order of John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222–1254). The Greek text of the message was not published. See its rendering in: *Laurant V. Les Regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, t.1 (4). Paris, 1971, No. 1257, pp.65–68. Germanus II enumerates peoples subordinate to the Greek church in the final part of his message. Countless people of Rus' 9Ruthenia) are among them. 'Avsgi', that is Abkhazians were not mentioned in the Latin translation provided by Matthew of Paris in 1237.

² The Iberians—one of the Caucasian tribes.

³ Laz people—one of the Caucasian tribes, indigenous population of sou-eastern coast of the Black Sea.

⁴ Alans. On the Christianity of the Alans (Asy), ancestors of the modern Ossetians *Kulakovsky Yu.* Christianity of the Alans. Byzantine Chronicle, Saint Petersburg, 1898, No. 1. Pp. 1–18.

⁵ Goths, Khazars—apparently this is about the Goths and Khazars living in Kassaria (Crimea). On their confession see: *Yu. Kulakovsky.* The Past of Tavrida. Kiev, 1906.

⁶ Kingdom of Ulgars—Bulgaria. Probably this is a hint about the victory in the battle of Klokotnica in spring 1230 by Tsar Ivan Asen II (1218–1241) over Emperor Theodore Komnenos Doukas (1224–1230). They believe that the message of Germanus II was written shortly after this event.

⁷ King of the Franks—Louis IX, or Saint Louis (1226–1270), a French king belonging to the Capetian dynasty.

⁸ All Muslim peoples were called Saracens during the Medieval epoch.

⁹ Old Man of the Mountain. 'The travels of Marco Polo' contains a description of Mulekt country (Mulecte, Mulecete, Mulette, Melete, Mulete, Milicie, Mulehet), in which an old man of the mountain called Ala ad-Din lived. We can read in a comment composed by V.V. Bartold that Ala Ad-Din (murdered in 1255) was the headman of Ismailite sect, or Assassins; he was replaced by his son, Rukn ad-Din, who gave up to the Mongols in 1256. The main castles of Assassins were in Quhistan and especially in the mountains in the south of Mazandaran province (*Minaev I.* The travels of Marco Polo. Marco Polo Travel. Edited by V. Bartold. Saint Petersburg, 1902. P. 57). D. Saunders believes that the messengers of the Old Man of the Mountain could be from Northern Persia or from Syria (*Saunders J.J.* Matthew of Paris and the Mongols. Essays in Medieval History presented to B. Wilkinson. Toronto, 1969. P. 120); then 'northern mountains' should be interpreted as the Caucasus (*ibid.* P. 121). The image of the old man of the mountain probably borrowed from the composition by Marco Polo was preserved in one of the variants of old-French poem 'Seven Roman wise men' (around 1300) (*Runte H.R.* A Forgotten Old French Version of the Old Man of the Mountain. -Speculum, Cambridge, Mass., 1974, v. XLIX. P. 544).

¹⁰ In the 13th century Bashkortostan was identified with Great Hungary. For further detail see comment 114 in 'Opus Major' by Roger Bacon

¹¹ ad e[do] mandas—literally: in order to tame.

¹² In this case the title 'khan' was taken by the author of the chronicle as a proper name, G. Luarde assumes that Batu was meant here (Matthei Parisiensis Chronica Majora, vol. III. London, 1876, p. 488).

¹³ This is one of the attempts to give an etymological interpretation of the ethnonym 'Tatars'. Matthew of Paris assumes it originates from the legendary Tar (or Tartarus) river although later another etymological version was accepted which was based on the pun by French King Louis IX calling the Tatars 'emigrants from Tartarus' (hell) (*Voegelin E.* The Mongol Orders of Submission to the European Powers, 1245–1255.—Byzantion, Boston, 1941, vol. 15, p. 406; *Saunders J.J.* Op. cit., p. 124). In fact by all appearance it is based on the Chinese concept 'tata' referring to the tribes dwelling north of China (*Saunders J.J.* Op. cit., p. 124). The endonym of the nomads 'Mongols' was first mentioned by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, since then the ethnonyms 'Tatars' and 'Mongols' were interchangeable in Latin medieval literature.

¹⁴ Gothia—Gotland island.

¹⁵ The Frisian Kingdom—in the Middle Ages this name referred to the Netherlands (*Saunders J.J.* Op. cit., p. 118).

¹⁶ Gernemu—Yarmut.

¹⁷ King of England—Henry III (1234–1272).

¹⁸ Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65–8 BC). Message 18, 84 (translated by N. Ginzburg). Cited in *Quintus Horatius Flaccus: Complete works.* Translated by F. Petrovsky, 1936. P. 318).

¹⁹ The Archbishop of Winchester—Pierre de Roche. (Petrus de Rupibus) (1205–1238) (Handbook of British Chronology, ed. F.M. Powicke. London, 1961. p. 258).

²⁰ S. Tomashevsky interpreted this as a pun, or play on words: canes—dogs, can—khan (*S. Tomashevsky* isidor's forerunner Petro Akerovich, unknown Russian metropolitan (1241–1245).—*Analecta ordinis s. Basili Magni.* Notes by St. Vasily the Great, Zhovkva, 1927, vol. II, ed. 3–4. p. 244).

²¹ The Gospel of John, X, 16.

²² See comment 15.

²³ Gutiya—Gotiya. See comment 14.

²⁴ The medieval authors distinguish between Great Hungary (in the Volga region) and Minor Hungary (in Pannonia).

- ²⁵ Wenceslaus I, King of Bohemia (1240–1253).
- ²⁶ See comment 18.
- ²⁷ Preachers—Dominican monks.
- ²⁸ Minorites—Franciscan monks.
- ²⁹ Béla IV, King of Hungary (1235–1270).
- ³⁰ William III of Auvergne, Bishop of Paris.
- ³¹ Henry II, King of England.
- ³² Archbishop of Cologne, Conrad von Hochstaden.
- ³³ The religious-political conflict between Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) and the German Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1212–1250) is being referred to.
- ³⁴ King of the Franks—Louis IX the Saint.
- ³⁵ Queen Blanche—Blanche of Castile (1188–1252), wife of Louis VIII the Lion, King of France.
- ³⁶ It is believed that these words gave rise to the interpretation of the ethnonym 'Tatars' as 'people from Tartarus'.
- ³⁷ Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, German Emperor.
- ³⁸ Henry III, King of England.
- ³⁹ The message of Frederick II to Henry III was only preserved in the 'Chronica Majora' by Matthew of Paris.
- ⁴⁰ Cumans—Polovtsians. See comment 59 to 'Opus Major' by Roger Bacon.
- ⁴¹ Ruthenians—Russians.
- ⁴² Kleva—Kiev; Kiev was captured on 6 December 1240 <...> Giovanni da Pian del Carpine writes that the Tatars 'besieged Kiev which was the capital of Rus' (Ruthenia), they captured it after a long siege and killed the inhabitants of the town' (*Carpine—Rubruck*, p. 45) (see [Puteshestviya, 1957].—*Editor's note*).
- ⁴³ Béla IV, King of Hungary.
- ⁴⁴ Apparently they mean the Carpathian Mountains (*Heinisch K.R.* (ed.). Emperor Frederick II Letters and Reports from his time. Darmstadt, 1968, P. 514).
- ⁴⁵ Milliarium—a mile in English sources.
- ⁴⁶ The battle took place at Mohi (Muhi) near the Sajó River (Istoriya Vengrii (The History of Hungary)), Vol. 1 / Edited by V. Shusharin. Moscow, 1969. P. 148).
- ⁴⁷ The battle occurred on 11 April 1241.
- ⁴⁸ The Kingdom of Illyria. Béla IV went to Croatia and then found refuge on the coastal islands of Dalmatia (*E. Lederer* Tatarskoe nashestvie na Vengriyu v svyazi s mezhdunarodny'mi soby'tiyami e'poxi (The Tatar invasion of Hungary in connection with the international events of the era).—Acta historica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest, 1953, t. 2, fasc. 1–2, p. 14, 17; Istoriya yuzhny'x i zapadny'x slavyan (History of southern and western Slavs), Vol. 1, p. 148). From the 13th century power in Croatia and Dalmatia was passed from time to time to the son or brother of the Hungarian King (Istoriya yuzhny'x i zapadny'x slavyan (History of southern and western Slavs)) / Edited by I. Voronkov. Moscow, 1969, p. 49). From 1227 to 1241, Béla IV's brother, Kalman was the Duke of Croatia and Dalmatia.
- ⁴⁹ Bishop of the Waitzen—Stephen II, Bishop of the Vác. Roger of Torre Maggiore says in his 'Sorrowful Lament' that Béla IV 'sent Stephen, Bishop of the Waitzen, to ask imperial and Roman (papal.—*V.M.*) curiae for assistance (*Rogierius*, p. 575) (see *Carmen Miserabile super Destructione Regni Hungariae per Tartaros*. Ed. L. Juhasz//SRH. Vol. II. Budapest, 1937–1938. PP. 543–588.—*Editor's note*).
- ⁵⁰ Taken from the Gospel: 'This is the disciple who is bearing witness about these things, and who has written these things, and we know that his testimony is true.' (John, 21, 24).
- ⁵¹ King Conrad IV of Germany (1250–1254).
- ⁵² King Wenceslas I of Bohemia.
- ⁵³ Frederick II of Babenberg, Duke of Austria (died in 1246).
- ⁵⁴ Otto II, Duke of Bavaria (1231–1253).
- ⁵⁵ Prutens—one of the ethnonyms denoting Prussians. See as well comments 84 and 100: 'On the properties of things' by Bartholomew the Englishman. Another interpretation—Rutens (*Heinisch K.J.* (ed.). Op. cit., S. 515).
- ⁵⁶ Henry II of Silesia died during the battle of Liegnitz (Legnica) on 9 April 1241
- ⁵⁷ Batu is being referred to here.
- ⁵⁸ Pope Gregory IX.

⁵⁹ The wife of Frederick II from his third marriage was the daughter of Henry III, Isabella (died in December 1241).

⁶⁰ The Gospel of Matthew, 24, 12.

⁶¹ Alamannia—Swabia.

⁶² The Greek Sea—the Aegean (Hellenic) Sea.

⁶³ Hibernia—Ireland.

⁶⁴ Faventia—Faenza.

⁶⁵ This message belongs to John of Narbonne and describes the events of 1241 (*Strakosch-Grassmann G. The Mongol Invasion of Central Europe in the years 1241 and 1242. Innsbruck, 1893, p. 191*). G. Strakosch-Grassmann expressed doubt about the accuracy of a large part of this message (*ibid.*, p. 188).

⁶⁶ Gerald, Bishop of Bordeaux.

⁶⁷ The spelling of the original Latin has been maintained in this instance.

⁶⁸ Neustadt, an Austrian city situated approximately 8 miles away from Vienna. It was founded in 1194. (*Prister E. Kratkaya istoriya Avstrii (A brief history of Austria). Moscow, 1952. P. 14*).

⁶⁹ Crossbowmen were considered to be the wing of the army that could more successfully repulse attacks by the Tatars rather than the more heavily armed knights (*E. Lederer. Loc. cit. Pp. 15, 36*).

⁷⁰ Duke Frederick II of Babenberg.

⁷¹ King Wenceslaus of Bohemia.

⁷² Patriarch Berthold of Aquileia.

⁷³ Duke Bernhard II of Carinthia (Bernhard von Spanheim).

⁷⁴ Herman V, Margrave of Baden. G. Strakosch-Grassmann suggested that the testimony by John of Narbonne on the joint actions of these European rulers is quite trustworthy (*Strakosch-Grassmann G. Op. cit., pp. 190–191*).

⁷⁵ Ruler of Dalmatia. Kalman, Béla IV's younger brother, king of Galicia (1214–1241), duke of Croatia and Dalmatia.

⁷⁶ Béla IV.

⁷⁷ 'they received a reply...'. See comment 141 on the 'Opus Major' by Roger Bacon on the religious rituals of the Tatars.

⁷⁸ The bodies of three Bethlehem tsar-sorcerers were alleged to have been preserved in Cologne since 1164 and worshiped as saints, although there is no evidence of their canonisation (*Harris S. The Historia trium regum and the Medieval Legend of the Magi in Germany.—Medium Aevum, Oxford, 1959, vol. XXVIII, p. 23–24*).

⁷⁹ Teutons—Germans.

⁸⁰ See the comments in the 'Annals of Berton Monastery' where Peter's speech is also presented.

⁸¹ Lyon cathedral, 1245

⁸² Dominican missionary Andrew—Andrew of Lonjumel who completed a journey to the Mongol-Tatars in the Middle East in 1245–1247 (*Bezzola G.A. Die Mongolen in abendländischer. Licht, 1220–1270. Eih Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnungen. Bern-München, 1974, S. 123*).

⁸³ Antioch—the centre of the Antioch principality which arose in 1098 as a result of the conquest of Northern Syria and nearby areas by the crusaders.

⁸⁴ The inhabitants of Khwarezm were driven away by the Tatars and fled to the west.

⁸⁵ Victory over the Christians in the Holy Land (meaning the reconquering of Jerusalem in 1244).

⁸⁶ Konya, or the Sultanate of Rum—a state in Asia Minor.

⁸⁷ Perper—a golden coin.

⁸⁸ See comment 120 to 'Opus Major' by Roger Bacon about Prester John.

⁸⁹ Pope Innocent IV (Sinibaldo Fieschi) (1243–1254).

⁹⁰ The Mongol-Tatars invaded the Hungarian Kingdom in three columns. At the head of the army stood the outstanding military leader Kadan, khan Baidar and chief khan Batu. 'The tsar of tsars and the Tatar lord who invaded Hungary was called Batu' (*Rogierius, p. 563*).

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 10**Letter from the King of Hungary Béla IV to the King of Germany Conrad IV**

The original version of the message has been lost. A copy was presented in the so-called Baumgartenberger Formelbuch (Wiener Hofbibliothek Nr. 409 Handschrift 52/a). The text has been published several times: J v. Hormayr-Hortenburg: *Die Goldene Chronik von Hohenschwangau*. Muenchen 1842. II S.65; Wenzel AUO II S.127–128; H.Baerwald: *das Baumgartenberger Formelbuch* (Fontes rerum Austriacarum II. XXV). Wien 1866, S. 347.

The message lacks a date but it can be determined by context, it contains a reference to Bishop Stephen's Embassy in the spring of 1241. The letter could also be mentioned in connection with another message sent in advance to King Frederick II. In it Béla IV asked the Emperor for assistance, promising to acknowledge himself as his liege in the future (Riccardo de sancto Germano: *Chronica. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (VII)/2 [1936–38] s. 290 ff.; *Annales sancti Pantaleonis Colonensis* MGH SS XXII, s. 535). In his return letter, which has been preserved by Matthew of Paris (CM IV, s. 114) Frederick promised to help; however he asks Béla IV to address his son, King Conrad. Indeed Conrad gathers an army in Bavaria, apparently, in order to defend the borders of the Empire, rather than to help the Hungarians. Because in July when he was told that the Mongols had stopped their advance at the Danube, he dissolved his troops (see: B. Homan: *History II*, p. 149).

The source and notes are translated according to the edition by: Göckenjan H., Sweeney J.R. *The Mongol Storm // Hungary's Historian*, Vol. IV. Vienna, 1985. pp. 283–288 (translation: Thietmar, 2001; online resource).

'To the glorious ruler Conrad¹, by the grace of God, the magnificent King of Germany, Béla, by the grace of God, the King of Hungary conveys his greetings, his message and willingness to proffer his services.

We are forced to make known the bitter lamentations coming from the depth of our hearts and turn our joy into profound sadness. We are afraid of the death of Christianity in view of the unfortunate outcome of our fate. Our Saviour, tired of the increasing evil of our times, presented before us such a storm that the ship of faith is not only rocking from right to left on the waves, but is faced with the threat of completely sinking unless God hears the cries of the wailers and finally helps the oppressed people².

Because He, on whose orders the world is controlled, as we firmly believe, allowed the savage peoples who call themselves the Tatars to come from the East like locusts from the desert³ and devastate Great Hungary, Bulgaria, Cumania, and Russia as well as Poland and Moravia due to the sins of man. Only a few castles being defended up to this day have remained unharmed⁴. Many people were annihilated. Having passed the [conquered] lands to new dwellers,⁵ they occupied (oh, the unhappiness!) all our kingdom along the opposite side of the Danube⁶. It was with great pain we reported that respected archbishops, bishops, abbots, monks, Franciscans and Dominicans as well as nuns, women and girls, who had been dishonoured in advance were unmercifully put to death. And so we resisted, not without great loss of life and property, yet fate was again ill-disposed to us. To those whom we have thrown the anchor of our hope, forced us, because of our sins to suffer defeat.

However, as I learned from a reliable source, that upon the arrival of winter they plan to catch Germany unawares and as soon as any resistance is put down there to occupy the rest of the states and countries⁷. Based on prior experience, we currently are risking not only our destiny but that of all Christianity and our defensive bulwark is already partially broken, we beseech and insistently call You and address our prayers to the Lord, so that You, for the sake of the exaltation of God's name and all Christianity and without hesitation arouse your subjects to perform this noble act. If you are going to hear our requests that we address to you on behalf of Christianity and turn away the danger threatening the whole world from other worshipers, we will be grateful and eternally indebted to you. But those turn out to be worthy of God's appointment and will lead to us your assistance may notify us about their arrival so that we may receive them at the border of our state with honour. If a person passing this letter onto you reports as our messenger, then please grant him Your gracious trust.

Notes

¹ King Conrad IV (1250–1254), the second son of Frederick II from his marriage to Isabella II (Yolanda) of Brienne, heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem. Conrad became king in 1236 while his father was still living and represented the interests of the Emperor of Germany.

² The taming of the storm by Jesus in the Sea of Gennesaret is being alluded to here. (Mark. 4. 35–41)

³ John the Apostle 9.1–12, see the depiction of the invasion of locusts in the Old Testament. Abel 1, 1–12. There is also a comparison of Mongolian troops and crowds of locusts in the works by Arabic authors, for example, al-Omari (The Mongolian World Empire p. 95)

⁴ These castles were named in the letter of a Hungarian prelate to the Pope.

⁵ A country to the north and east of the Danube.

⁶ Indication on the colonisation of the conquered lands.

⁷ Julius and his companions-in-arms had already reported on the Mongol's intention to move against Rome and the western rulers. Here, Béla, evidently is relying upon this information.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 11

Giovanni da Pian del Carпинi.

'Historia Mongalorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus'
(**'History of the Mongols, which we call Tartars'**)

The source and comments are quoted in accordance with 'Puteshestviya v vostochny'e strany' Plano Karpini i Rubruka (Travels to the Eastern Lands of Pian del Carpine and Rubruck).—Moscow, 1957.—p. 270.)

CHAPTER 5

The Beginning of the Empire of the Tartars and Their Chief Men, and the Dominion Exercised by the Emperor and the Princes

Having spoken of their customs we must add something about their empire. First we will tell of its beginning, secondly of its chief men, thirdly of the dominion exercised by the Emperor and the princes. <...>

Section 2. Tatar princes

1. Chingis had four sons.¹ One was called Occodai, the second Tossuc Chan, the third Chiaaday² and the name of the fourth I do not know³. All the Mongol chiefs are descended from these four. The first, namely Occodai Chan, had the following sons⁴: the eldest is Cuyuc, who is the present Emperor, and Cocten and Chirenum, and I do not know if he had any more sons. The sons of Tossuc Chan are⁵: Bati, who is the richest and most powerful after the Emperor, Ordu, who is the eldest of all the chiefs, Sibani, Bora, Berca, Thaube. I do not know the names of Tossuc Chan's other sons. The sons of Chiaaday are Burim and Cadan⁶. I do not know the names of the rest of his children. The sons of Chingis Chan's other son, whose name I do not know⁷, are as follows: one is called Mengü⁸; his mother is Sorocan⁹, and among the Tartars this lady is the most renowned, with the exception of the Emperor's mother, and Mengü was more powerful than anyone else except Bati; another son is called Bichac¹⁰; he had a number of other sons, but I do not know their names.

2. The names of the chiefs are as follows: Ordu¹¹—he was in Poland and Hungary; Bati, {Syban}¹², {Birin}¹³ and Dinget, all of whom were in Hungary; Cirpodan¹⁴ who is still beyond the sea fighting against certain Sultans of the land of the Saracens, and others who are beyond the sea. The following have stayed in their own country: Mengü, Sirenen¹⁵, Hubilai¹⁶, Sirenum, Sinocur, Chuacener, Caragai, Sibedei, an old man who is known among them as 'the knight'¹⁷, Bora, Berca¹⁸, Mauci¹⁹, Corenza²⁰; this last named, however, is the least of them all. There are many other chiefs, but I do not know their names.

Section 3. The power of the Emperor and his princes

1. The Emperor of the Tartars has a remarkable power over everyone. No one dare stay anywhere except in the place he has assigned to them. It is he who appoints where the chiefs are to be, but the

chiefs fix the positions of the captains of a thousand, the captains of a thousand those of the captains of a hundred, and the captains of a hundred those of the captains of ten. Moreover, whatever command he gives them, whatever the time, whatever the place, be it to battle, to life or to death, they obey without a word of objection. Even if he asks for an unmarried daughter or sister, they give her to him without a murmur. Indeed, each year or every few years he collects young girls from all parts of the lands of the Tartars, and if he wants to keep any for himself he keeps them; the others he gives to his men just as it seems good to him to arrange. Whatever envoys he despatches, to whatever place and wherever it may be, they are bound to give them without delay pack-horses and provisions²¹. Also from whatever quarter envoys come to him bearing tribute, they have likewise to be provided with horses, carts and supplies. Envoys who come for any other reason, however, are in a most unhappy position as regards both food and clothing, for poor and inadequate provision is made for them: and particularly when they come to the princes and have to prolong their stay there, for then such a small quantity is given to ten men that two could scarcely live on it. Even in the princes' ordas and on the journey they are given nothing to eat except once a day, and that little enough. Moreover, if they suffer any injury they cannot easily make any complaint and so are obliged to bear it patiently.

3. The chiefs have like dominion over their men in all matters, for all the Tartars are divided into groups under chiefs. Both the Emperor's men and all others are bound, without raising any objection, to provide envoys of the chiefs—whatever the destination to which they are being despatched—with pack-horses and provisions and men to look after the horses and to serve the envoys. The chiefs as well as the others are obliged to give mares to the Emperor as rent, so that he can have the milk for a year, or for two or three years as it pleases him; and the men under the chiefs are bound to do the same for their lords, for not a man among them is free. In short, whatever the Emperor and the chiefs desire, and however much they desire, that they receive from their subjects' property; and their persons they dispose of in all respects according to their own good pleasure.

4. After the death of the Emperor, as has been said above, the chiefs assembled and elected in his stead Occodai, a son of the said Chingis Chan. Occodai held a council of his princes and then divided up his armies. Bati, who ranked second to him, he sent against the country of the Great Sultan and the land of the Bisermins. These latter were Saracens but spoke the Coman language. Entering their territory, Bati fought with them and overcame them in battle. A certain city called Barchin²² held out a long time against him, for they dug a great number of pits around the town and covered them over, and when the Tartars were nearing the city they fell into the pits, and so were unable to take it until they had filled them in. The inhabitants of another city called Sakint²³, hearing of this, came out to meet the Tartars and of their own accord surrendered to them. In consequence their city was not destroyed, but many men were killed and others transported. The Tartars plundered the city and filled it with fresh inhabitants: they then proceeded to attack the city of Ornas²⁴. This city was densely populated, for there were many Christians there, namely Gazarians²⁵, Ruthenians, Alans²⁶ and others, and there were also Saracens there. The government of the city²⁷ was in the hands of the Saracens. This city was moreover filled with great wealth for it is situated on a river which flows through Iankint and the land of the Bisermins and runs into the sea, which makes it as it were a port, and other Saracens used to carry on extensive trading with that place. The Tartars, unable to conquer the city by any other means, threw a dam across the river, which ran through the town, and submerged it with its inhabitants and property.

5. Having accomplished this, the Tartars then entered the land of the Turks²⁸, who are pagans. Subduing this country, they attacked Russia, where they made great havoc, destroying cities and fortresses and slaughtering men; and they laid siege to Kiev, the capital of Russia; after they had besieged the city for a long time, they took it and put the inhabitants to death. When we were journeying through that land we came across countless skulls and bones of dead men lying about on the ground. Kiev had been a very large and thickly populated town, but now it has been reduced almost to nothing, for there are at the present time scarce two hundred houses there and the inhabitants are kept in complete slavery. Going on from there, fighting as they went, the Tartars destroyed the whole of Russia. Proceeding from Russia and Comania, the afore-mentioned chiefs made war on the Hungarians and Poles²⁹. A great number of the Tartars were killed in Poland and Hungary, and if the Hungarians had not taken flight and had resisted manfully, the Tartars would have left their country, for they were filled with such fear that they all tried

to run away. Bati, however, drawing his sword, withstood them to the face saying: 'Do not flee, for if you do, not one will escape, and if we are to die, let us all die, for that is about to happen which Chingis Chan foretold when he said we should be put to death: if the time has now come let us endure it'. And so fresh heart was put into them and they stayed and destroyed Hungary.

6. Then on their way back they came to the land of the Mordvinians³⁰, who are pagans, and they conquered them in battle. They next proceeded against the Billeri, that is to say Great Bulgaria³¹, and destroyed it completely. Going further north they attacked Baschart, that is Great Hungary³², and also defeated them. Leaving that country they went still further north and came to the Parossites³³. These people have small stomachs and tiny mouths, so we were told, and they cook meat but do not eat it; when it is cooked they lean over the pot and inhale the steam and this is their only refreshment. If indeed they do eat anything, it is extremely little. The Tartars continuing in their way came to the Samoyedes³⁴. Now these men, so it is said, live entirely off their hunting; even the tents and clothes they have are made of nothing but animal skins. Pressing on, the Tartars reached a land bordering on the ocean, where they came across monsters, who, we were told for a fact, had a human shape in every respect except that the extremities of their feet were like the hooves of oxen and, although they had human heads, they had the faces of dogs. They would speak two words like human beings and the third they would bark like a dog, and they broke into barking in this way at intervals; however, they always came back to the matter in hand, so it was possible to understand what they were talking about. From there the Tartars returned to Comania and some of them have stayed there even until now.

7. At the same time Occodai Chan sent Cirpodan with an army to the south against the Kergis³⁵ and he defeated them in battle. These men are pagans and have no beards; they have a custom that when a man loses his father by death, out of grief he removes from his face a strip of skin from one ear to the other as a sign of mourning. Having conquered the Kergis, he proceeded south against the Armenians. When the Tartars were crossing a desert, they came upon certain monsters, so we were told as a certain truth, who had a human shape, but only one arm with a hand, in the middle of the breast, and one foot, and two of them shot with one bow; and they ran at such a rate that horses could not keep on their track, for they ran by hopping on their one foot and, when they grew tired with this method of progress, then they got along on the hand and foot turning cart-wheels. (Isidore³⁶ called them Cyclopedes.) When this had exhausted them, they ran again in their former fashion. The Tartars managed to kill some of them, and we were told by the Russian clerics who live in the orda with the Emperor that in the legation at the Emperor's court several of the envoys of whom we made mention above came from them to make peace with him. Moving on from there, the Tartars reached Armenia, which they conquered in battle; they also defeated part of Georgia³⁷, and the rest of the country came to do their bidding, and they gave them forty thousand yperpera³⁸ each year as tribute and still do the same. Continuing their march, the Tartars came to the land of the Sultan of Rum³⁹, a man of considerable might and power; and they fought against him and defeated him. They pushed on further, subduing and conquering, as far as the country of the Sultan of Aleppo⁴⁰, of which they are at the present moment taking possession, and it is their intention to attack other countries beyond this. Never up to the present day have they returned to their own country. The same army attacked the territory of the Caliph of Baghdad⁴¹, which it also subdued. Every day they pay them as tribute four hundred besants⁴², in addition to brocades and other gifts. Every year the Tartars send envoys telling the Caliph to come to them, and every year he sends magnificent presents with the tribute, begging them to release him from this obligation. The Emperor accepts the presents, nevertheless he sends for him to come. <...>

CHAPTER 7

How They Make Peace, the Names of the Countries They have Conquered, the Tyranny They Exercise over the Inhabitants, and the Countries Which Have Manfully Resisted Them

Having described how the Tartars fight, I have now to tell of the countries they have brought under their sway and I will write of this in the following manner: first I will tell how they make peace, secondly I will give the names of the countries they have subjected, thirdly I will tell of the tyranny they exercise over them and fourthly of the countries which have manfully resisted them. <...>

Section 2. The names of the countries they have subjected

The names of the countries [and races] they have conquered are as follows: Kitay¹, the Naimans, the Solangi, the Karakitayans or black Kitay, Comania, Cumae², Voyrat, Karanites, Uigurs, Su-Mongols, Merkits, Mecrits, Sari-Uigurs, Bascart that is Great Hungary, Kergis³, Cosmir⁴, the Saracens⁵, the Bisermins⁶, the Turcomans⁷, Byleri that is Great Bulgaria, Catora, Tomiti⁸, Buri-thabet, Parossites, Cassi⁹, {Jacobites}¹⁰, the Alans or Assi, Obesi or Georgians, Nestorians¹¹, Armenians¹², Kangit¹³, Comans, Brutachi who are Jews¹⁴, the Mordvinians, the Turks, the Gazars, the Samoyedes, the Persians, the Tarci¹⁵, Lesser India or Ethiopia, the Circassians¹⁶, Ruthenians¹⁷, Baghdad, and the Sarti¹⁸. There are many other countries, but I do not know their names. We saw men and women from almost all the countries just mentioned. <...>

Section 4. The tyranny they exercise over their subjects

In the land of the Saracens and other nations the Tartars, who live among them as their lords and masters, take all the best craftsmen and employ them in their own service, while the rest of the artificers pay tribute out of their work. They store all their crops in the barns of their masters, who however allow them seed and as much as will furnish them with a reasonable living. In the case of others they give to each a very small quantity of bread every day and nothing else, except the small amount of meat with which they provide them three times a week, and this they do only for those artificers who live in the towns. Moreover, when it pleases the masters they take all the young men with their wives and children and compel them to follow them with all their household; from henceforth they are counted as Tartars, or rather as captives, for although they are numbered among the Tartars, they are never shown the respect that these enjoy but are treated as slaves and are sent into every kind of danger like other prisoners; they are first in battle and if a swamp or dangerous river has to be crossed, they have to try the passage first. They are also obliged to do all the work that has to be done and if they offend in any matter or do not obey a command they are flogged like donkeys. In short, it is little that they eat and little that they drink, and they are wretchedly clad, unless it happen that they can earn something as do the goldsmiths and other skilled craftsmen. Some however have such wicked masters that they allow them nothing and, on account of the great number of tasks which have to be carried out for their masters, they have no time to work for themselves unless they steal it from the hours when they ought to be resting or sleeping—they can do this if they have wives and their own dwelling. But the others who are kept in their master's house as slaves are in a most unhappy condition. I saw them very often wearing leather trousers with the rest of the body naked in the extreme heat of the sun, and in winter they suffer from the intense cold. I saw some of the men who had lost toes and fingers owing to the great cold and I heard that some had died or had lost the use of all their members from the same cause.

CHAPTER 8

How to Wage War Against the Tartars; the Intentions of the Tartars; Arms and Army Organisations, How to Meet their Cunning in Battle, the Fortification of Camps and Cities, and What Should be Done with Tartar Prisoners

Having spoken of the countries subject to the Tartars, I must now add a description of how to wage war against them, and it seems to me it should be dealt with in the following manner: first as to their plans, secondly, as to arms and army organisation, thirdly how to meet their cunning in engagements, fourthly of the fortification of camps and cities, fifthly of what ought to be done with prisoners.

Section 1. The intentions of the Tartars

1. It is the intention of the Tartars to bring the whole world into subjection if they can and, as has been mentioned above, on this point they have received a command from Chingis Chan. It is for this reason that their Emperor writes in his letters: 'The strength of God, the Emperor of all men' and this is the inscription on his seal: 'God in heaven and Cuyuc Chan on earth, the strength of God, the seal of the Emperor of all men'. This also accounts for their refusing to make peace with any nation unless, as has been told, they surrender into their hands. Since there is no country on earth which they fear

with the exception of Christendom, they are preparing to make war on us. Wherefore be it known unto everyone that, while we were in the land of the Tartars, we attended a solemn court, which had been announced several years back and at which, in our presence, they chose Cuyuc as Emperor, or Chan as it is in their language. The said Cuyuc Chan, together with all the princes, raised the standard to proceed against the Church of God and the Roman Empire, and against all Christian kingdoms and nations of the West, unless they carry out the instructions he is sending to the Lord Pope, the rulers and the Christian peoples of the West. In my opinion, these instructions ought on no account to be observed, first because of the extreme, nay intolerable, hitherto unheard-of servitude to which they reduce all nations they conquer and which we have seen with our own eyes; then because they are not trustworthy and no nation can rely on their word—they break any promises they make as soon as they see that the tide is turned in their favour, and they are full of deceit in all their deeds and assurances; it is their object to wipe off the face of the earth all princes, nobles, knights and men of gentle birth, as has already been told, and they do this to those in their power in a sly and crafty manner: then because it is unfitting that Christians should be subject to them in view of the abominations they practise and seeing that the worship of God is brought to nought, souls are perishing and bodies are afflicted beyond belief in many ways; it is true at first they speak fair words, but afterwards they sting and hurt like a scorpion; and lastly because they are fewer in number and weaker in body than the Christian peoples.

2. At the aforementioned court the fighting-men and chiefs of the army were given their appointments. Out of ten men they are sending three with their servants from every country under their sway. One army is to penetrate by way of Hungary, and a second by way of Poland, so we were told. They will come prepared to fight without a break for eighteen years, and they have been assigned their time for setting out. Last March we came upon an army which had been called up from among all the Tartars through whose territory we travelled after leaving Russia. In three or four years' time they will reach Comania. From there they will make an attack on the countries mentioned above; I do not know however whether they will come immediately after the third winter is over, or wait some time longer so that they have a better chance of coming unexpectedly. All these things are sure and certain, unless God, in His mercy, places some hindrance in their way as He did when they went into Hungary and Poland. It was their plan to continue fighting for thirty years, but their Emperor was killed by poison² and consequently they have rested from battle until the present time. But now, since an Emperor has been newly appointed, they are beginning to prepare for the fight once again. It should be known that the Emperor said with his own lips that he wanted to send an army into Livonia and Prussia.

3. Since it is their object to overthrow the whole world and reduce it to slavery—a slavery, as has already been said, unbearable for men of our race—they must therefore be met in battle. If one province is not prepared to help another, then the country the Tartars are attacking will be vanquished and they will fight against another country with the prisoners they take and these will be placed in the front line. If they fight badly the Tartars kill them, but if they fight well, then they keep them by means of promises and flattery, and to prevent them from running away they go so far as to promise to make them mighty lords. But after this, when they can feel sure that they will not leave them, they turn them into most wretched slaves and they do the same with the women they wish to keep as servants and concubines. And so, with the inhabitants of the district they have conquered, they destroy another country and, in my opinion, there is no province able to resist them by itself unless God fight on its side for, as has already been said, men are collected together from every country to fight under their dominion. Therefore if Christians wish to save themselves, their country and Christendom, then ought kings, princes, barons and rulers of countries to assemble together and by common consent send men to fight against the Tartars before they begin to spread over the land, for once they begin to be scattered throughout a country it is impossible for anyone to give any effective help to another, for troops of Tartars search out the inhabitants everywhere and slaughter them. If the latter shut themselves up in fortresses, the Tartars station three or four thousand or more men round the fort or city to besiege it, at the same time continuing to spread all over the country killing men. <...>

LAST CHAPTER

*The Countries Through which we Passed, Their Position, the Witnesses we Came Across,
and the Court of the Emperor of the Tartars and his Princes*

Having described how to make war against the Tartars, to finish we will speak of the journey we made, of the countries through which we passed, the arrangement of the court of the Emperor and his princes and the witnesses who came our way in the land of the Tartars.

Section 1. The countries through which we passed,
and their positions

<...> After this we were given horses and three Tartars; two of these were captains of ten while the third belonged to Bati, to whom they were to take us with great speed. This Bati is the most powerful of all the princes of the Tartars, with the exception of the Emperor whom he is bound to obey.

9. We set out on the journey to him on the Monday after the first Sunday in Lent [February 26th].¹ We rode as fast as the horses could trot, for we had fresh horses three or four times almost every day and we rode from morn till night, even very often during the night, yet we were not able to reach him before the Wednesday of Holy Week [April 4th]². We travelled right across the land of the Comans, which is flat and contains four large rivers. The first is called the Dnieper; along the Russian side of this Corenza roams and on the other side, over the plains, Mauci, who is mightier than Corenza; the second is the Don, along which roams a prince, Carbon³ by name, who has as wife a sister of Bati; the third is the Volga, a very large river, along which Bati goes; the fourth is called the Yaik and along this go two captains of a thousand, the one on one side of the river, the other on the other. All these men go south in the winter towards the sea, and in the summer they go up north along the banks of the same rivers to the mountains. The sea is the Great Sea⁴, from which juts out the arm of St. George⁵ which goes to Constantinople. For many days we went along the Dnieper on the ice. These rivers are large, and very full of fish, especially the Volga. They flow into the sea of Greece, which is called the Great Sea, on the shores of which we were in considerable danger for many days on account of the ice in a number of places, for it freezes round the shores for a good three leagues⁶ out. Before we reached Bati two of our Tartars went on ahead to inform him of everything we had said to Corenza.

10. When we got to Bati, on the borders of the land of the Comans, we were stationed a league away from his tents. When the time came for us to be taken to his court, we were told that we would have to pass between two fires, a thing we were on no account willing to do. But they said to us: 'Go without any fear, for we are making you pass between two fires for no other reason than this that, if you are planning to do any evil to our lord or if you happen to be carrying poison, the fire may remove all that is harmful'. To this we replied: 'That being the reason, we will go through so as not to be suspected of such things'. When we arrived at the orda, his steward, who is called Eldegai⁷, asked us with what we wished to bow, that is to say what gifts we were ready to give. I gave the same answer as I had given to Corenza, namely that the Lord Pope had not sent any presents, but we wished to honour him as well as we could from among those things which, by the grace of God and the Lord Pope, we had with us for our needs. The gifts offered and accepted, the steward Eldegai enquired of us the purpose of our coming and we gave him the same reasons we had given earlier to Corenza.

11. Having heard this they led us into the dwelling after we had first made a bow and received the warning about not treading on the threshold, as has been described. Entering we said what we had to say on our knees; that done we delivered the letter and asked to be given interpreters capable of translating it. We were given them on Good Friday⁸, and carefully translated the letter with them into Ruthenian, Saracenic and Tartar characters⁹. This translation was presented to Bati, who read it and noted it carefully. At last we were led back to our tent, but they gave us no food, except once when they gave us a little millet in a bowl the first night we arrived.

12. Bati lives with considerable magnificence, having door-keepers and all officials just like their Emperor. He even sits raised up as if on a throne with one of his wives; the others, however, both his brothers and sons and others less noble, sit lower down on a bench in the middle; as for the rest they sit beyond them on the ground, the men on the right and the women on the left. He has large and very beautiful tents of linen which used to belong to the King of Hungary¹⁰. No outsider, except a member

of his household, however mighty and powerful he may be, dare approach his tent if he has not been summoned, unless he happens to know that that is Bati's desire. We, having declared our purpose, sat down on the left, for this is what all envoys do on their way to the Emperor, but on the way back we were always placed on the right. In the middle near the door of the tent is set a table on which drinks are placed in gold and silver vessels. Neither Bati nor any other Tartar prince ever drinks, especially in public, without there being singing¹¹ and guitar-playing for them. When he goes out riding a sunshade or little tent is carried over his head on a stick, and the same is done in the case of all the chief princes of the Tartars and also their wives. Bati is kindly towards his own men, nevertheless he is greatly feared by them; in battle he is the most cruel of men, very shrewd and also extremely cunning in war, for he has now been fighting for many years.

13. On Holy Saturday¹² we were summoned to the orda, and Bati's steward, whom we have mentioned before, coming out to us told us on his master's behalf that we were to go to the Emperor Cuyuc in their own country, and that they were detaining certain of our party under the pretence that they wished to send them back to the Lord Pope. We gave them a letter to take to him giving an account of all that we had done, but when they reached Mauci on the return journey they were kept there until we arrived. On Easter Sunday we said office and made some kind of a meal and then, together with the two Tartars who had been assigned to us by Corenza, we left with many tears, for we knew not whether we were going to death or to life. We were so weak we could hardly ride. During the whole of that Lent our food had been nothing but millet with water and salt, and it was the same on other fast days, and we had nothing to drink except snow melted in a kettle.

14. North of Comania, immediately after Russia, are the Mordvinians, the Bylers, that is Great Bulgaria, the Bastarcs, that is Great Hungary; beyond the Bastarcs are the Parosites and the Samoyedes; after the Samoyedes are those men who are said to have faces like dogs and live in the wilderness along the shores of the ocean. To the south of Comania are the Alans, the Circassians¹³, the Gazars, Greece, Constantinople and the land of the Iberians, the Caths¹⁴, the Bruthachi¹⁵ who are said to be Jews and shave their heads, the land of the Sicci¹⁶, of the Georgians and Armenians and the country of the Turks. To the west it has Hungary and Russia. This land of the Comans is very large and long. It took us from the beginning of Lent until eight days after Easter to cross Comania, riding hard, for we had fresh horses five or seven times a day, not indeed when we were going through the desert, as has already been told, but then we were given better and stronger horses able to maintain a prolonged effort. The Tartars killed these Comans; some did in fact flee from before them and others were reduced to slavery. Most of those who fled however have come back to them.

15. We next entered the country of the Kangits, in many parts of which there is great scarcity of water and but few people dwell there. This was why many of the men of Jerozlaus, Duke of Russia, who were going to the land of the Tartars to join him, died of thirst in the desert. In this country as well as in Comania we came across many skulls and bones of dead men lying on the ground like dung. We were travelling through this country from eight days after Easter until about the Ascension¹⁷ of Our Lord. The inhabitants were pagans and neither the Comans nor the Kangits cultivated the land, but lived off their animals, nor did they build houses but dwelt in tents. The Tartars also wiped out the Kangits and now inhabit their country; such Kangits as were left have been reduced to slavery.

16. On leaving the land of the Kangits we entered the country of the Bisermins¹⁸. These people used to speak the Coman language and still speak it, but they hold the faith of the Saracens. In this country we came across innumerable ruined cities and demolished forts and many deserted towns. There is there a large river¹⁹—I do not know its name—on which lies a city called Iankinc, and another called Barchin and a third called Orpar and many others the names of which I do not know. This country used to have a ruler called the Great Sultan²⁰ and he was destroyed, together with all his children, by the Tartars, but I do not know his name. There are very high mountains in this land. To the south of it lies Jerusalem, Baghdad²¹ and the whole country of the Saracens²²; near its borders are stationed the chiefs Burin and Cadan²³ who are blood-brothers. On the north it has part of the country of the Black Kitayans and the ocean; here Sibani, Bati's brother, is stationed. We travelled through this country from about the feast of the Ascension until eight days before the feast of St. John the Baptist²⁴ [17th May–16th June]. <...>

Notes¹

To Chapter 5

¹ Chinggis Khan had four sons with his senior wife, Borte Ujin Khatun: Jochi (1185(4?)–1224), Ogodei (1186–1241), Chagatai (1190(?)–1242(?)) and Tolui (1192–1232). In addition, he had a son named Kulkan with his second wife, Khulan Khatun. Kulkan was killed in the siege of a town during the campaign against the Russian principalities. <...>

² Russian corruption of the name Chagatai. According to Persian historians, his dominion spread from the Uighurs' land to Amu Darya. (Note by A. Malein).

³ The fourth son of Chinggis Khan was Tolui. According to ancient Mongol custom, being the youngest son, he was the guardian of the home and held the honourable name 'otchigin', or 'prince of the fire'. He also held the titles 'yeke noyon' (great lord) and 'edzen' (master). According to custom, the youngest son was constantly with his father and inherited the father's main property ('yurt'). That's why Tolui, aside from an appanage received during Chinggis Khan's lifetime, should also have received the main appanage, his father's ulus and the army that had been part of his estate.

⁴ Ögedei had seven sons: Guyuk Khan (1205–1248), Khuden (called Cocten by Giovanni), Khochu, Khorachar, Khashi, Kadan, and Melig.

⁵ Jochi had seven sons: Orda Ichen; Batu (died 1256), the founder of the Golden Horde khanate; Berke (Berkay in Russian chronicles) who succeeded to the throne of the Golden Horde after Batu (1256–1266); Berkhechir; Shiban; Tangad; and Buval, the father of Nogai, known from Russian chronicles.

⁶ Chagatai's sons were Mutukan (or Moatugan), who perished during the siege of Bashyan; Baidar; and Yesu Möngke. Burin was a grandson of Chagatai, and Kadan (or Godan) was his nephew.

⁷ We mean Tolui who had nine sons, including Möngke and Kublai who became Great Khans; Hülegü who founded the dynasty of the Ilkhans in Persia; and Ariq Böke who rivaled Kublai.

⁸ So Möngke Khan (1209–1259), the eldest son of Tolui, became the fourth Great Khan (1251–1259), who acceded to the throne during the feudal struggle, with the help of his cousin, the powerful Batu. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine uses the Turkic version of Möngke's name, Mengu.

⁹ The name of Tolui's widow was written by the authors of that time in different ways. She was called Sorqaqtanibeki in 'The Secret History of the Mongols', Sorghok Teni in the 'History of Yuan', Surakhtkhambeq by the Georgian historian Stefan Orbeliani, Sorghiiatai Beki or Beki Sorkhikhitai by Juvayni, Sorkhokhtani Begi by Rashid-al-Din, and so on. The correct name, Sorghaghtani Beki, was restored by P. Pelliot [Pelliot, 1932, vol. 29].

¹⁰ Oriental historians call him Bujek, Buygek or Buchek; the Chinese historians call him Pocho. (Note by A. Malein). Bujek was a son of Tolui.

¹¹ Orda Ichen, the eldest son of Jochi, who took part in campaigns against Russian princedoms, Poland and Hungary.

¹² The fifth son of Jochi, took part in the campaigns of 1235–1236 against Russian princedoms, Poland and Hungary. Having analysed all the versions of Shiban's name by different oriental authors, P. Pelliot suggested that the name had Christian origins and was a modification of the name 'Stepan'.

¹³ Probably Buri, a grandson of Chagatai, took part in the campaigns against Russian princedoms and Sou–West Europe.

¹⁴ Charmagun, who waged war in Sou–West Asia in 1229–1231, died in 1241. (Note by A. Malein) Charmagun, a major Mongol commander, took active part in Chinggis Khan's campaigns against Middle Asia, the conqueror of Georgia, Armenia in 1232–1233, where he was afterwards the vicegerent. He is repeatedly mentioned in 'The Secret History of the Mongols'.

¹⁵ Shiremun, a son of Güyük Khan from his oldest wife, Oghul-Ghaimish. Regarding the name of Shiremun, Pelliot suggested that it was a Turkic or Mongol modification of the Christian name Shlemun, or Solomon, and it was widespread among the Nestorian Mongols.

¹⁶ Kublai Khan (1216–1294), a grandson of Chinggis Khan, the famous fifth and the last Great Khan under which the Mongol Empire actually disintegrated.

¹ Text of notes is significantly reduced.—*Editor's note*

¹⁷ Sobodai, Subutai or Subudai, one of the greatest Mongolian leaders — a warrior, as Carpini translates the word Bahadur. (Note by A. Malein). Subutai Bahadur was one of the most talented commanders of Chinggis Khan. He headed the campaign against the Kipchaks, defeated the Russian and Cuman troops on the Kalka River. He descended from the Uriankhai clan, was a close associate of Chinggis as one of nine Orluks. Subutai had the title of 'bahatur' or 'bagatur' which means 'hero' ('bogaty' in Russian).

¹⁸ In Russian chronicles, Berkay and Birka. Berke Khan converted to Islam, supposedly for political reasons. The name of Berke means 'difficult, complicated' in Turkic, and, according to V. Minorsky, 'hostage' in Turkic.

¹⁹ Versions: Montij, Mopsu. It is Maychi, the second son of Khiiadai. (Note by A. Malein). Chagatai had a son named Mutukan.

²⁰ Giovanni da Pian del Carpine also calls this prince Curomza. He was probably the third son of Orda, a grandson of Jochi, named Khurumshi. There were several Khurumshis among the Chinggisids. However, the one mentioned by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine was probably a son of Orda and a nephew of Batu. Russian chronicles contain references to Khurumshi as Kurems.

²¹ A postal service was arranged for the entire administrative system of the Mongol Empire in 1235. The service had to transport ambassadors, messengers and officials. Post stations, in the form of pits, were established. Each of them had to hold 20 ulachins and a herd of spare horses, as well as a flock of sheep to provide visitors with food. The funding of pits and coaches, 'ula', was a heavy burden on the population.

²² Probably on the Syr Darya River. (Note by A. Malein) In the valley of the Syr Darya River, there was the town of Barchkend, or Barchynlyghkend.

²³ The town of Janchikent situated on the Lower Syr Darya River. Nowadays its ruins are known as Janykent.

²⁴ According to the description of the town by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, the name should be taken as Urgench, the capital of Khwarezm, which was conquered by diverting the riverbed.

²⁵ People of Turkic origin who inhabited the Lower Volga and the Volga and Don steppes. In the 7th century the Khazars established the Khazar Khaganate.

²⁶ The Alans were nomadic tribes of Sarmatian origin who lived in the southern Russian steppes. Some of the Alan tribes as a result of the great migration left for Europe; others did not move and integrated into the Khazar Khaganate. The Alans left burial sites that are interesting and rich in archaeological data in Kerch, Ossetia, on the Donets River and in other areas. The Alans are thought to be the ancestors of the Ossetians.

²⁷ Here 'the Saracens' means 'the Khwarezmians'.

²⁸ That is, the Torks. They were one of the Turkic nomad tribes in the southern Russia steppes. (Note by A. Malein).

²⁹ Mongol detachments invaded Poland several times in 1240 and 1241. They ravaged Lublin, Sandomierz, Krakow, marched into Silesia where they defeated the army of Henry, the Duke of Silesia, who was killed in the battle of Liegnica. Moravia was also completely ravaged.

³⁰ That is, the Mordvins, a tribe of Finnish origin that inhabited the Middle Volga basin (along the Moksha and Sura Rivers). Some of the Mordvin land was conquered by the Mongols in 1229. The Mongols valued the furs, honey, wax and bread that the Mordvin had (see A. Korotkov, *On the Northern Uluses of the Golden Horde Khanate*, p. 77). The semi-ravaged Mordvin lands were finally conquered in 1239.

³¹ We are talking about Volga Bulgaria that emerged as a result of the disintegration of 'Greater Bulgaria'.

³² In this case, by Baschart we mean Bashkir. It should be mentioned that the name Bashkird (Baskart by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine) was applied by Arab and Persian authors to Hungary, that was why the term was used by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine.

³³ Parossites was the name given by Arab and medieval authors to the Permians, Wotyaks and other tribes of Finnish origin that inhabited the Vyatka River basin and other areas to the north of the Volga Bulgaria. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's remark about smoke should not be taken as literally as A. Malein did. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine probably in this case repeats one of the sou-eastern peoples' legends that were widespread among authors of antiquity. Stories about peoples who eat air or scents were told by Pliny, Strabo and other authors of antiquity.

³⁴ That is, to the Samoyeds. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine was one of the first to report about these peoples in West European geographical literature.

³⁵ That is, the Cherkess. Here, by Kerghis, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine meant the Cherkess. Further on he used the same term to refer to the Kirghiz. (See: Note 131).

³⁶ That is, Isidore of Seville (570–636), a Spanish bishop, prominent scientist, writer of the early Middle Ages. The author of numerous works which demonstrate extensive erudition and the skill of promoting the knowledge of his times in an easy-to-understand and brief manner.

³⁷ The Latin name of Georgia.

³⁸ Apparently one of the names of bezant that was used in the Byzantine Empire.

³⁹ That is, the Sultan of Rûm. In antiquity, the eastern peoples of Rome were called Rûm. After the disintegration of the Roman Empire in the 4th century, the name Rûm was applied only to Byzantium. And since the end of the 11th century it had been used only for Asia Minor where, after Asia was conquered by the Oghuz Turkmen, a state ruled by the Asia Minor branch of the Seljuk dynasty was established. When the Mongols were conquering Asia Minor, Ala ad-Din Kayqubad I (1219–1236) was the Sultan of Rûm.

⁴⁰ That is, the Sultan of Halab. The province of Halab was in North Syria, its capital was Ma'arra, the second biggest town was considered Halab, which was named after the province (modern Aleppo).

⁴¹ That is, the Caliph of Baghdad. Baldah is the medieval name of Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid Caliphs who ruled Iran from 762 to 1258.

⁴² We mean the so-called Byzantiums which initially were the Byzantine soliduses, and then any other oriental gold coins (the French besant derives from here). Their price was highly volatile and depended on the place of coining (thus, on the weight of the metal). Byzantiums were probably equal to hyperpyrons. (Note by A. Malein).

To Chapter 7

¹ North China, or the Jin Empire is meant.

² Hori Tumat, an alliance of several Mongol tribes that existed even before Chinggis Khan.

³ That is, the Kirghiz and Kam Kamjiuts, tribes of Turkic origin that lived in north-west Mongolia, in the Upper Yenisei and Ob region. The Kirghiz were conquered by Chingis Khan in 1206.

⁴ That is, Kashmir.

⁵ That is, subjects of the Sultan of Aleppo. (Note by A. Malein).

⁶ The Khwarezmians.

⁷ The Turkmen. (Note by A. Malein).

⁸ These names are hypothetically restored. The chronicles mention Catorocomuty, Korola Tomici, Colona Thorati.

⁹ A version of Jassi. The people are not known definitely.

¹⁰ Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, along with the peoples' names, lists some Christian sects widespread in the East, including Jacobites who belonged to heretical monophysitism.

¹¹ A Christian sect founded in the 5th century, in Syria, by Archbishop Nestorius after whom it was named. Nestorius was deposed by the Council of Ephesus in 431, and his teaching of the Christ's human nature was called heretical.

¹² That is, the Armenians.

¹³ William of Rubruck calls them the Kankalis. The Kankalis were a nomadic tribe that formed part of Dasht-i Kipchak. In the 13th century, the Kankalis lived to the east of the Yaik (Ural) River.

¹⁴ By Brutachi, we probably mean the Burtas who were conquered by the Mongols during their campaign against Volga Bulgaria. The Burtas inhabited the right-hand bank of the Middle Volga and were linked with the Bulgars.

¹⁵ An unknown people. The chronicles call them the Tarci, Tarti, Tati, Thaos, Thoas. (Note by A. Malein).

¹⁶ That is, the Cherkess. (Note by A. Malein).

¹⁷ That is, the Russians. (Note by A. Malein).

¹⁸ The Mongols gave the Middle Asian people the name Sartaghuls, including the Khwarezmians. So, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine repeated the Mongol name. Sarta goes back to the Sanscrit word sārtha which means a trader. <...>

To Chapter 8

¹ The text of the inscription cited by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine had considerable differences from the inscription of Güyük Khan's letter seal which was kept by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and was preserved in the Vatican archives (concerning the letter see Note 217). The letter and the seal were studied and published by P. Pelliot. The text of the seal consists of six lines carved in Mongolian writing.

Mongka t(ä)ngri-yin kücün-dür yeke mongyol ulus-un dalai-in ḡan j(a)rl(i)ḡ il bolḡa irgün—dür kürbäsü büširätügüi ayutuyai (The text is cited as transcribed by P. Pelliot.) which means 'By the power of the Eternal Sky, Dalai Khan of the Great Mongols orders. If he comes to a conquered people, let them respect him and let them fear him'. <...>

We can say that the tendency of the Mongol Khans to fight and conquer were fully reflected in the Khan's seal inscription. They are also partly reflected in the version given by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine who wrote down the inscription as heard from Chinkai, Bal and Khadak, the Khan's secretaries, and translated it into Latin with inaccuracies. This seal is of special interest because the inscription was carved, and the whole seal was made by a Russian craftsman, the jeweler Kozma. That is the very Kozma (Kosma) who helped Giovanni da Pian del Carpine in hard situations and who was so warmly described by our traveler. Kozma was evidently one of those Russian craftsmen who was taken into captivity and taken to far Mongolia during the campaigns against the Russian princedoms.

² Giovanni da Pian del Carpine reports hearing of the circumstances of Ögedei's death who, according to the History of Yuan, died as a result of excessive wine drinking (The History of the First Four Genghisid Khans, p. 284, 285). Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's story is worth noting if we correlate it with the information from 'The Secret History of the Mongols' concerning Ögedei's illness and the remedy made for him but drunk by Tolui (see: 'The Secret History of the Mongols', Section 272), and so of the attempt to poison Ögedei.

To the last Chapter

¹ 26 February 1246.

² That is, 4 April 1246. So having left Kiev on 4 February, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine reached the Volga in two months where the Batu's main camp was located.

³ Versions: Carton, Carbon, Tirbon. (Note by A. Malein).

⁴ A few lines later Giovanni da Pian del Carpine wrote: 'a Greek sea which is called "Mare Magnum"', which is the Black Sea that was called in ancient times 'Pontos Euxeinos'. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's geographic views were rather unclear, he mistakes the Caspian and Aral Seas for the Black Sea. The Volga, according to him, flows into the Black Sea.

⁵ The Bosphorus.

⁶ League is an ancient Gallic unit of length equal to a French lieu $\frac{1}{25}^0$ of the meridian = 4,445 m. (Note by A. Malein).

⁷ Russian chronicles mention this person concerning the murder of Saint Michael of Chernigov and call him Yeldega and Batu's stolnik. (Note by A. Malein).

⁸ 6 April. (Note by A. Malein).

⁹ After 1206, the Mongols began to use the Uighur alphabet, having adopted it to the Mongol language. The earliest of the currently known examples of that writing is the inscription on the so-called 'Chinggis stone' that dates back to 1219.

¹⁰ That is, Béla IV (1235–1270), who was defeated in the battle for Pest in 1241 by the Mongol army led by Batu. Béla fled from the Mongols to Austria, then to Dalmatia, and finally to the islands of the Adriatic Sea where he waited for the Mongol troops to leave.

¹¹ Gomboyev characterised that singing as showing respect to the known person. (Note by A. Malein).

¹² 7 April. (Note by A. Malein).

¹³ That is, the Cherkess. (Note by A. Malein).

¹⁴ The Iberians, who were the people living between the Moschian Mountains, the Caucasus and Armenia. The Iberians were a people with a highly developed culture who lived in numerous towns. The Caths are the Kakhetians.

¹⁵ See: Note 143.

¹⁶ Alternate spellings: Sittorum, Zythorum, Zichorum. The first editor of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's journey in Russian language D. Yazikov supposed that the land of the Sicci was 'Zichia, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea'. (D. Yazikov. Collection of Journeys to the Tatars, p. 270).

¹⁷ 17 May 1246.

¹⁸ In this case by the Bisermins the Khwarezmians are meant.

¹⁹ The Syr Darya River, in the valley of which a large number of towns were located: Otrar, Yasa, Shabaran, Sygnak, Bargkent, Jankent, Jand, Ashnas and others. Some of them are mentioned by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine.

²⁰ That is, Ala ad-Din Muhammad Khwarezm Shah (1200–1220), killed fighting the Mongols.

²¹ A medieval name for Baghdad.

²² In this case, Saracens, the name Giovanni da Pian del Carpine used for Muslims in general, refers to Persian lands.

²³ Those tsareviches were not brothers. Burin, or Buri, was Chagatai's grandson, and Cadan was Ögedei's son.

²⁴ 24 June.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 12

William of Rubruck. 'The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World'.

The source and comments are quoted in accordance with 'Puteshestviya v vostochny'e strany' Plano Karpini i Rubruka (Travels to the Eastern Lands of Pian del Carpine and Rubruck).—Moscow, 1957.—p. 270.)

CHAPTER 16

Concerning the land of Sartach and its peoples

The country beyond the Tanais is very beautiful, with rivers and forests. To the north are great forests, inhabited by two races of men: the Moxel¹, who are without any religion, a race of pure pagans. They have no towns, but only little hamlets in the forest. Their chief and the greater part of them were killed in Germany; for the Tartars took them with them to the borders of Germany, and so they have formed a high opinion of the Germans, and they hope that through them they may finally be freed of the Tartar yoke. If a trader comes among this people, he with whom he first puts up must provide for him as long as he sees fit to stay among them. If one sleeps with another's wife the husband cares not, unless he sees it with his own eyes; so they are not jealous. They have swine, honey and wax, precious furs and hawks. Beyond them are the others called Merdas², whom the Latins call Merdinis, and they are Saracens. Beyond them is the Etilia, the largest river I have ever seen, and it comes from the north, from Greater Bulgaria and flows south, and it flows into a certain lake³ which has a circumference equal to a four month journey, and of that I shall tell you later. So these two rivers, the Tanais and the Etilia, in the north where we crossed them, are 10 days journey from each other; but to the south they are very remote from one another. For the Tanais flows down into the Sea of Pontus, while the Etilia forms with many other rivers which flow into it from Persia, the above sea or lake. To the south there were very high mountains, inhabited, on the side facing this desert, by the Kerkis and the Alans or Aas, who are Christians and still fight the Tartars. Beyond them, along the sea or lake of Etilia, live certain Saracens called Lesgi⁴, who likewise owe them no allegiance. Beyond them are the Iron Gates, which Alexander made to keep the barbarous nations out of Persia; of these I shall tell you later, for I passed through this place on my way back, and Comans Capchac used to live between these two rivers in this country through which we were travelling before the Tartars occupied it. <...>

CHAPTER 20

Concerning the Russians, Hungarians, Alans and the Caspian Sea

Of Sartach I know not whether he believes in Christ or not. This I do know, that he will not be called a Christian, and it even seemed to me that he mocked the Christians. For he is on the road of

the Christians, that is, of the Ruthenians, Blacs, Bulgarians of Minor Bulgaria, Soldaians, Kerkis and Alans, all of whom pass by him when going to his father's ordu, taking presents to him, so he shows himself to be most attentive to them. Should, however, Saracens come along carrying more presents than they, they are sent along more expeditiously. He has Nestorian priests around him who strike the board⁵ and sing their service. And there is another one called Berka⁶, a brother of Batu, who has his pasture lands toward the Iron Gate, which the road crosses taken by all the Saracens coming from Persia and Turkia, and going to Batu, and who when passing through bring him presents; and he has made himself a Saracen, and he does not allow pork to be eaten in his ordu. When we came back Batu had ordered him to move from that place to beyond the Etilia to the east, not wanting Saracens to cross his land; it appeared to him to be harmful. During the four days we were at Sartach's ordu we were not once furnished with food, and only once with a little cosmos. On the road between him and his father we were in great fear, for the Ruthenians, Hungarians and Alans, their slaves, of whom there are very great numbers among them, are in the habit of banding together 20 or 30 in number, and run off at night (armed) with arrows and bows, and whomsoever they find at night they kill. During the day they hide, and when their horses are tired, they come by night to the herds of horses in the pastures and swap their horses, and take one or two with them to eat when necessary. Our guide greatly feared some adventure with them. On this part of the road we would have died of hunger, had we not carried with us a small supply of crackers. So we arrived at the Etilia, the greatest of rivers, for it is four times bigger than the Seine, very deep, coming from Greater Bulgaria, which is in the north, flowing southward, and emptying into a certain lake, or sea, which is now called the Sea of Sirsan⁷, from a certain city, on its coast in Persia. Isidorus, however, calls it the Caspian sea, for it has the Caspian mountains and Persia to the south, the Mulihec mountains⁸, that is, the mountains of the Axasins⁹ to the east, which touch the Caspian mountains; to the north is this wilderness in which are now the Tartars, though at first there were the Comans called Cangle. And on that side (that is, the north) it receives the Etilia, which rises in summer as does the Nile of Egypt. To the west of it are the mountains of the Alans, the Lesgians, the Iron Gate and the mountains of the Georgians. So this sea has mountains on three sides, but on the north it has this plain. Friar Andrew went himself along two sides of it, the southern and the eastern, and I along the other two; the northern when going from Batu to Mangu chan, and again in coming back; and along the western side when coming back from Batu to Syria. One can go around it in four months, and it is not true, as stated by Isidorus, that it is a gulf of the ocean. It nowhere reaches the ocean, but is surrounded by land on all sides.

CHAPTER 21

Concerning the ordu of Batu and how he received us

All this country on the west side of this sea, where the Iron Gates of Alexander and the mountains of the Alans are situated, to the northern Maeotis marshes where the Tanais begins, used to be called Albania¹⁰. Isidorus says of it that it has dogs in it so big and fierce that 'they seize bulls and kill lions': the truth is, as I have heard tell, that towards the Northern ocean they make dogs drag carts like oxen, so great is their size and strength. At this place where we reached the Etilia, the Tartars have made a new village¹¹ with a mixed population of Ruthenians and Saracens, and they transport the envoys going to and coming from the order of Batu; for Batu is on the farther bank to the east, neither does he go beyond this point we had reached when he comes north in summer, and he had begun moving southward (when we arrived). From January to August he goes up to the cool country, as do all of them, and in August they begin moving back. So we went down the river in a boat from this village to his (Batu's) ordu and from that place to the cities of Greater Bulgaria to the north it takes five days. I wonder what devil carried this religion of Machomet thither. From the Iron Gate, which is the door out of Persia, it takes more than thirty days to cross the desert, going up along the Etilia, to this Bulgaria, along which route there is no city only some villages near where the Etilia flows into the sea; and these Bulgarians are the worst kind of Saracens, keeping to the law of Machomet as no others. When I saw the ordu of Batu, I was astonished, for it seemed like a great city stretched out about his dwelling, with people scattered all about for three or four leagues. And as among the people of Israel, where each one knew in which quarter from the tabernacle he had to pitch his tents, so these know on which side of the ordu they must go when they

set down their dwellings. A court (*curia*) is *orda* in their language, and it means 'middle', for it is always in the middle of the people, with the exception, however, that nobody places himself right to the south, for in that direction the doors of the court open. But to the right and left they may spread out as they wish, according to the lay of the land, so long as they do not bring the line of tents down right before or behind the court. We were first taken to a Saracen, who gave us no food. The next day we were taken to the court, and they had a great awning spread, for the dwelling could not hold all the men and women who had come thither. Our guide cautioned us to say nothing until Batu should bid us to speak, and then to speak briefly. He asked also whether you had already sent ambassadors to the Tartars. I said that you had sent to *Keu chan*, but that you would not even have sent envoys to him and charters to *Sartach* if you had not believed that they were Christians. Then they led us before the tent, and we were warned not to touch the ropes of the tent, for they are held to represent the threshold of the door. So we stood there in our robes and barefooted, with uncovered heads, and we were a great spectacle unto ourselves.

Friar John of Policarp¹² was there; but he had changed his gown, fearing lest he should be slighted, being the envoy of the lord Pope. Then we were led into the middle of the tent, and they did not require us to make any reverence by kneeling down, as envoys usually do. We stood before long enough to say: '*Miserere mei, Deus*', and everyone kept a profound silence. He was seated on a long throne as broad as a couch, all gilded, and with three steps leading up to it, and a lady¹³ was beside him. Men were seated here and there to his right, and ladies to his left: and where the room on the women's side was not taken up by them, for only the wives of Batu were present, men occupied it. A bench with *cosmos* and big cups of gold and silver, ornamented with precious stones, was located at the entry to the tent. He looked at us intently, and we at him, and he seemed to me to be about the height of my lord John de Beaumont,¹⁴ may his soul rest in peace. And his face was all covered at that time with reddish blemishes. Finally he bid me speak, and our guide told us to kneel down and speak. I bent down on one knee as to a man, but he gestured to me to kneel down on both, which I did, not wishing to argue over it. Then he bid me speak, and I, thinking I was praying to God, having knelt down on both knees, began my speech by saying: 'Oh lord, we pray to God from whom proceedeth all good things, and who gave you these worldly goods, to give you hereafter celestial ones, for the former without the latter are worthless'. And as he listened attentively, I added: 'You must know for certain that you shall not have the celestial goods unless you have been a Christian; for God saith: 'He who shall have believed and have been baptised, shall be saved, but he who shall not have believed shall be condemned'. At this he quietly smiled, and the other Moal began clapping their hands, laughing at us, and my interpreter stood dumbfounded, and I had to reassure him that he be not afraid. Then silence was re-established, and I said: 'I came to your son, because we had heard that he was a Christian, and I brought him letters from the lord King of the French. It is he (that is, *Sartach*) who has sent me here to you. You must know the reason why'. Then he ordered me to rise up, and he asked your name and mine, and that of my companion and of the interpreter, and he had it all written down, and he also asked against whom you were waging war, for he had heard that you had left your country with an army. I replied: 'Against the Saracens who are profaning Jerusalem, the house of God'. He also asked whether you ever had sent envoys to him. 'To you', I said, 'never'. Then he made us sit down, and had us drink milk, and they hold it to be a great honour when anyone drinks *cosmos* with him in his dwelling. While sitting there I was looking down, but he bid me look up, either wishing to see me better, or on account of their sorcery, for they hold it to be a bad omen or sign, or as portending evil, if one sits before them looking down as if in sorrow, and especially so if he rests his chin or his cheek in his hand. Then we went out, and after a little while our guide came to us, and while taking us to our lodging said to me: 'The lord King requests that you remain in this country, but Batu may not do this without the permission of *Mangu chan*. So you and your interpreter must go to *Mangu chan*. As to your companion and the other man, they will go back to *Sartach*, where they will await your return'. Then the interpreter *Homo Dei* began to lament, deeming himself lost, and my companion to declare that they might sooner cut off his head than separate him from me; and I said that without a companion I could not go, and moreover that we really required two servants, for should one happen to fall ill, I could not be left alone. So he went back to the court and told Batu what I had said. Then he commanded; 'Let the two priests and the interpreter go, and the clerk return to *Sartach*'. He came back and told us the decision; but when I wanted to speak about the clerk, that he might come with us, he said: 'Say no more about it,

for Batu has settled it, and I dare not go again to the court'. The clerk Gosset had 26 yperpera of your alms and no more; of these he kept 10 for himself and the boy, and he gave the 16 others to Homo Dei for us; and so we parted from each other with tears, he going back to Sartach, and we remaining there.

CHAPTER 22

Concerning the brothers' journey to the ordu of Mangu Khan

On the eve of the Assumption¹⁵ (14th August), he (Gosset) reached the ordu of Sartach, and the next day the Nestorian priests were dressed in our vestments in the presence of Sartach. As for us, we were taken to another host who was to provide us with lodgings, food and horses, but as we had nothing to give him he was mean with his offerings. We travelled down the Volga with Batu for 5 weeks¹⁶. Sometimes my companion was so hungry that he would say to me, almost with tears in his eyes; 'It seems to me that I shall never get anything to eat'. The market always follows the ordu of Batu, but it was so far away from us that we could not get there, for from lack of horses we had to travel afoot. <...>

I saw Batu riding with all his horde (turba); and all the heads of families were riding with him, but according to my estimate there were not over five hundred men. At last, around the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross (14th September), a rich Moal came to us, whose father was a chief of a thousand, which is a high rank among them, and he said: 'I am to take you to Mangu chan. The journey takes four months, and it is so cold that stones and trees are split by it. Think over whether you can bear it'. I answered him: 'I trust that, by the grace of God, we shall bear what other men can bear'. Then he said: 'If you cannot bear it, I shall abandon you on the road'. I replied: 'That is not right; we are not going of ourselves, but are sent by your lord, so, being entrusted to your care, you should not abandon us'. Then he said: 'All will be well'. After that he made us show him all our clothing, and what seemed to him of little use he made us leave with our host. The next day they brought each of us a sheepskin gown, breeches of the same material, boots according to their fashion, felt stockings, and hoods such as they use. The day after the Elevation of the Holy Cross (15th September) we set off on our ride¹⁷, with two pack horses for the three of us, and we rode constantly eastward until the feast of All Saints. And through all that country and beyond lived the Cangle, and they were a branch (parentela) of the Comans. To the north of us was Greater Bulgaria, and to the south the Caspian Sea.

CHAPTER 23

Concerning the Jagac River and different lands and peoples in that country

After travelling 12 days from the Etilia, we found a great river which they call the Jagac¹⁸, and it comes from the country of Pascatir in the north, and flows into this previously-mentioned sea (that is, the Caspian). The language of Pascatir¹⁹ is the same as that of the Hungarians, and they are shepherds without any towns whatever, and from the West this country adjoined Greater Bulgaria. From this country eastward, and on that side to the north, there are no more towns; so Greater Bulgaria is the last country with towns. 'Twas from this country of Pascatir that went forth the Huns, who were afterward the Hungarians; hence it is the same as Greater Bulgaria. Isidonis says that with their fast horses they crossed the barriers which Alexander had built among the rocks of the Caucasus to hold back the savage tribes, and that as far as Egypt all the country paid them tribute. They ravaged all the world as far as France, so that they were a greater power than are now the Tartars. With them also came the Blacs, the Bulgars and the Vandals. For from that Greater Bulgaria come the Bulgars, who live beyond the Danube near Constantinople. And besides Pascatir live the Illac, which is the same word as Blac, but the Tartars do not know how to pronounce (the letter) B, and from them come those who are in the land of Assan²⁰. They call both of them Illac, the former and the latter. The language of the Ruthenians, Poles, Bohemians and Slavons is the same as that of the Vandals, and the hand of all of them was with the Huns, as now a large part of them with the Tartars, whom God has raised up out of the remote parts of the earth, a mighty people but a stupid race, according to what the Lord saith²¹: 'I will move them to jealousy (that is, those who do not keep his law) with those who are not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation'. This is fulfilled to the letter as to all the nations who do not keep to the law of the Christ. That which I have told of the land of Pascatir I know from the preaching friars²² who went there before the arrival of the Tartars, but since then it has been subjugated by the neighbouring Saracen Bulgars,

and some of the people have become Saracens. The rest may be learned from the chronicles, for it is a well established fact that those provinces from Constantinople (westward) and which were called Bulgaria, Blackia and Sclavonia were provinces of the Greeks, and that Hungary was Pannonia. So we rode through the country of the Cangle from the feast of the Holy Cross (15th September) to the feast of All Saints (1st November), and nearly every day we traveled, as well as I could estimate, about the distance from Paris to Orleans²³, and sometimes more, according to the quantity of horses. For sometimes we changed horses two or three times in a day, while others times we went for two or three days without finding anyone, so we had to go slower. Out of 20 or 30 horses we, as foreigners, always got the worst, for they invariably took their pick of horses before us. They always gave me a strong horse, on account of my great weight; but I dared not inquire whether he rode easily or not, nor did I venture to complain if he was slow, but I had to bear it all with equal good grace. Consequently, we had to endure extreme hardship, as at times the horses tired out before we had reached the people, and we had to beat and whip them, put our clothing on other pack horses, change our saddle horses for pack horses, and sometimes even the two of us rode one horse. <...>

CHAPTER 49

The journey from Karakorum to Batu, and from Batu to the city of Sarai

So, for two months and ten days we travelled to Batu, and during all this time we did not see any town or a sign of any buildings but tombs, except for one small village²⁴, where we did not break the bread. And for those two months and ten days we rested only for one day, as we could not obtain fresh horses. Our way back was mostly in the lands of the same people, but in quite different terrains. We went in winter, and returned in summer and in much higher northern countries, with the exception that fifteen days in a row you need to travel there and back near some river between the mountains, where was no grass but by the river. We went for two, and sometimes for three days having no food but kumis. Sometimes we were in great danger, not being able to find people, and we had little food stocks and our horses were tired. After 20 days, I heard the news about the tsar of Armenia, and that at the end of an August he rode to meet Sartach, who went to Mangu Khan with a herd of great and small cattle, with wives and babies, but his big houses remained between Etilia and Tanais. I went to bow to Sartach and told him I would like to stay in his lands, but Mangu Khan is desirous that I return and deliver the charter. He said that the will of Mangu Khan must be granted. Then I asked Coyac about our people. He said they were currently at the Batu's ordu under supervisory care. I demanded also our vestment and books, and he said 'didn't you take them to Sartach?' I said: 'I took them to Sartach but didn't give them to him, as you know'. Upon that I repeated to him that I replied when he asked if I wanted to give them to Sartach himself. Then he said: 'You speak the truth, and nobody can resist the truth. I left your belongings with my father, who dwells near Sarai, in the new city built by Batu in Etilia; but our priests have some of the vestments here with them'. I told him: 'You can keep all the vestments you want, if only my books were returned to me'. Then he said that he will deliver my words to Sartach. 'I should', I said, 'have the charter for your father so he would return everything mine to me'. But as they were ready to leave, he only said: 'The court is following us closely, you can leave there and I will send a reply of Sartach with this man'. I was worried he would deceive me but could not argue with him. In the evening the man he pointed at came to me and brought two shirts which I took as whole, not cut up silk fabric. This man told me: 'Here are two shirts for you: one Sartach sends to you; and the other, if you think it's appropriate, deliver to the king in his name'. I told him 'I do not wear such garments; I will deliver both to the king as a mark of my esteem for your master'.—'No', he answered, 'deal with them as you wish'. And my wish was to sent both to you and so I did with the bearer of this letter. He gave me also the charter to the father of Coyac so he would return me my belongings, as he did not need any of my none of them. I arrived at Batu's ordu on the same day I left it a year ago, that is two days²⁵ after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and gladly found our men healthy but dejected with the poverty Gosset told me about. And they would have died, as they thought me dead, if not for the tsar of Armenia, who gave them great comfort and committed them to the care of Sartach himself; Tatars have began to ask them if they know how to keep bulls or milk mares. And if I did not return they would be turned into slaves. After that Batu commanded me to seem him face-to-face and ordered that

a charter be brought to me, which Mangu Khan sent to you. As Mangu wrote him that if he wanted to add, or remove, or change anything, he was free to do so. Then Batu told me: 'You will deliver that charter and have it translated'. He asked also which passageway I wanted to choose; by sea or by land. I told him that by sea was not a choice as winter was coming, so I should go by land. I thought later, that you were still in Syria, so I went to Persia. For if I knew you had gone to France, I would have gone to Hungary and reached France faster and along a route which is more pleasant than through Syria. Then we travelled with Batu for a month before we could get a guide. Finally, we were assigned a person named Yugur, who, thinking that he would get nothing from me and despite the fact that I said I wanted to go directly to Armenia, ordered that he get a charter that he would escort me to the Turkey Sultan, in the hope of getting gifts from him and obtaining more spoils on that road. Then I set foot on the path to Sarai, exactly in two weeks²⁶ before All Saints' Day, heading directly to the South and down to the river-bank of the Etilia, which divides into three large forks down there; each fork is almost twice as big as the (Nile) and Damietta Rivers. Moreover, Etilia also forms four smaller forms, so we crossed that river on boat in 7 places. In the middle fork there is the city named Summerkent²⁷, which had no walls; but when the river overflows the city is surrounded by water. Before they took it, the Tatars stood before it for 8 years. Alans and Saracen lived there. There we found one German man with his wife, a good man in whose house Gosset stayed. It was Sartach who sent him there to lighten his court that way. Close to these lands near the time of Christmas Day Batu comes on one side of the river and Sartach on the other side, and no further. Sometimes the river freezes completely and so they cross it. Plenty of grass grows here and the Tatars hide there in the reeds until the ice melts. The father of Coyac, having received the charter of Sartach, had returned my vestments, except for three surplices, the omophorion, embroidered with silk, the epitrachelion, belts and also clothes for an altar, embroidered with gold and one deacon's vestment (Superpellicium); he also returned the silver vessels, except for the censer and the small box with chrism; those vessels remained with priests who were with Sartach. He returned all my books, except for the Book of Psalms of the Queen, which he took with my agreement as I could not forbid him. It is he who said that Sartach liked the Psalms a lot. He asked me also that if I happened to return to those countries, would I bring them a man able to make parchment. On the request of Sartach he was building a bit church on the western bank of the river and a new settlement and he wanted, as he said, to make books for Sartach. However I knew that Sartach did not care about it. Sarai and Batu's palace were located on the eastern bank of the river; the valley where the mentioned river forks flow is more than 7 lieu in width and there is a lot of fish in those rivers. I also could not get the versified Bible, the book in Arabic, which cost thirty byzantiums, and a lot of other things.

CHAPTER 50

The continuation of the travel from Sarai through the Albanian and Lesgian mountains, through the Iron Gates and other places

Having left Sarai that way on All Saints' Day²⁸ and heading to the South, we arrived on St. Martin's Day²⁹ at the Alans mountains. Between Batu and Sarai we did not meet any people in 15 days, except for one of Batu's sons, who was moving onwards with falcons and his hawkers in great numbers, and one small settlement. For two weeks starting from the All Saints' Day celebration we did not meet any people; once we almost died of thirst during one day and one night as we did not find water almost until 3 o'clock of the next day.

The Alans who live in those mountains are still subjugated, so two out of each ten people of Sartach were to watch the mountain canyons so the Alans would not go out of the mountains to steal their herds in the valley, which stretches between the domains of Sartach, Alans and the Iron Gates, which are a two day journey away, where the Arkakk valley begins. Between the sea and the mountains some Saracen live, named Lesgians; highlanders who are also still not subjugated, so Tatars, who live at the bottom of the Alans mountains were to give us 20 men to escort us beyond the Iron Gates. I was very glad about it as I hoped to see them armed, because I have never seen their weapons, although I had a great interest in it. And when we reached the dangerous passing, two out of twenty had armour. I asked where they had got it. They said they bought it from the mentioned Alans, who knew well how to make it and were

great smiths. From it I concluded that the Tatars themselves have few weapons, that is only quivers, bows and furry shells (pelliceas). I saw them being delivered with iron armour (platas) and iron helmets from Persia, and I also saw two men, who presented themselves to Mangu wearing convex shirts made of hard leather, very poorly fitting and uncomfortable. Before we reached the Iron Gates, we found one castle of the Alans, belonging to Mengu Khan as he conquered that land. There for the first time we found vines and drank wine. On the next day we reached the Iron Gates built by Alexander the Great. This is the city whose eastern end is on the sea shore and between the sea and the mountains there is a small valley, where the city stretches until the top of the mountain on its west end; so there is no road above because of the mountains, and no road below because of the sea, and the only road is through the city, where the Iron Gates stand, the name of which the city bears. The city is more than one mile long and has a strong castle on the top of the mountain; in terms of width the city stretches the distance of a big stone's flight. It is surrounded by the strongest walls without moats, with towers built from big hewn stones. But the Tatars destroyed the tops of those towers and embrasures, having leveled the towers with the walls. In the lower parts of that city the land was previously considered an earthly paradise. In a two day journey from there we found another city named Samaron³⁰, where a lot of Jews lived; when we passed through it, we saw walls coming down to the sea from the mountains. And, leaving the road through the mountains along these walls, as it turned to the East there, we climbed the mountains headed southwards. <...>

Notes²

To Chapter 16

¹Probably, the Mokshas-Erzya people of Finno-Mordvins origin, who lived near the Moksha River (left tributary of the Oka River).

² That is, Mordvin (Mordvinian), see: Note 101 to the journey of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine.

³ That is, the Caspian Sea.

⁴Apparently, Lezgins. According to information from the 10th century author ibn al-Athir, Lezgins (or, as he calls them, 'Lezgs') practiced both Islam and Christianity.

To Chapter 20

⁵Greek Semanteriorum.

⁶ That is, Berke, see: Note 86 to the journey of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine.

⁷ Mare Sirsan, also Sirtan or Sircan in other manuscripts of William of Rubruck, which is, apparently, a mistake of the scribe, instead of mare Servanicum or the Shirvan Sea.

⁸The Arabian word, *mulhid* = a heretic' is meant.

⁹'The name of the sect was Hashashin from the stupefying drink hashish. Killings of Ismaili gained such fame that the French word assassin originated from the name of their sect'. (Note by A. Malein).

To Chapter 21

¹⁰William of Rubruck took this definition of Albania from the Isidore of Seville, who wrote in his famous 'Etymologiae' (vol. 14, p. 501): 'Albania takes its name from the colour of its people, who have fair (alba) hair; it starts on the East near the Caspian Sea and stretches through the steppes and woods alongshore the Northern Ocean to the Maeotian Marches. There are huge dogs in this country, so ferocious, they catch bulls and bring down lions'. Many medieval authors spoke of the fierce dogs of Albania.

¹¹Probably, William of Rubruck speaks of Uvek. Marco Polo calls it Ukaka.

¹²Of course Giovanni da Pian del Carpine. The interpreter of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine speaks of the mentioned later dress changing. (Note by A. Malein).

¹³Probably, the first wife of Batu, named Borakchin.

¹⁴ A participant of the seventh Crusade, an Admiral of the French Fleet, an attendant of Louis IX during the landing in Egypt in 1249. His nephew William de Beaumont also participated in that Crusade as a marshal.

² Text of notes is significantly reduced.—*Editor's note*

To Chapter 22

¹⁵ That is, the 14th of August.

¹⁶ It is of no surprise that Batu with his retinue travelled slowly, probably no more than 10–15 km per day, because William of Rubruck pointed out that they had to go on foot as they lacked horses.

¹⁷ William of Rubruck set out for the ordu of Möngke Khan on 15 September 1253. He left the course of the Volga River at a latitude between 48 and 50 degrees north, far more north than the place he first came down the Volga River from the West. H. Yule came to this conclusion by studying the route of William of Rubruck. His view is held up to this day.

To Chapter 23

¹⁸ That is, the Jayıq River, renamed the Ural River in the latter half of the 18th century.

¹⁹ Baskart by Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, see: Note 103 to the journey of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine.

²⁰ The movement of some of the Bulgars from the Volga river and their occupation of Wallachia occurred in 485 AD, but only in the beginning of the 6th century some of them under the command of Aspacures crossed the Danube River and took the lands of modern Bulgaria, 'the lands of Assan', according to William of Rubruck.

²¹ The Book of Deuteronomy, 32, 21 (confer with the Epistle to the Romans, 10, 19). From our Bible: 'They have roused me to jealousy with a non-god, they have exasperated me with their idols. In turn I shall rouse them to jealousy with a non-people, I shall exasperate them with a stupid nation'. (Note by A. Malein).

²² Those first preachers of the Dominican Order are only mentioned once in the 'Chronica' of Albert Trum Fontium in 1237: 'There are rumours that the Tatars are planning to conquer Comania and Hungary, so four preachers travelled for 100 days and reached Old Hungary, and, having returned, asserted that the Tatars had already invaded Old Hungary and brought it into their subjection'. According to William of Rubruck, Dominicans made other attempts to find their way into the East of Europe.

²³ One hundred kilometers. According to the calculations of F. Schmidt, William of Rubruck did 80 km daily. <...>

To Chapter 49

²⁴ In the original 'una villula', which is more correctly translated as 'one town', although Rockhill translates it as 'one little village'. Schmidt (p. 231) assumes that it was Omyl, which, according to him (p. 113), was visited by William of Rubruck on his way back. (Note by A. Malein).

²⁵ 16 September 1254

²⁶ 16 October. On his way back William of Rubruck spent a month in the Batu's main camp.

²⁷ The Muslim geographer Abd ar-Rashid (15th century) mentioned the city Saqassin, which was flooded by the Volga River. The exact location of it is unknown. It is possible that Summerkent mentioned by William of Rubruck is a misrepresentation of the name Saqassin.

To Chapter 50

²⁸ That is, the 1st of November.

²⁹ That is, the 15th of December.

³⁰ The exact location of this city is unknown; it is located in the middle between Derbent and Shamakhi, a two-day journey from both cities. (Note by A. Malein).

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 13

Report by Benedict of Poland

In 1247 members of a diplomatic mission, Franciscans Giovanni da Pian del Carpine and Benedict of Poland returned to Europe with a reply letter from the Mongol Güyük Khan and detailed reports. It can be assumed that the translator of the mission, brother Benedict had complete information due to his responsibilities. In one Eastern European cities, where members of the embassy found lodgment in the tenement of the Franciscan brothers, at the urgent request of father Bogusław, the steward of the Order in Bohemia and Poland, an anonymous person made a short copy of brother Benedict's report. The fate of the report itself is unknown to this day. As for the copy made by the anonymous person (who is commonly named C. de Bridia, as he signed with only the initial C), it is preserved to our days in a Latin manuscript of the 15th century. The existence of this text allows us to affirm definitely that the author of most of the mission's information, which brother Johann was unreservedly accredited with before, was brother Benedict, as in his report the information was enviably complete, Mongolian terminology and its adequate translation.

In the 1965, the American historian G. Painter published the text of 'The History of the Tatars' by brother C. de Bridia¹. In 1967, German philologist O. Onnerfors prepared the second, corrected edition of this text². In 2002, in Saint Petersburg, the publishing house 'Eurasia' gave to the world the new critical edition (where all corrections by C. Kneepkens were considered³) and the Russian translation of the report with detailed annotations⁴. The translation below is based on the last publication.

The most impressive part of the report, which was entitled 'The novel about Chinggis Khan', which describes the legendary campaigns of three Mongol hosts to the end of the world, is covered in a special study⁵ and for that reason is not commented on here.

'The History of the Tatars' by brother C. de Bridia

The History of the Tatars begins.

<...> [2] So, it should be known that, according to the Tatars and some other [people] of the inhabited world⁶, its construction has two main [parts], which is the East and West, widely expanded from the [point] of the rising of the sun to the [point] of its setting during winter and summer. The West is different from the land of Livonia and stretches from Prussia right to Greece and beyond, and it includes the Catholic church.⁷ That is why Tatars call the Pope [of Rome] 'the great Pope' of all the West⁸. And the other part is called the East, where the land of the Tatars is located; where the East connects to the North, being close to the northern sea and being called Moal. <...>

[23] After those [events, *that is the death of Chinggis Khan*] Occodai⁹, his son, inherited the empire as he was elected out of others. In fact, Chinggis Khan had four sons: Occodai, who was his heir, Tossuc, Chagatai¹⁰, the name of the fourth I could not learn from the brothers or from the others.¹¹ Occodai had three sons, namely Kuyuk¹², who recently became khan, that is the emperor, Kokten¹³ and Kirenen¹⁴. The second son, Tossuc Khan, had two sons: Bati¹⁵ (he was the most powerful after the khan) and Ordu¹⁶. He is the eldest amongst the leaders and the most respected. He had two more sons from his other wife, namely Siban¹⁷ and Khaut [Tangut]¹⁸. The third [son of Chinggis Khan], Chagatai, had two sons: Ka[da] n¹⁹ and Buri²⁰. The fourth [son of Chinggis Khan], whose name I do not know, had two sons: Mengü²¹ (he was the oldest, his mother was Serekta²², who was the [most] well-known among the Tatars after the mother of the Emperor; [Mengü] is the most powerful after Bati), and Bekhac²³. I did not find out the names of the other sons. And the names of the Leaders were Ordu (he went through Poland and Hungary), Bati, Burin, Kadan, Siban, Bugiec (they were in Hungary), Kirbodan²⁴ (he was still fighting against the Sultan of Damascus); Mengü, Kokten, Sirenen and many others, who did not need to be named, stayed in the lands of the Tatars.

[24] And Occodai, being very strong in number [of men], like his father did earlier, organised three [armies]. He put Bati, his nephew, in charge of the first army, and sent him to the West against the Church and all the Western lands. He [Bati], having arrived, conquered the land of Altisoldan²⁵ and the land of bisermen. They were Saracens who spoke Koman. There he also captured, after a long war, the strongly fortified city named Barchin. And the other city, named Iakint, yielded itself and he did not

waste it, but got the spoils and killed the most noble persons according to his tradition, and made the citizens move to settle other people in that city. After that he moved to Ornas²⁶, the large city full of Christians, that is Gazars and Alans, and also of different Saracens from different parts [of the world]. It was located on the river (taking a large part of the seashore), which streamed through the city. Tatars blocked the river in the upper part and flooded the city with all that was inside of it.

[25] Besides, at the same time Bati conquered the land of Terkomen [Turkmen] and the land of Kagnit, and also the Great Comania and Rusia, and captured Kiev, the capital of Rusia, the largest and most famous city. [He reached that] by destroying a large number of people and numerous battles [the description] of which I will omit now, as it requires a special teller.

[26] Kuyuk, the son of Occodai, the cousin of Bati, who was the khan from recent times, who was going back [from the Western campaign], learned about his father's death and on his way back he captured the land of Gazars and the land of Alans, then the land Tkh'et, and finally the land of Tartar. Those were the lands of Christians, with different languages and they were located in the South, close to the sea. Having done that, he returned to his lands.

[27] Bati, being in Rus', fought against the Bilers, that is, Great Bulgaria²⁷ and the Mordvins, and having captured their [nobles], added them to his army. Then he moved from there against Poland and Hungary, and, having divided his army on the border [of those] lands, against Poland he sent ten thousand warriors with his brother Ordu, many of whom were confused and died in the battle in the very beginning of this land, killed by the Polish from Krakow and Sandomierz duchies. But as envy (which is true) feeds a great number of sins, the Polish did not seek the common good, but were destroyed by the Tatars as they were miserably arrogant and envious of each other.

[28] Tatars, having moved forward to Silesia, entered into battle with the duke Henry who was the most [heavenly minded] Christian of that time, and at the moment, when, as the [Tatars] told brother Benedict himself, they were almost ready to retreat, suddenly the v-shaped closed ranks of the Christians ran. Then the Tatars captured the duke Henry, undressed him completely and made him kneel before the dad [tatar] prince, who was killed in Sandomierz, then his head, like it was from a sheep, was sent through Moravia to the Bati in Hungary and there tossed among the other heads of killed men.

[29] When Bati himself entered Hungary and [his army] crossed more than a half of that land, near some river they [met] a great [army] of two [Hungarian] kings, brothers, that is, Bela, who rules now and Coloman of blessed memory who himself in the very first battle threw the chief Tatar leader off the bridge above that river along with the horse and weapons. He also withstood their second and third [onslaught] and [fought] until the Tatars ran. Bati in the meantime sent his troops across the river in its upper stream on a one or two day journey, so they could attack the bridge from the rear. And so they did. As a consequence that whole affair turned unexpectedly. And after the Hungarians neglected the king Coloman's warning, the Tatars crossed the bridge. And, from their own words, after they ran from the Hungarians, Bati unsheathed his sword and forced them [to return] to the battle, as the Hungarians, thinking they were safe, took a rest and did not care for Tatars. The Hungarians were moved by a premature pride, as the Polish were moved by envy. And the Tatars, attacking [them] maimed many and hunted Bela, the king of Hungary, until the very sea.

[30] When Bati, being in Hungary, learned about Occodai Khan's death, who was poisoned by his sister and was buried 'with rich in Hell', he immediately returned in Comania. The brothers [Franciscans] had also seen him on their way back from the Tatars to the Pope. Moreover, the brothers said that he was heading from his domains to Kuyuk Khan. Besides, there was a big discord between them and if it had a continuance, [then] the Christians could get a rest from the Tatars for many years.

[31] The second army under the command of Girpodan went to the South and conquered the land named Kirghiz. The people of this land are pagans, they don't have hair on their chins and [when] someone's father dies, this man as a sign of deep sorrow and pain makes a cut on the chin from one ear to the other. He [Girpodan] had also conquered Armenia and Georgia, Nubia, Turkey, also Baldak [Baghdad] and the [lands] of many others Saracen sultans. They say he is still fighting with the Sultan of Damascus.

[32] And the third army is fighting with some eastern people, who still have not completely subjugated to the Tatars.

[33] So after Occodai Khan's death the Tartars lived without the khan for seven years, and therefore they did not wage war westwards. His son Cuyuc was elected unanimously when our brothers were present [at this event in the Horde]. He, however, raised the triumphant banner against God's church and the domination of Christians, and he used all the states of the West and the third of all his might for war purposes. And here they came to fight discontinuously for eighteen years, and they would not stop until no noble man, no emperor, no king stayed [alive]. And though they knew that sooner or later they were to be killed by the Christians, they were not aware of the day or the land which God destined for this to happen, when suddenly the vindictive God would have revenge upon the blood of the unavenged.

[34] The names of the lands conquered by the Tartars are as follows: China, Solangi, Ethiopia, Voyrat, Keraniti, Burithebēt, Uighur, Kirghiz, Saruyhur, Merkit, Mekrit, Naiman, Kara Kithay (Qara Khitai), Turquia, Nubia, Baldak [Baghdad], Urumsoldan, Bisermins, Kangits, Armenia, Georgiania, Alans (Alani) who call themselves Asses, Circassians, Gazars, Komans who call themselves Kusskara [Kipchaks], Mordva, Bascart that is Great Hungary, Bilers, Korola, Kassidy, Parossits, Pesi [nations, canine nations], Samojeds, Nestorians, Nusia [Rusia], the [lands] of the Persian sultans who name themselves Sarracenas.

[35] So, we described the Tartars' wars and origin, [just for the record], wherever their land was, now it is known that this land is mountainous in some parts and in other parts it was completely flat. It is not fertile because it is sandy. [Its] climate is extremely fluctuating, and this is likely due to the alternation of mountains and plains. [This land] is abundant in strong winds. There is also sometimes lightning, thunder and storms, and [besides] they occur out of season, for they told their brothers that their climate had surprisingly begun to change several years before. Therefore it often looks like clouds are fighting with each other close to the earth, and they further said that shortly before [our] brothers arrived, fire had come down from heaven and destroyed many thousands of horses and livestock with all the slaves who pastured [it], with little exception. And when the brothers were present at the ceremony of the election of the khan, that is, the emperor, it began hailing so heavily that after it suddenly melted over sixty people drowned, and [the flow] carried belongings along with dwellings far away. But the brothers' dwelling which was nearby was not damaged at all. Moreover, when the brothers were looking at the [disaster] and sharing the pain of others, a very strong wind blew and lifted up the dust such that nobody could sit on a horse or even stay on their feet.

[36] These Tartars are mostly of medium height and rather slender thanks to [firstly, the consumption] of mare's milk which makes a man slim, and, [secondly, to every day] work. They have wide faces and prominent cheek-bones. Besides, they shave a circle on their heads, just like our clerics who have [tonsure], and a [stripe] in the direction of each ear which is three fingers in size. Their foreheads are covered with a fringe which hangs down to their very eyebrows in the shape of a crescent. They wear the rest of the hair loose or braid it as the Sarracenas do.

[37] What should be known about their clothes is that men and women wear similar clothes, therefore they are hard to distinguish from one another. However, this is more interesting than useful. For this reason, I did not care to further describe their other outfits and clothes.

[38] Their dwellings are called yurts. They are round and made of branches and stakes. They have a round window above to [let out] smoke and light. The roof and entrance are made of felt. However, they can differ in size and be moved [from place to place] ; according to the size requirements of the [yurt] to move it, one, or three, or four, or even more bulls suffice). The khan's and princes' camps are called in Tatar hordes (*ordas*). They do not have towns but they set up camps in different places [like towns]. They have a town which is called Karakaron, near which our brothers spent half a day traveling when they were in the Golden Horde, that is, in the best court of the emperor. Being short of firewood, both noble and common [people] have nothing else to do but use horse and bull dung for fuel.

[39] Some legends say that Chinggis Khan was the creator of their [religious law], but in most cases our brothers hardly learned anything about the performers of [these traditions], though they spent much time among them. However, they [found out that] Tartars believe in the One God, the Maker of things, visible and invisible, and the Giver of all good things [measured] for this life, as well as evil. However, they do not worship Him properly, because they have various idols. They have some figures of people made of felt which they place at both sides of the yurt entrance under an udder made of felt in a similar

way, and they say that they are the keepers of the livestock and sacrifice meat and milk for it. But they worship silk idols to a greater extent. They put them on a covered wagon [inside it], [or] at the yurt entrance. If somebody steals one of these, he is immediately killed. And commanders of thousands and hundreds have in the centre of the yurt a goatskin stuffed with hay or straw, and they sacrifice for it milk of all kinds. And when they begin to eat or drink, the idol in the wagon is offered on a plate the heart of the animal which they remove and eat in the morning. Besides, they once made an idol of Chinggis Khan which they placed in front of the yurt of any [ruling] khan and brought him gifts. The horses presented to him, however, are subsequently never used for riding. Also, they first offer to him, that is [idol] the animals which they kill for food, [and] they do not break the bones of this animal. They bow to this idol southwardly, as if it were God, and they force many people to do this, especially the subjugated nobility.

[40] Therefore the following happened recently: the ruler Mikhail, who is from the great princes of Rus, when he surrendered to their power and refused to worship their named idol, saying that it was not allowed for Christians to do that, and stood firm in his faith in Christ, was ordered to be beaten with heels in the chest to death. And when his warrior encouraged him to be firm in his martyrdom, he had his throat cut by a knife, and the encouraging warrior was beheaded. They also made sacrifices to the sun, the moon, water, earth, and they were accustomed to doing it especially in the mornings.

[41] Besides, they have some traditions [created] by Chinggis Khan which they follow. He established that the guts of an animal should not be cleaned, as mentioned above, by cutting the intestines open, but the [feces] should be squeezed out by hands, and the belly cleaned this way should be cooked. And also if someone driven by arrogance wants to become a khan on his own volition, then he must be killed immediately. For this reason, before Cuyuc Khan was elected, Chinggis Khan's nephew was murdered, because he wanted to [take] the power. He [Chinggis Khan] also established that [the Tartars] should conquer all the lands of the world, and make no peace with anyone, except with those who themselves surrendered openly and unconditionally, and in this case he ordered to have mercy on the common people, and to kill anybody more noble. He also predicted to them [that is the Tartars] that, eventually, they all will be murdered in the Christian land, however, very few of them who would be left [alive] would abide by the law of [that] land where their fathers died different deaths. He also ordered that the troops consisted of the following commanders: ten commanders, hundred commanders, thousand commanders and ten thousand commanders, that is ten thousand [warriors] under one [commander], which the Russians have a name for: '*legion*'.

[42] Fear of God [was the reason] that they believed in the existence of some great sins. One [of these sins] was to pierce the fire, or to touch [the fire] in any way with a knife, or take the meat out of the boiler with a knife. It is also prohibited to chop wood near the fire because, as they say, the head of the fire is being cut off this way. It is also [prohibited] to sit down on a horse whip (for they do not use spurs), or to touch arrows with the whip, or to take small birds from a nest. It is also [prohibited] to beat a horse with a bridle, or urinate in a yurt. Those who do it deliberately are killed after that, if this was done unintentionally the guilty person must pay the magician to be cleansed [leading] him between two fires in such a way that he himself along with the yurt and all that is inside it would go through the [fires]. And until this is done nobody is allowed to touch anything [in] the yurt. Also, if someone puts a piece of food in his/her [mouth], (or *bolus*, which means the same), and is unable to swallow it, then a hole is dug out under the yurt and this person is pulled through it and killed immediately. Besides, if someone steps on the threshold of the yurt of the leader, his/her life is taken away ruthlessly; therefore our brothers learned not to step on the threshold. Also, they believe that spilling mare's milk on the ground deliberately is a sin. When, however, our brothers told them that it was a sin to shed human blood, drink until drunk, lay hands on someone's property and many other things of this kind, they laughed, not caring for this at all. They do not believe in the eternal life of the saints either, nor in the eternal curse, they only [believe] that after they die they will live again, increase their herds and eat [food]. They also resort to the preparation of potions and spells, and believe that the demon's answers are answers from God, whom they call Iuga, and Komans [call] him Kodar. They do not force anybody to give up their faith, they only want everybody to comply with their orders. Otherwise, they use force to [submit] or kill. So they forced the younger brother of the Prince Andrey in Rusia (who was murdered by them on a false charge) to marry the brother's widow by laying them on one bed in the presence of other people.

[43] They also tend to start anything new in the beginning of the moon or in the full moon. They also say that the moon is a great emperor and bow to it, kneeling down. They say that the sun is the moon's mother because the [moon] receives light from it and because the sun has a fiery nature which they worship above of all for they believe that everything gets pure through fire. That is why any ambassadors, no matter what, with the gifts which they bring to their lords, are to go between two fires for any poison they may have brought, or bad intention, gets purified. For the same reason, even our brothers went between the fires [before they were admitted to the court].

[44] When someone among them gets seriously ill, near his/her yurt a pole is erected which is nine elbows [long] and wrapped in black felt, and from then no stranger dares to get in the camps [designated in this way]. When a dying person is in agony, it is a rare thing that someone stays beside him/her, because none [of] those who witnessed a death would have been able to join the orda of any leader or [what is more] emperor before the new moon began.

[45] If a rich man dies he is buried secretly in the field along with his yurt with him sitting in it, and with a [wooden] trough full of meat and a cup of mare's milk. A mare with a foal, a horse with a bridle, a saddle, a bow with a quiver and arrows are also buried with him. One horse is eaten by his friends and its skin stuffed with hay is raised on wooden supports. They believe that in the future [life] the deceased man will need all these; namely, a mare to get milk, a horse to ride, and the other things which are [buried with him]. Similarly, they put silver and gold there.

[46] Some more important men are buried this way: a pit is dug out secretly in the field, its edges are square and small, and inside the [pit] is widened, and near the camp they dig out another [pit] openly and publicly in which they imitate the funeral of the dead man. The slave who was valued by the [deceased] above all the rest is put under the dead body while the grave is left open. If the [slave] gets to his feet in torture on the third day, he becomes free and powerful and respected by the whole family [that is the family of the deceased]. After that they dig the [true] grave and all night long they chase mares and sheep over this place in order to level it, so that foreigners could not find the treasures placed with the [deceased]. Sometimes they cover this place with the grass which they removed earlier.

[47] Besides, they have in their land two cemeteries: one for common [people], the other one for emperors, leaders and nobility. And they make every effort to bury in this cemetery all the noble men who died in a foreign land, as it was in Hungary. If anybody, except for the superintendents, approaches this cemetery, he/she is treated ruthlessly, and for this reason, our brothers who, not knowing [about this prohibition], entered the [territory of the cemetery] and would have been insulted cruelly if they had not been ambassadors of the Great Pope whom Tartars call *yul-boba*, that is, the 'Great Pope'.

[48] And after someone dies it is necessary to clean everything related to his/her camp. For this reason, two fires are started and nearby two poles are erected vertically which are tied together at the top with a belt with several pieces of bukeran attached to it. The people and animals are to pass under this belt between the poles and fires, and to pull the yurt along with them. At both sides of the [poles] two women-magicians are standing, splashing water and pronouncing spells. And if the wagon breaks while passing [between the fires], or if any belongings fall down [from it], the magicians take them immediately to their right. In a similar way, if someone dies being struck by thunder, then everything he owned is rejected by everyone [as something dirty] until it is purified in the way mentioned above.

[49] They have as many wives as they are able to support. In general, they buy all of them, therefore they [wives] are like their property, except for noble ones. They make no difference as to who they marry, excluding their mother, daughter, or sister from the same mother. After the father's death they marry the step-mother and the younger brother or [another] relative [marries] the brother's widow. The wives do all the household chores, namely, they make short boots, [small] leather items and other similar [things]. Men only [make] arrows and practice archery. They also make three and four year old boys practice it. Besides, some women, especially, girls use arrows and ride horses just like men do. If anyone is caught committing adultery or debauchery, both the man and woman are killed.

[50] Besides, they also obey their lords more than other peoples do, or even more than clergymen obey their prelates. They have no mercy for deserters, therefore their emperor has absolute power over them. Because they have no choice between death and life, if the emperor says so. The emperor can

marry daughters or sisters of anyone, whenever he wants to. And after he enjoys them and decides not to let them stay, he gives them away to anyone he likes.

[51] He the [emperor] grants free allowances and gives post horses to the ambassadors he sends or to the ones who are sent to himself. However, he grants a tiny allowance to foreign ambassadors, because that [minimum] which would have been eaten by two or three people was given for ten people. I begin to shiver when describing all the misfortunes our brothers went through because of this, because even they themselves who lived through [all] this, still wonder how Jesus Christ's mercy protected them despite human nature. Oh, how often they rode on the change horses of the Tartars for one day for more than thirty Bohemian miles without having any bread or water, and only in the afternoon or at night, and not always, they had some poor soup cooked in a hurry from boiled millet. No wonder they covered such a big distance on horses, because they could stop any time and exchange the exhausted horses for strong and fresh ones, which were brought to them by the Tartars.

[52] All camps are set up and moved by the khan's order; because he himself appoints the places for the leaders who [in their turn, appoint the places] for the commanders of thousands, and those for the commanders of hundreds, those for the commanders of tens. Besides, all of them, both noble and poor, are extremely greedy and always try to extort gifts. If they do not receive gifts immediately they torture the ambassadors with hunger or they haggle until they reach the point when the person who refused to give [gifts] voluntarily later has to offer them against his will. Therefore it happened that our brothers basically gave as a gift alms of good people which they had accepted in order to carry out the special mission entrusted to them by the Apostolic altar. Otherwise, they would have found themselves in a fix, and also in contempt while [serving] the Universal Church.

[53] Also they resent other peoples to the highest degree because even Tartar interpreters, though being of humble origin, outperform the ambassadors entrusted to them in marching and sitting [during receptions], even if these are ambassadors or legates of the Apostolic altar or the kings. Also, they do not stick to the truth as regards strangers at all. Because, first they promise many good things, and, eventually, they ruthlessly commit ongoing atrocities. For their promise is like a scorpion which looks silky but suddenly attacks with its poisonous tail sting.

[54] They also get drunk more than any other peoples of the world for each time when they throw up because of excessive drinking, they continue drinking immediately at the same place where they are accustomed to doing it many times during one and the same day. Besides, they have the habit of drinking milk of all kinds. Also, they eat a great deal unclean food: wolves, foxes, dogs, carrion, afterbirth, mice, and, if needed, human flesh. Similarly, they do not reject anything that flies, but they eat clean food together with unclean food. They do not use any cloths or table cloths when eating, and therefore they are messy eaters. They rarely wash plates and not too well if they do; the same with spoons.

[55] However, they get along well with each other; debauchery and adultery are rare things among them. Their married women are superior to women of other peoples in term of their chastity. Except that they use bad words as a joke. Theft is an extraordinary thing among them, that is why their yurts with all their belongings are not locked. If someone finds any horses or bulls, or something of this kind, they will be let to continue [their way] or will be brought to their actual owners. They have a greater abundance of horses, bulls, cows and sheep than any other people on the earth. They are friendly enough with each other and they willingly share their things due to their mutual complaisance. Besides, they are very enduring because they often sing and joke as if they had eaten very well, although they had not eaten anything for a day or two. They willingly raise one another in honours. And disorder happens rarely among them, and no wonder that they follow this [rule], because, as I mentioned above, those who violate the rules are punished ruthlessly.

[56] Now we should give a brief summary of their [ways of conducting] battles and how one can stand up against them. Every time the Tartars are going to occupy foreign lands, the army which is sent to conquer [those lands] moves forward very carefully along with all the household members, that is with their wives, children, slaves, [as well as] with the tents and all utensils, with herds of work stock and sheep, in wagons and on horseback. They also carry with them a great deal of arms, bows, quivers and arrows. When the Tartars start approaching the [enemy], they send forward very fast spies who terrify people with their suddenness and kill [them] to prevent other people from gathering an army against

them. And if they do not encounter an obstacle, they always keep moving forward quite openly, and [all the] crowd follows them with all their [belongings].

[57] If they [that is the detachments of spies] see a crowd of [enemies] which is too big, they immediately gallop back to their people and arrange the army as follows. The core of the army is located around a triumphant banner in the centre with a large number of [warriors], and at their flanks two smaller [battalions] are placed, one on each side at a small distance [from the centre] and protruding forward greatly. A few people are left to protect the women, weak and sick people, children and those [belongings] which they brought with them.

[58] When they should confront their enemies, many of them arm themselves with a large number of quivers and arrows, and, before the enemy's arrows reach them, they fire their arrows, even if this is untimely, and their firing is not well-aimed. But when they can reach their [enemy] easily, it looks rather like rain than like flying arrows, or so they say. The reason for this is the extreme thickness of the [flying] arrows. If they find their enemies unready for the [fight], they suddenly besiege them as if by a wreath [that is from all directions] and chase them along one road [left specially for this purpose] to make them run, and attack, them firing arrows unstintingly. So if anybody in the middle [discontinues] fighting, he dies in an attempt to flee. Therefore, I assume that it is better to die fighting with dignity than to look for ways to flee disgracefully.

[59] It is notable that when they move forward successfully, they themselves, while advancing, leave behind camps for the commanders of thousands and hundreds, and depending on their needs they [leave behind] people and pack animals. In this situation the largest and most fortified camps are situated very close to the major forces of the enemy.

[60] And if in the occupied lands there are towns or fortified castles (which can stand up against them successfully), where people can be attacked by arrows or thrown stones at by machines, and where they are running out of supplies, products and water or firewood, this situation can be improved by the courage and braveness of the [besieged] people. A similar situation occurred in the land of ancient Saxons who went out of the town in small groups and killed many Tartars and, while the women were putting out the fire set by the Tatars, the men defended the ring-wall; and when the Tartars got into the centre of the town through an underpass, the [besieged] people killed [many] of them and put the rest to flight. It is absolutely impossible for people to hide in the forests where they can be found in summer and winter. They [the Tartars] trail people like wild animals. However, it is safe in the sea and in the above mentioned places.

[61] To what extent one can stand up to the Tartars one can be seen from various stories of the Macabaeans which describe archers followed by troops and ambushes arranged in different ways. Besides, I believe that it is highly important to make peace [between our] rulers, so they could unite the forces and set three or more armies against the enemies, depending on how well the warriors have been trained. Besides, it is advisable to make ambushes on the flanks on selected horses. And the ballistrarias who are set up in front of the troop at least in three [rows] should fire arrows before the battle order of the Tartars is achieved, [that is] in the best and timely way, so their own fighting ranks would either run or get confused. In case the enemy is put to flight, the ballistrarias with archers, as well as those in the ambush, would chase them while the army would slowly follow them. If there are no other ballistrarias [for chasing] the enemy, then [horsemen] on armour-clad horses move forward. Protecting themselves with heavy shields closed in front of the horses, they suddenly confuse the Tartar archers. I will leave other additions on the [conduct] of wars to those who are trained to do it rather by experience than by writing.

[62] So, I beseech Your Reverence, for if I made my notes less orderly than required, then this is attributed rather not to my will but to my ignorance. Put in writing on Kalendae III of August [30th of July] 1247 AD. This brings to an end 'The Life and History of the Tartars'.

Notes

¹ The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation / by R. Skelton, Th. Marston, and G. Painter, for the Yale University Library, with a foreword by A. Vietor. New Haven; London, 1965, p. 54–101.

² *Hystoria Tartarorum* C. de Bridia monachi / Ed. et annot. A. Önnersfors. Berlin, 1967. S. 3–37.

³ *Kneepkens C.H.* Randbemerkungen zum Text der *Hystoria Tartarorum* C. de Bridia monachi // *Mittel-lateinisches Jahrbuch* 14, 1979. S. 273–277.

⁴ *Xristianskij mir i 'Velikaya Mongol'skaya imperiya'* (The christian world and 'The Great Mongol Empire'). The materials of the Franciscan mission of 1245. 'The History of the Tartars' of the Brother C. de Bridia / The Critical Text, translation from Latin by S. Aksenova and A. Yurchenko. Exposition, research and indexes by A. Yurchenko. Saint Petersburg, 2002.

⁵ A. Yurchenko. *Empire and Cosmos*. The actual and imaginary history of Chinggis Khan's campaigns based on the materials of the Franciscan mission of 1245. Saint Petersburg, 2002.

⁶ Most likely it was a reflection of the words from Innocent IV's letter to Güyük Khan dated 13 March 1245: *mundialia elementa machinae*, see: *Painter*, p. 55, n. 2.1.

⁷ This division between the West and the East is rather of political and religious nature than it is geographical, because instead of the traditional meridian of Jerusalem or the dividing line along Tanais the eastern border of the Roman Church is taken for the dividing line.

⁸ The 'Chronicle' of Brother Salimbene da Parma contains a story of Brother Johannes according to which the great Güyük Khan asked the Pope's ambassador the following question: who was more powerful in the West—the Pope or the emperor, and Brother Johannes, feeling dutiful, answered: the Pope.

⁹ *Okkodai*; lat. Occodai, mong. Ögödei, Ugedey (1186–11 December 1241), the third son of Chinggis Khan (the Chinese temple name Tai Zong). After Chinggis Khan's death he inherited the throne and received the title Khagan. He ruled from 1229 to 1241.

¹⁰ *Cha'adai*; lat. Chiaadai, mong. Ca'adai, Chagatay (?–1242), the second son of Chinggis Khan.

¹¹ *Toluy*, mong. Tolui, (1193–1232), the fourth son of Chinggis Khan. His name remained unknown to the Franciscans because of the Mongol prohibition to name and use the names of dead people.

¹² *Cuyuc*; lat. Cuyuc, mong. Güyüg, Güyük (1205–1248), the elder son of Ugedey (the Chinese temple name Ding-Zong). He ruled the Mongol Empire in 1246–1248.

¹³ *Cocten*; lat. Cocten, mong. Köden, Godan (1206–1251), Ugedey's second son.

¹⁴ *Cyrenen*; lat. Cyrenen, Sirenen, mong. Siremün (?–October 1252), not a son but a grandson of Udegey from his third son Kücü.

¹⁵ *Bati*; lat. Bati, mong. Batu (1208–1256), the second son of Jochi, the founder and first khan of Jochid Ulus (1242–1256).

¹⁶ *Ordu*; lat. Ordu, mong. Ordu, the elder son of Jochi. After his father's death acquired ownership of part of Jochid Ulus—an area in Siberia.

¹⁷ *Siban*; lat. Siban, mong. Šiban, Sheiban, the fifth son of Jochi. Later he became the owner of the steppes of Northern Kazakhstan and Siberia stretching to the Ob river.

¹⁸ *Tanuht*; lat. Chauth, Tanuht, mong. Tangyut, Tangut, the sixth son of Jochi.

¹⁹ *Kadan*; lat. Cadan, mong. Qadan. Contrary to information provided by the Franciscans, Cadan is Ugedey's son, not Chagatay's, the sixth son by seniority.

²⁰ *Buri*; lat. Burin, mong. Büri (?–1251), not a son, but a grandson of Chagatay from his eldest son Mutugen who died very young.

²¹ *Mengü*; lat. Mengü, mong. Möngke, Munke (10 January 1209–11 August 1259), the eldest son of Tolui (the Chinese temple name San-Zong), Mongolian Khaghan (July 1251–11 August 1259).

²² *Seroktan*; lat. Seroctan, mong. *Sorqaqtani, Sorkuktani (?–1252), the wife of the younger son of Chinggis Khan Tolui, the mother of the two great khans: Munke and Hubilai, her other sons are Arig-buka and Hülegü, the founder of the Mongol dynasty in Iran.

²³ *Bechak*; lat. *Bechac*, mong. Büjek, Buchek, the seventh (according to Rashid al-Din) or the eighth son (according to 'Yuanshi') of Tolui.

²⁴ *Chirpodan*; lat. Chirpodan, mong. Čormaqan, Chormagan (?–1242), a Mongol commander from the sunni ethnic group. Chormagan-noion participated in Chinggis Khan's campaigns to Middle Asia, the conquerer of Georgia and Armenia in 1232–1233 where he later was the namestnik.

²⁵ *Altisoldan* (Altisoldan)—sultan Jalal ad-Din, Khwarezm Shah's son.

²⁶ *Ornas* (Ornas)—Urgench, the capital of Khwarezm.

²⁷ There is no doubt that in the Franciscan reports Magna Bulgaria means Volga Bulgaria.

The material was translated and prepared by Alexander Yurchenko

II. Sources on the History of the Jochid Ulus During its Zenith

No. 1

Literary Monuments of Ancient Rus'.

Rus' and the Jochid Ulus in the second half of the 13–mid-14th century: the confrontation between Tver and Moscow

The text of the chronicle is followed by its sources in the form of accepted in scientific literature (Hypatian Chronicle, Laurentian Chronicle, Novgorod First Chronicle, Novgorod Fourth Chronicle, Tver Collection, Simeon Chronicle, Rog.—Rogozhsky Chronicler, Vladimir Chronicler).

In the summer of 6751 (1243) the great prince Yaroslav went to the town of Tatars to visit Batu, and he sent his ambassador Konstantin to Kanovich (Ka. Batu received Yaroslav and his people with honour and when letting him go he said to him: 'Yaroslav, be the senior of all the Russian princes'. Yaroslav returned to his land with great honour'.

Laurentian Chronicle. Column 470.

'In 6750 (1243)... of the same year the great prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovich went to the Horde to visit Batu Khan, and he sent his son Konstantin to Kanovich (Karakorum). Batu received the great prince Yaroslav with honours and before the latter left he granted him the principality among all the Russian people; and Yaroslav came back to his land with great honour'.

Tver Collection. Column 385

In 6758 (events of 1245) the Moguchiy Khan (Powerful Khan) sent an ambassador to the princes Daniil and Vasilko, who were in Dorogov, with a demand to give them Galich. 'The great khan will be very sad unless he secures towns in his land': Daniil consulted his brother and replied to Batu's demand: 'We will not give away half of our motherland but I will go to Batu myself'... And he came to Pereyasavl and met the Tatars. Then he went to Kuremsy Khan and saw what evil things they did. And he was appalled and hurt to see them in the grip of the Devil: so disgraceful were their lies and so bad were Chinggis Khan's dreams, so horrible were their slaughters, and their involvement in magic; and the tsars and princes, and noblemen who arrived should have bowed to a bush as if they were honouring the sun and the moon, and the earth, and the Devil, and the dead fathers, mothers and grandmothers. Oh, how disgraceful is their beauty! Those who hear this get very upset. He came from there to the Volga to bow to Batu Khan. One of Yaroslav's men, Songurovi by name, came up to him and said: 'Your brother Yaroslav bowed to a bush; and you should bow too', and Daniil answered: 'The Devil speaks for you; God shut your mouth and your word will not be heard'. At this moment Batu came in and God released him from their evil madness and magic; and he bowed according to their tradition and entered his tent: 'Danilo! Why did it take you so long to come here? But it is good that you came. Do you drink the black milk, our drink, Koumiss?' The latter replied; 'I have not drunk it before but I will drink if you insist'. Batu said: 'You are one of us, a Tatar: drink our drink'. Daniil drank it and bowed according to their tradition, and said: 'I am going to bow to the great princess Barakchinovi'. 'Go' he said. He bowed to her as their tradition required: and she brought wine and said: 'You are not used to drinking milk; drink wine'. Oh, the Tatar honour is worse than evil!

<...> The prince spent 20 and 5 days there, was let go and given back all his lands, and he came back home. <...>.

Hypatian Chronicle. Columns 805–808.

'In 6754 (1246)...of the same year the prince Mikhail of Chernigov together with his grandson Boris went to the town of Tatars, and when they were in his camp Batu ordered Mikhail to bow to the fire and idols. Mikhail refused to submit to their order and to bow to their 'deaf' idols, as he put it. Then he was stabbed to death without mercy. He died on 20th September, on St. Eustace's Day. Batu, however, let Boris go to his son Sartaq. Sartaq honoured prince Boris and let him go.

In autumn of the same year the prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovich died in a foreign land when he was coming back from Kanovich (Karakorum) on 30 September on St. Gregory's Day'.

Laurentian chronicle. Column 471.

'In 6754 (1246)... prince Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich called Gavriil and his brother prince Ivan Starodubsky Vsevolodovich and his sons returned to their fatherland from the land of the Tatars; Batu sent great prince Yaroslav to Kanovichi.

In the same year prince Mikhailo Vsevolodovich, Chermny's son, of Chernigov and his boyar Fyodor were killed because they refused to worship the sun, bushes and different idols.

<...> When they knew that, the rest of princes and common people who had run off to different lands started gradually gathering and coming back to their lands. The Tatars started calling them to come and see khan Batu saying, 'You shouldn't live on the land of khan Batu without bowing down to the ground before him'. Many people listened to them and came there to bow before khan Batu. Khan Batu had the following habit: if someone wanted to bow before him, he should have gone through fire at first and bow before bushes and idols. As for presents brought, sorcerers took a part of them threw at fire. After that they were let to see the tsar and pass him their presents. Many princes and their boyars were going through fire and bowing before the sun, bushes and idols for glory and each of them asked for power. The Tatars did not mind and fulfilled their requests.'

Tver Collection. Columns 286–288.

'In 6757 (1249) prince Gleb Vsevolodovich went to the Horde to see Tsar Sartaq Batuevich, Sartaq decided to set him free. In the same winter great prince Alexander Yaroslavovich came from the Horde and became the prince of Kiev and whole Rus'; his brother Andrey reigned in Vladimir'.

Tver Collection. Columns 395–396.

In 6760 (1251) Alexander Yaroslavovich, prince of Novgorod went to the land of the Tatars and they set him free with honour and granted him with leadership in his brotherhood.

<...> In that year prince Andrey Yaroslavovich and his boyars decided they would rather flee away than serve the tsars and headed to an unknown land with his princess and boyars.

The Tatars chased after prince Andrey Yaroslavich and reached him near Pereyasavl. God saved his life due to prayers of his father. The Tatars started searching for them and soon they found princess Yaroslavlya, took away her children, killed voivode Zhidoslav and the princess, Yaroslavlya's children were captured as well as an enormous number of people and livestock, so they did a lot of evil as usual and went away.

In the same year the Tatars allowed prince Oleg of Ryazan come to their land.

In the same year the grand prince Alexander returned from the Tatars to Vladimir and he was met at the Golden Gate by the metropolitan and all the abbots and citizens and he set his father Yaroslav on the throne. <...>'

Laurentian chronicle. Column 473.

'In 6760 (1251) Grand Prince Alexander Yaroslavovich went to the Horde to see Tsar Sartaq. In the same year Nevruy, Kotyak and Olabuga the brave set off to attack great prince Andrey Yaroslavovich and Suzdal land; they were going in the direction of Pereyasavl when great prince Andrey and his troops met them and the Tatars defeated them. Prince Andrey fled to Veliky Novgorod and then to Pskov then he was waiting for his princess and headed to Kolyvan'; then he set off to the land of Swedes where he was received with honour by local authorities, he sent his princess to Kolyvan and prince Andrey was killed there, over the sea, in the land of the Swedes. The Tatars, led by Nevruy captured Pereyasavl, found the princess of Yaroslav with her children, they killed the princess and captured her children, voivode Zhidislav was killed as well.'

Tver Collection. Columns 396–397.

'In 6764 (1256/57) all the princes of Suzdal went to the land of the Tatars, they respected Ulanchi and his voivodes and returned without any problems.

In the same winter Gleb returned from Kanovich and was married in the Tatar land. In the same winter the tsar's Census takers came to the Russian land and kept a tab of everything in the Russian land appointing desyatniks [decursions], sotniks [centurions], and tysyachniks [heads of a thousand] but they did not respect such religious figures as abbots, priests and census takers so on and so forth serving the

church. All of them came to Rus' because of our sins. God, please, spare us and draw their anger aside, we only rely on your mercy and humanity!"

Tver Collection. Columns 400–401.

'In 6765 (1257) bad news came from Rus' that the Tatars were going to collect tamgas and desyatinas in Novgorod land and all the people were anxious the whole summer.

In the same winter Tatar ambassadors and Alexander arrived and Vasily fled to Pleskov and the ambassadors started asking for desyatinas and tamgas but the inhabitants of Novgorod did not agree, gave them tsar's presents and let them go in peace. Prince Alexander drove his son away from Pleskov, Alexander and his retinue were executed, some of them were deprived of noses, the others lost their eyes, so all of them died violently.'

Novgorod First Chronicle. Column 82.

'In 6767 (1259)... Mikhailo Pineschinich came from Ponizovie with deceitful ambassadors and said, 'Hostile enemies have already entered Ponizovie', so the inhabitants of Novgorod got mobilized as soon as possible. In the same winter foul Tatars Berkai and Kasachik came with their wives and many other people. The great rebellion outburst in Novgorod and the Tatars collecting taxes inflicted much damage to the whole volost. After that the foul Tatars started being afraid of death and told Alexander, 'Please, provide us with guards, otherwise we will be killed'. So the prince ordered boyars' children to guard them at night. The Tatars decided, 'Give us a number of taxes or we will run away', common people did not want to fulfill their requirement, so they said, 'We will die for saint Sofia and churches of angels'. Then people divided into two camps, the ones who were on the side of good defended saint Sofia and corresponding confession. And although the foul Tatars who intended to attack the town from both sides fled away driven away by the Holy Spirit, they still did not seem to be forgotten by Christ. Having no fear in front of their fate, they said, 'We will die for Saint Sofia'. The next morning the prince left the ancient town with the foul Tatars who were rather large in number. The foul Tatars started going down the streets plundering and devastating houses and households. Apparently God decided to punish us for our sins this way. After that prince Alexander went away leaving his son Dmitri in the throne. In the same year on the eve of Boris's day there was a hard frost in the volost but God decided to spare us that time asking us to repent of our sins, all of us are sinful and we are afraid of the execution imposed by the Lord.'

Novgorod First Chronicle. Columns 82–83.

'In the year 6770 (1262) God saved the inhabitants of Rostov land from the fierce Besermyan mass, he put much anger in the hearts of peasants who could not bear the violence of the foreigners. They drove them away from Rostov, Vladimir, Suzdal and Yaroslavl. They turned collecting tribute into a real outrage, thus, sowed much evil and many peasants were killed. The humane God saw that and saved his servants from this sorrow. In the same year Izosima the criminal was killed. He was a drunkard, idle talker, blasphemous man who did not believe in Christ certainly he was a Besermyan who came over to Muhammad's side. At that time Besermyan called Kutluby came from the Tatar tsar and started committing outrages causing troubles to Christians, doing violence to the saint cross and churches. That became the last drop which overflowed the cup. People attacked their enemies, drove them away and killed some of them, foul Zosima was killed at that time in Yaroslavl, his body was left to the mercy of dogs and ravens.'

Laurentian Chronicle. Column 476.

In the year 6777 (1269) an army of Germans who were large in number arrived at Pleskov during the week of All Saints, they did not manage to devastate it but caused a lot of damage, spending there 10 days. The inhabitants of Novgorod left the town and the army of Germans saw them, they fled behind the river. The inhabitants of Novgorod arrived at Pleskov and concluded peace there of their own accord. In the same year prince Yaroslav came to Novgorod and said, 'My warriors and brothers have been defeated and you are fighting against the foreigners'... The inhabitants of Novgorod supported them and the prince was going to leave the town but the inhabitants of the town made a vow, 'Prince, you may be angry with us but do not leave us, please'. The prince did not listen to them and went away. So he sent the lord and magnates to ask for mercy and they were received in Bronnitsy. At the same time

Ratibor Kluksovich got one thousand warriors. In winter of the same year prince Yaroslav was planning to gather all the princes and a great number of troops and come to Novgorod, there was also a darugha from Vladimir called Amragan who was going to visit Kolyvan'. When the foreigners saw that, they sent their ambassadors expressing their obedience and resignation as well as desire to stop bloodshed and conclude peace.'

Novgorod First Chronicle. Columns 87–88.

'In the year 6789 (1281) the Tatar army led by Kovady and Alchedan set off to attack Dmitri, they arrived at Pereyasavl but did not find him there, they burnt down the town and churches and sacked the villages of Pereyasavl and Rostov.

In the year 6790 (1282) prince Andrey Alexandrovich and tsarevich Semen Tolignevich complained about their brother Dmitri and the Tatar army rose against him and Pereyasavl was conquered; prince Dmitri and his relatives, and servants left it and passed by Novgorod toward the direction of Koporie.

Another army set off to catch Dmitri, Touratemer and Alyn were led by Dmitri's brother prince Andrey, Semen Tolievich was with them. So prince Dmitri was taken to the Horde to the tsar Nogai.

In the same year prince Dmitri returned from the Horde from tsar Nogai and became reconciled with his brother Andrey but he killed Semen.'

Novgorod Fourth Chronicle. Columns 244–245.

'In 6791 (1283)... of the same year great prince Dmitri Alexandrovich returned from the Horde and met his brother prince Andrey.

In the same year a lot of evil was sown in Rus' (Ruthenia). The Besermyan Akhmat initiated violence in the Kursk principality and bought up all the tributes from the Tatars which caused trouble for the princes and common people, he also established two slobodas in possessions of Oleg, prince of Rylsk, and used much violence near Vorgol and Rylsk. Prince Oleg and Svyatoslav, prince of Lithuania, turned to tsar Telebuga on this account. Tsar Telebuga provided Oleg with reinforcement and ordered him to devastate both slobodas. At that time Akhmat was at Nogai's, when he knew that his slobodas had been devastated, he slandered them and said, 'Oleg and Svyatoslav are not princes, they are robbers who are going to harm you. If you don't trust me, send your messengers to them and ask them to come and see you. If they refuse, I am right'. Prince Oleg did not dare to come to Nogai, tsar Nogai got angry, directed his army against Oleg, ordered to punish him and misappropriated his principedom. The Tatars approached Vorgol on 13 January. Prince Oleg fled to tsar Telebuga and Svyatoslav fled to the forest with 13 large troops and filled it in with people. The boyars were given to Akhmet, he beat them and left his two brothers in those slobodas. <...>

In the year 6792 (1284) two Besermyans were going from one sloboda to another with more than 30 Russians; prince Svyatoslav defeated them and killed more than 25 Russians and those two brothers managed to flee as well as others from both slobodas.

In the same year Oleg returned from the Tatars and sent his ambassador to Svyatoslav saying, 'you did not go to the tsar with me although you had promised. That means we have become irreconcilable enemies. Only God can settle the dispute between us'. In the same year Oleg and the Tatars came and killed Svyatoslav while Alexander, Yaroslav's brother, killed Oleg and two his sons.'

Vladimir Chronicle. Column 97.

'In 6798 (1290) there was a lunar eclipse: it became blood-red and then turned into darkness. At the same time the Tatars were mobilized, Tokhta, Telebuga and Aguy headed to Tokta. <...>

In 6799 (1291)... tsar Nogai killed Telebugou and Algoy.

In 6801 (1293)... On Tudan's military campaign. Princes Andrey Alexandrovich, Fyodor, Dmitri and Konstantin came from the Horde. The Tatar army led by Tsar Tudan came with them to attack prince Dmitri Alexandrovich but the prince went to Pleskov. The Tatar captured Vladimir, Pereyasavl, Moscow, Volog, 14 town in total, and sowed much evil in the Russian land, they killed many peasants, many of them were captured. The inhabitants of Novgorod sent Semen Klimovich with presents to tsar Tudan; prince Andrey heard his brother leave Pleskov for Novgorod and the Tatars army came back to their land.'

Novgorod Fourth Chronicle. Column 248.

'In the same year (6822/1314)... Fyodor Rzhevsky came to Novgorod from prince Yury of Moscow and called for governor-generals of Mikhailo and kept them at the court while the inhabitants of Novgorod headed to the Volga River; prince Dmitri Mikhailovich left Tver and he was standing on one of the banks of the Volga before strong frosts; prince Mikhail was in the Horde then. He concluded peace with Dmitri and then sent prince Yury to Moscow and returned to Novgorod himself. In the same winter prince Yury and his brother Afanasy arrived in Novgorod before the great Shrovetide and the inhabitants of Novgorod were pleased to see them. <...>

In the year 6823 (1315) On 15 March 6823 (1315), on Lazar's Saturday, Grand Prince Yury of Novgorod was invited by the tsar to go to the Horde and see him, so he left his brother Afanasy in Novgorod. In the same year prince Mikhailo came to Rus' from the Horde with the Tatars, foul Taitemet was among them. The inhabitants of Novgorod and prince Afanasy knew about that, set off to Torzhok and came there within 6 weeks. At the same time prince Mikhailo, the inhabitants of Ponizovie, and the Tatars headed to Torzhok; so they met in the battlefield. That was the Lord's will. There was a furious fight between them and there many human losses, many boyars and good people from Novgorod were killed... some of them fled to the town and locked there with prince Afanasy. Prince Mikhailo sent his messengers to Torzhok and asked 'to give up prince Afanasy and Fyodor Zhrevsky, then he would conclude peace with them'. The inhabitants of Novgorod said, 'We will not give you up Afanasy, all of us will die fairly for Saint Sofia'. Then prince Mikhailo sent his messengers against and asked 'to give up Fyodor Zhrevsky', at first they did not want to but then agreed and recieved 50,000 grivnas of silver and concluded peace and kissed the cross. Prince Mikhailo called for prince Afanasy and boyars of Novgorod and arrested them and sent them to Tver as prisoners and the rest of people in the town were sold and their possessions were misappropriated. The battle occurred on 10 February, martyr St. Charalambos' day. Prince Mikhailo sent his governor to Novgorod and Semen Klimovich got the posads.'

Novgorod First Chronicle. Columns 94–95.

'In 6825 (1317) prince Yury came from the Horde with a sophisticated ambassador called Kavgadiy; Grand Prince Mikhailo let them near Kastroma and all the princes of Suzdal were with him and they were standing at the Volga River for a long time; having negotiated with Kavgadiy, prince Mikhailo passed his throne to Yury and went to Tver and laid the foundation of the local Kremlin. <...>

In the same winter prince Yury with Kavgady and all the princes of Suzdal left Kostroma for Rostov, Rostov for Pereyasavl and intended much harm to Christians; then they left Pereyasavl for Dmitrov and Dmitrov for Klin. <...>

Prince Yury, the Tatars and all the warriors of Suzdal started fighting against Tver volost, burnt down their villages and dwellings, captured many people and then they were standing 15 versts away from the town and spent 5 weeks at that place and three months in Tver region in general, the ambassadors of Kavagady came to visit great prince Mikhail palavering him into concluding peace but those were futile efforts. Grand Prince Mikhailo mobilized his soldiers and inhabitants of Tver and Kashin rose against Yury while Yury was leading his troops against Mikhailo; they meat each other and there was the great battle and God helped great prince Mikhail Yaroslavich as many his opponents were killed; princes got many trophies and brought them to Tver, princess of Yury Konchak was also taken there, prince Yury himself and the rest of his retinue fled to Veliky Novgorod and Kavgady ordered his retinue to roll down the flags and headed to the camp himself. That happened on 22 December. The next morning the grand prince Kavgady, they concluded peace and the prince and his retinue were allowed to go to Tver with respect.

In the same winter prince Yury and the inhabitants of Novgorod came to Brod and Grand Prince Mikhailo met them halfway and they proclaimed peace. In the same winter Grand Prince Mikhailo sent his son Konstantin to the Horde.

In 6826 (1318) great prince Mikhailo sent Olekso Merkovich to Moscow with peace and prince Yury killed him.

In the same year prince Yury Danilovich went to the Horde with Kavgadey... Prince Yury reached the Horde with the illegal and damned Kavdadey who was guided by the Devil started setting illegal tsar Ozbyak against Grand Prince Mikhail saying, 'Prince Mikhailo collected a lot of tribute in different

towns and now he is heading to the foreigners, not to you'. The Tsar became angry, he ordered to starve his son, prince Konstantin, and locked him in a monastery. But the Tsar ordered to set him free, otherwise he would never see his tribute. He had to listen to them and ordered him to be released.'

Tver Collection. Columns 410–411.

'In the year 6826 (1317)... that same year Grand Prince Yury left the Horde of the Tatars and inhabitants of Ponizovie. They headed to Tver to attack prince Mikhail. Sending Telebuga they also asked the inhabitants of Novgorod; and they came to Torzhok to oppose prince Mikhail, they joined the troops of prince Yury 40 versts away from Tver, at that moment, prince Mikhail left Tver and they started a furious combat, prince Yury had especially many human losses, his brother Boris and Yury's princess Yasha were taken to Tver and intended to be killed there; prince Yury himself fled to Novgorod and called for the inhabitants of Novgorod, they came to Novgorod and Pleskov, soon lord Davyd joined them, they came to the Volga River and had one more battle against prince Mikhail on his way to the Horde, so Yury's brother and princess were set free. So the inhabitants of Novgorod came home in spring and prince Yury set off to Moscow and then to the Horde.

In 6827 (1318) Prince Mikhail of Tver was killed by the tsar in the Horde and Yury became Grand Prince. <...>'

Novgorod First Chronicle. Columns 95–96.

'In 6827 (1318) Grand Prince Mikhail Yaroslavich of Tver was killed in the Horde by the order of Tsar Azbek. This Tsar reigned in the Horde who adopted the faith of Bulgarians was not going to spare Christians. <...>

This punishment can be explained by our sins. But let us recall the past. At that time many princes became enemies and our hostile, foul Devil, collecting an enormous army with the help of tsars of the Horde. Grand Prince Yury Danilovich stayed in the Horde and Grand Prince Mikhail was allowed to return to Rus'. In ensuing years the Ismaelites made their living by outrages and bribes, misappropriated a lot of silver coins, Yury Danilovich became the great prince, illegal and foul Kavgady was released and headed to Rus' with him. Blessed Grand Prince Mikhailo met him with his troops and told great prince Yury Danilovich that he knew that he had become the Grand Prince but he still should not enter his lands and possessions'. Devil did not want to stop the bloodshed because of our sins, so the army of prince Yury Danilovich came to Tver as long as pitiless Kavgady, many Tatars and Mordvins, they started burning down the town and many villages. Everything was in distress and sorrow, men were tortured and killed and their women were violated, all the authorities of Tver were burnt down up to the Volga river. Afterwards they crossed it and continued to sow their outrage on the opposite bank. <...>

Blessed Grand Prince Mikhailo made a sign of the cross and rose against the army, he saw a great deal of warriors. The Cumans gathered and furious combat started which resulted in the victory of Grand Prince Mikhail. A great number of horsemen fell heavily to the ground like sheaves.

Grand Prince Yury Danilovich saw many people dying in the battlefield and left for Tozhesk with a small army and then he headed to Veliky Novgorod. Grand Prince Mikhail did not order to beat the foul Kavgady and his companions-in-arms'. <...>

Yury Danilovich united the forces of inhabitants of Novgorod and Pskov and went to Tver. He was met by Grand Prince Mikhail, they did not want to see bloodshed again and became reconciled. So Grand Prince Mikhailo said, 'Brother, let's go to the Horde together and complain to the tsar, probably he will be ready to help us.'

Grand Prince Yuri Danilovich united his efforts with Kavgady and they set off to the Horde enlisting the support of all princes of Ponizovie and boyars from small towns and Novgorod by the order of Kavgady and composed false witness against Grand Prince Mikhail.

Grand Prince Mikhail sent his son Konstantin to the Horde and he went there himself a bit later after he received the ministrations of Bishop Varsonofius and the abbots and priests and his spiritual father Abbott Ivan at the Nerl River purifying his soul and said, 'God, I was thinking for a long time how to help these Christians, they should not take punishment for my sins. God, bless me, if I happen to shed blood, let it be enough to make satisfaction for the sins of these Christians'. That is what his prayer. <...>

He went to Vladimir with his son prince Dmitri and prince Alexander and when he arrived there, the tsar's ambassador called Akhmyl came from the Horde saying, 'The tsar is calling for you, you have one month time to come and see him, otherwise he will aim a stroke at you and your towns'. Kavgady insulted you saying, 'He will never be in the Horde!' The boyars thought and said, 'Your son is already in the Horde. Send someone else'. His sons told them, 'Father, please, do not come to see the tsar, beware of his anger, send one of us there'. The prince full of resignation said, 'If the tsar calls for me, he seems to need my head. If I reject his requirement, all our motherland will be in danger and many Christians will be killed. It will be better for me to run this risk myself than expose them to danger' <...>

He arrived at the Horde during the month of September, on the 6th day... prince Konstantin met him there, the tsar gave him a bodyguard so that no one may offend him. He gave presents to all the princes and tsarinas of the Horde, then the tsar himself, and spent one month and a half in the Horde. The tsar said to his princes, 'One should judge prince Mikhailo and Grand Prince of Moscow Yury Danilovich. The one who wins will be in my good graces and the one who loses will be executed'. So he made a wreath for one of them. One day all the princes came to the tsar's court and presented many petitions against Grand Prince Mikhailo saying that 'he had collected many tributes without sharing with the tsar. A true sufferer for Christ, Mikhail loved the truth and repudiated any lies in their testimony, and in such courts said: 'Put those who mock them in court, judge their disgrace', but his reputation was blackened as a result of successful initiative of the dishonest Kavgady. He judged the prince unfairly without listening to his true words of Grand Prince Mikhail, the thoughts of Christ's warrior were not justified in their country.

In a week after that trial blessed prince Mikhailo was brought before the court again, being tied up he listened to the following verdict, 'You did not give all the tributes to the tsar, opposed the ambassador and tortured the princess of Grand Prince Yury'. Blessed prince Mikhailo and his witnesses replied, 'If I misappropriated tsar and princes' treasures, I would be extremely rich, your representatives are lying'. As far as the princess is concerned, he said, 'I've never done it to her, that is malicious calumny'. But the judges refused to believe him saying there was no single true word in his speech. As a result they made the following decision, 'He will be put into irons and condemned to death unless he listens to us and obeys'. The next night gusards appointed by seven princes came and put him into irons. He spent all the night being tied up. At the same time all his boyars, servants and spiritual father Alexander were driven away and he stayed alone and said to himself, 'All my retinue was driven away, I have nobody to rely on now'.

The next morning the godless Tatars ordered to put the log of a heavy tree on the saint which caused him excruciating torment... The godless Tatars ordered to leave the tsar behind as a captive. <...>

The next day foul Kavgady exuding poison striving for ruining the soul of patient Grand Prince Mikhailo ordered to take him into the hall, called for loads of people and asked to put the saint on his knees. So he committed another outrage against the prince and finally he said, 'Let Mikhailo know what the tsar's tradition is like. That is how he reacts when he is in anger even when it comes to a person from his tribe. Tomorrow he will recover from that and he will again be as he was.' <...>

The blessed and Grand Prince was in distress and sorrow for 26 days behind the Terek River at the Sentsa River not far from the town of Tetyakov having passed by Yassk and Cherkassk Mountatins at the Iron Gate. On Wednesday early in the morning he stood up and said in an upset voice, 'Dear prince, Kavgady, great prince Yury and many other people are going from the Horde'. He got up and exclaimed, 'I know that they are going to kill me'. <...>

Kavgady and Grand Prince Yury sent murderers to prince Mikhailo of Tver and headed to the local market themselves. The murderers acted like wild beasts and merciless blood suckers, they drove away the blessed people and captured him by and a tree and struck him forcefully and broke a wal. They jumped upon the tent and completely destroyed it after a furious fight. They brought him low and started beating him unmercifully. One of them called Romanets took out his knife and struck a blow to his right side and cut out his honest heart. So the soul of the blessed prince went to heavens on Wednesday 22 November at 7 o'clock in the morning. <...>

The Russians and Tatars plundered the tent of the blessed prince and nobody touched his naked dead body. One of them came to the market and said, 'They have already fulfilled your order'. Kavgady and

great prince Yuri came to see his dead body. When Kavgady saw his dead body, he said furiously, 'Ar-en't you his brother? Why is his body lying here this way?'. Then the great prince ordered to cover his body with his shirt, then it was put on the board and raised on the cart and afterwards it was taken over the river which is called Adzh, or called grief. <...>

His boyars and servants sprinted to cover trying to take refuge with the tsarina of the Horde, some of them were captured, beat unmercifully like evildoers, taken to their camps and put into irons. Princes and boyars themselves were drinking wine in the same discussing what they had charged the blessed prince with. <...>

...The body of the blessed ambassador was taken to Majar with his Boyars...

Then it was taken to Bezdezh. Soon they approached the town...

Then it was taken to Rus' (Ruthenia), to different Russian towns and reached Moscow and it was taken to the church of the great Saviour and monasteries.'

Simeon I Chronicle. Columns 375–396.

'In 6826 (1320) Tatar Gayapchar and a Jewish debtor to Kashin and caused many problems.'

Rogozhsky Chronicler. Column 41.

'In 6833 (1324) great prince Dmitri Mikhailovich set off to the Horde. In the same winter on 21 November, on Philip's day, or on the day of memory of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, prince Dmitri Mikhailovich of Tver killed Grand Prince Yuri Danilovich in the Horde, took his body to Moscow and placed it in the church of St. Michael.'

Simeon Chronicle. Column 89.

'On 15 September 6834 (1325) the two princes Dmitri Mikhailovich of Tver and Alexander Novoselsky were killed in the Horde, on the same day and at the same place, on the Kondrakly river.'

Rogozhsky Chronicler. Column 41.

'In the year 6835 (1327)... On the day of Dormition of the Holy Mother of God prince Alexander Mikhailovich killed many Tatars in Tver and other towns and killed many Khopyl merchants; then a powerful Tatar ambassador called Shevkal came from the Horde. Prince Alexander sent his ambassadors to Novgorod, he wanted to flee there but he was not received there properly. In that same year prince Ivan Danilovich sent his governor to Novgorod and headed to the Horde himself. That same winter a Tatar army which was large in number came and captured Tver, Kashin, Novy Torzhok volost, and devastated all the Russian land, only Novgorod was saved by God and St. Sofia. Prince Alexander arrived at Pleskov, Konstantin, his brother, and Vasily headed to Ladoga; the Tatars sent their ambassadors to Novgorod and the local population gave them 2000 silver coins and sent their own ambassadors to voivodes with loads of gifts. Then the Tatars killed Ivan, prince of Ryazan. <...>.'

Novgorod First Chronicle. Column 98.

'In the year 6835 (1327)... That same year a powerful ambassador called Shchelkan came from the Horde to Tver with many Tatars and started committing great unprecedented violence, they wanted to kill prince Alexander and his brother, Shchelkan wanted to become the prince of Tver and appoint other princes in different Russian towns, he also wanted Christians to adopt the Besermyan faith. So the prince mobilised the inhabitants of Tver and they set off to attack Shchelkan saying, 'he wanted bloodshed to occur, so we have to protect them'. When they knew that Alexander and his army had set off to attack them, they came to the fore and started a battle at sunrise and they were fighting all day long and by the evening Alexander had gained a victory and Shchelkan had been defeated. Alexander burnt down the court of his father, so hand his retinue were burnt alive. They won on the day of Dormition of the Mother of God and killed all their Khopyl guests. Ivan Danilovich headed to the Horde and in winter an army, 5 temniks, and prince Ivan Danilovich came to Rus' and captivated Tver and caused much damage to its population; prince Alexander fled to Pskov.'

Novgorod Fourth Chronicle. Column 261.

'In the year 6835 (1327)... That same autumn prince Ivan Danilovich of Moscow came to the Horde. In the same winter an enormous Tatar army, Fedorchuk, Turalyk, Syuga, 5 temniks and voivodes, and prince Ivan Danilovich came to Rus' from the Horde by the order of the tsar and captured Tver and

Kashin, and other towns and volosts, villages and all Tver principedom and devastated them, and it was in profound distress and sorrow because of our numerous sins, Christian blood was shed by the pagan Tatars, many Russian were captured, another part of them were killed with swords and all the rest were shot and killed with different kinds of weapons and delivered onto death in different ways. Prince Alexander fled Tver for Pskov.

<...> In that same year prince Ivan Yaroslavich of Ryazan was killed. Our prince Ivan Danilovich and his Moscow and all the region were saved from the foul Tatars by the mercy of God.

In the year 6836 Grand Prince Ivan Danilovich was Grand Prince of all Rus' and since then there were no wars for forty years and the foreign Tatars stopped waging wars in the Russian lands and treating Christians violently, so they could take a break and rest from the Tatar burden and violence, since then there was calm in the Russian lands'.

Simeon Chronicle. Column 90.

'In the year 6836 (1328) Grand Prince Ivan Danilovich and Konstantin Mikhailovich were on the road and inhabitants of Novgorod sent Fyodor Kolesnitsy to the Horde to the tsar; they were released and Tsar Ozbyak ordered to search for prince Alexander. Prince Ivan sent his ambassadors and the inhabitants of Novgorod sent master Moses and tysyatsky Avraam to Pskov to Prince Alexander ordering him to go to the Horde but he disobeyed. Ivan Danilovich was the Grand Prince and nothing disturbed the Russian land.'

Novgorod Fourth Chronicle. Columns 261–262.

'In the year 6838 (1330)... The foul devil forced the Russian princes to search for prince Alexander and they set out in search of him by the order of foul tsar Ozbyak. Prince Ivan Danilovich came to Novgorod with Tver princes: Konstantin, Vasily, Alexander of Suzdal and mobilized the inhabitants of Novgorod, and they sent their boyar Luka Protasiev and the inhabitants of Novgorod sent master Moses and tysyatsky Abraham to Pskov and said to Alexander, 'Go to the Horde and protect Christians from the foul Tatars'. Alexander replied, 'It is too late, They have already captured Tver, captivated many people, some of them were killed with swords, the others with knives', then he felt sorry for them, headed to the Horde, and added, 'I will die alone for all the Christians'. The inhabitants of Pskov said to him, 'Please, lord, do not go to the Horde. We will die at once if something happens to you'. Prince Ivan and all the princes and inhabitants of Novgorod opposed the Pskov army and stayed at Opok, when metropolitan Theognostus knew that, he cursed them and unchurched them. Then he said to the inhabitants of Pskov, 'My brothers and friends, you won't be cursed and unchurched because of me, I'm leaving your town, my oa-taking by kissing a cross does not concern you' and went to Lithuania. The inhabitants of Pleskov sent ambassadors with petitions to prince Ivan, inhabitants of Novgorod, and to Opoka and became reconciled with that.'

Novgorod Fourth Chronicle. Columns 262–263.

'In the summer of 6848 (1340) <...>

On 29 December of the same year prince Alexander Mikhailovich and his son Fedor were killed in the Horde, tsar Ozbyak invited them there with the help of his flattery, they listened to his flattering speeches and came, so they met their demise there.

In the same winter Tovluby left the Horde, he was set free by the tsar and his army to reach Smolensk, he was accompanied by prince Ivan Korotopoly and came to Pereslavl-Ryazansky. Prince of Pronsk Alexander Mikhailovich headed to the Horde to see the tsar and pass him tributes and he was met by Korotopol, robbed him and took to Pereslavl-Ryazansky where he was killed by his brother Ivan and the arme left Pereslavl for Smolensk. Prince Ivan Danilovich sent the army with Tovluby by the order of the tsar; prince Konstantin Vasilievich of Suzdal, Konstantin of Rostov, Ioann Yaroslavich of Yury, Ioann Drytsky, Fyodor Fominsky, and voivode Alexander Ivanovich, Fedor Onkifovich. The army spent many days at Smolensk, then they retreated but did not capture the town; by the mercy of God and Holy Virgin all the Russian army was safe and sound, nothing had harmed it.'

Novgorod Fourth Chronicle. Column 270.

'In the year 6854 (1346)... An execution was held near an oriental country, in Vornats, Sarai, Astrakhan and other towns: people including Besermyans were dying from starvation, it was hardly possible to bury all of them; God executed them like Egyptians.'

Novgorod Fourth Chronicle. Column 276.

'In the year 6857 (1349) the King of Krakow came and captured Volhynia and much evil was sowed by the peasants converted Christian churches to Latin worship. The inhabitants of Novgorod and the Dvina region opposed the Murmans. Prince Semen sent prince Fyodor Glebovich to the Horde as well as Fedor Shubayevich and called for the Lithuanian princes, Mikhailo and Koriyad, and Simeon Svi-lovsky, Aiksh; they were taken to Moscow by the tsar's ambassador Totouy.'

Novgorod Fourth Chronicle. Columns 279.

This material was prepared by Iskander Izmaylov

No. 2**Letter of Pope Benedict XII to Khan Öz Beg, his wife Taidolu and son Jani Beg in 1340**

In the spiritual realm, Pope Benedict XII (1334–1342) (the Frenchman from Foy Jacques Fournier) was more adept than on the political field. He was poorly versed in the intricacies of diplomacy, tried to get out from under the control of King Philip VI of France (1328–1350) and attempted to come to terms with Ludwig of Bavaria, but the French King via his subjects convinced the Pope that this could lead to heresy and rebellion. Benedict XII tried to organise another crusade against Muslims, but met opposition from Philip VI, who was engaged in a war with England.

Source cited in the publication: The Tale of the Roman Catholic missionary Dominican Julian on the trip to the country of Volga Hungarians made before the year of 1235 and the letters of Pope Benedict XII to Khan Uzbek, his wife Taydolu and son Jani Beg in 1340 ¹// Zapiski Odesskogo obshhestva istorii i drevnostej (Notes of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities. Odessa), 1863. Pp. 998–1006.

'2. Letter of Pope Benedict XII to Khan Uzbek

Bishop Benedict and his retinue. To His Majesty khan Uzbek, the Emperor of the Tatars, may the current mercy lead you to glory in the future. We received the sons of noble Petrano del Ortho (de Lorto), the former ruler of Kaffa and Albert, his friend practicing Catholicism, messengers of your Majesty, and the gracious son of Helium (Helya) from Hungary, Franciscan, messenger of noble Prince Jani Beg (Gynybeck), your first-born son assigned to us, with joy and respect and we listened to what they tried to suggest on your behalf patiently and discussed it later. The mentioned messengers, describing your greatness, power, as well as the sense of love and respect, you feel about St. Apostle capital, explained to us everything by attaching a nice story that you received our messengers we had sent before to the Chinese Empire (Cathayense) with respect and honour expressing your respect to God, us and the Apostle capital mentioned above, and commanded to give them money and all necessary things humanly and provide them with everything they heed, not poor but even luxurious stuff. Then they added that you favourably fulfilled our requests and exhortations with which we had entrusted your grace with Christians Catholics referring to the Church of Rome, living in your Empire, you exaggerated their generosity and mercy giving them liberty to continue building churches and other religious constructions, and preach the word of God for bishops and religious figures, and administer sacraments according to the custom and rituals of St. Roman Church, mother and teacher of all the faithful. In addition to that when several foul people dared to make an attempt upon your life and besieged you at night in your Palace burning it and after that they tried to charge the Christians mentioned above with this malicious deed, You successfully managed to cop with this danger with the help of God, keeping in mind our requests and inspired by God's wisdom, found this charge slander and calumny and set them at liberty except for three those who are alleged to join evildoers and are said to be punished with them. All that is highly pleasing to God and to us and our capital, loving justice and mercy and approving what is worthy approval enlarges the glory of your name and makes you worthy of obtaining the Divine grace. Indeed, we hope and believe that Divine Providence which does not make mistakes in their prescriptions will inspired you with these and other pious deeds in which you succeed as is well known and send encouragement to your heart so that you could finally know the truth, that is Christ, and being enlightened with the light of Catholicism, you will enter that very flock headed by one and only Shepherd and will not be deprived of eternal pastures of saturation until the end of your life. For this reason we ask your Majesty as representatives of God to think of how short and sometimes unfair human life is and succeed in everything you do to join heavenly hosts for your salvation. This and all other matters relating to your salvation are what we are asking God for. We are rendering thanks to your Majesty for helping Christians Catholics

¹ From the collection of records relating to the history of Hungary stored in the Vatican Archive, published in 1858 in Rome by Augustino Theiner, under the title: *Vetera monumenta historica, Hungariam sacram illustratia, maximam partem nondum edita, ex tabulariis vaticanis deprompta et collecta ac serie chronologica disposita ab Augustino Theiner. Tomus primus ab Honorio pp. III. usque ad. Clementem pp. VI. 1216–1352. Romae, 1859.*

as it was mentioned above and for gifts from you, from your first-born son and the great Empress, your spouse, given us by your messengers and received with gratitude. We are attaching to the requests and exhortations above our desire to see your mercy to the Christian Catholics subordinate to the mentioned Roman Church always grow. In addition, since we learned that there are quarrels and conflicts between you and the officials and citizens of Hungarian and Polish kingdoms at the boundaries of your state which cause murders, devastation, and even more serious risks, we want to ask you to cease these attacks. If you are attacked by some of your opponents, we will do our best with the help of God so that you could be satisfied with the outcome. Avignon, 17 August, the sixth year of high priesthood (1340).

3. Letter of the same Pope to Jani Beg

Bishop Benedict and his retinue. To nobleman, Prince Jani Beg, first-born son of His Majesty Uzbek, Emperor of the Tatars, may the current mercy lead you to glory in the future. We favourably received Helius's son from Hungary, a Franciscan, representative of your Majesty who has been introduced to us recently taking into consideration our respect to you and his honesty and what he was going to say. We listened to that graciously and comprehended it diligently. Although we have already heard of your love given you by the Lord and that you are kindly disposed towards the St. Apostolic capital and the Roman Church, the mother of all faithful Christians and teachers, as well as your mercy to Christian Catholics who are subordinate to the Roman Church living in the Empire of your father for love of God and respect to us and to the Apostolic capital in numerous reports, however the mentioned messenger praising for you these and many other noble deeds told us many pleasant things about you and your virtues God had granted you with. Rejoicing at your virtuous deeds and wishing your salvation and success in everything which can bring you grace in this life and glory of eternal bliss in the future, we respectfully ask for your nobility to get the instructions of Ilya mentioned above, your loving messenger which is beyond doubt taking care of everything you need for your salvation. Please, do not let the the feeling of awe cultivated by the Lord go out, extend your patronage to those Christians and show them your good will so that God himself who is the source of mercy enlightened you with his grace and true faith and directed your actions to make sure that they please him and that they are useful for your salvation. We are rendering thanks again for your gift presented by your messenger mentioned above and for mercy rendered to the mentioned Christians. Given in Avignon, 17 August, in the sixth year.

4. Letter of the same Pope to Uzbek's wife Taidolyu

Bishop Benedict and his retinue. To the worthiest Tsarina Taidolu (Taydolu), Empress of Northern Tartaria, may your current mercy lead to glory in the future. A day or two Ilya from Hungary, Franciscan and noble Petrano del Orto, former ruler of Kaffa, and Albert, his companion, messengers of his Royal tsar of Tatars Emperor Uzbek, your spouse, tried to show us the way you treat Christian Catholics subordinate to the Roman church and living in the country and your readiness to extend patronage and assistance having a profound respect to us and St. Roman church. We listened to the report of the mentioned messengers glorifying your name both because of that and for many other reasons with great pleasure, we are rejoicing and thank God who gave you these feelings, hoping that he does it so that you could finally comprehend and adopt Christ without being deprived of joy of eternal life at the end of this unhappy and unstable life. For this reason we are asking your Majesty to extend your patronage to those Christian Catholics continuing your great deeds and adopting true Catholic faith without which no one can be saved. We promise to say prayers for the mental and bodily salvation of yours, your spouse, your children and children. We are rendering thanks for your mercy provided to the Christians mentioned above and the gift sent on your behalf which we received gratefully showing our respect to you. Given in Avignon, 17 August, in its sixth year.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 3

Yarliqs of the Tatar Khans to Moscow metropolitans

Introduction, source and review cited in the publication: *Yarly'ki tatarskix xanov moskovskim mitropolitam: Kratkoe sobranie* (Yarliqs of the Tatar Khans to Moscow metropolitans: Short collection) // *Pamyatniki russkogo prava*. Ed. 3. / Edited by L. Cherepnin. Moscow, 1955. Pp. 463–491.

'A Short collection of Khan yarliqs is one of the few remaining file sources that depict the system of the Tatar-Mongol Dominion in the Nor–Eastern Rus'... The Golden Horde khans in an effort to ensure the support of the Russian church, gave the Russian clergy benefits that were strictly defined in their feed-in immunity charters—yarliqs. They released clergy from fees in favor of khans and their henchmen.

Although the yarliqs that have reached us originated from the Tatar khans, they also reflected the norms of Russian law in relation to the clergy. The study of yarliqs gives an indication of the diversity of legal norms which had application in Rus'. The yarliqs also show that senior representatives of the Russian Church hierarchy sought to use the patronage of the Tatar Khans in order to preserve their land, wealth and power over the dependent peasants.

The yarliqs provide the characterisation of various forms of fixed property of spiritual feudal lords.

The information about the numerous taxes across Nor–Eastern Rus' (Ruthenia) are of great value for studying the structure of financial relations in the Russian state and are reflected in the yarliqs.

A part of the khans' yarliqs, that are stored in the archives of the Russian metropolitans was translated from the Uighur language into Russian and with an epilogue. That is how the short collection of yarliqs appeared. The high quality translation of documents testifies to the development of practical diplomacy in Rus' in the 14–15th centuries. The thirteen lists of yarliq collections that reached us are in the form several types of two recensions. The first recension is a complete one consisting of three types: the Trinity I preserved in a single list of the middle of the 15th century (on it we print the yarliqs); Trinity II preserved in two lists (one list of Trinity II refers to the 1470–s, the other list—Ovchinnikovsky—to the 1670s.); the Lvov one (four lists).

The text of the complete recension on the Lvov list was included in the Lvov Chronicle, where it was put no later than the middle of the 16th century. The second recension, the incomplete one (the last yarliq and conclusion are absent from it) only in some cases provides a better manuscript of the collection to be able to read it, which is the result of the work of the later copyists. It consists of two types: the Voskresensky (put in the appendix to the chronicle collection in the Voskresensky and Archive I lists) and the Dated (in it the dates of the yarliqs are marked). The Dated type is comprised of the lists from the Archive II and Dubrovsky chronicle collection of the 16th century as well as the Synodal and Uvarov lists from the metropolitan collection of the 16th century.

In the 1540s a lengthy collection of yarliqs began to be compiled. These represented the later processing of texts from the short anthology which included the false yarliq of Khan Uzbek to Metropolitan Peter, based upon the model of Khan Mengu-Timir's yarliq.

The drafters of the lengthy meeting belonged to the Russian church authorities, pursued the problem of falsifying historical documents to prove the inviolability of the rights of the clergy to its fixed property and on the lack of jurisdiction over the clergy by secular authorities. This collection has been preserved in two forms: incomplete (without the 'yarliq' of Khan Uzbek) and complete (with 'yarliq. of Khan Uzbek). The extensive collection has not been printed in this collection.

YARLIQS² WERE GIVEN BY HORDE KHANS TO THE METROPOLITANS OF KIEV
AND ALL RUS' TO RULE CHURCHES

1. [1379]

TYULYAK'S YARLIQ WAS GIVEN TO METROPOLITAN MIKHAIL
THE FIRST YARLIQ WAS GIVEN BY TSAR TYULYAK TO METROPOLITAN MIKHAIL

² For a historical and legal review of the 'Yarliqs', see below. Textological comment of 'Yarliqs' is omitted.—
Editor's note

By the mercy of God Tulyak's order according to the testaments of grandfathers and great grandfathers led by Mamai and addressed to ulus princes and commanders, volost officials, and princes, and scribes, and tamozhniks, and poberezhniks, and visiting ambassadors, and sokolniks, and pardusnik, and buralozhnik, and zastavshhik, and lodeishhik, and many other categories of people.

At first priests said prayers for Chinggis Khan and then for tsars Aziz and Berdebek and received khan yarliqs for that because it was necessary, no matter what taxes and tributes were. Right now according to the yarliqs of predecessors we decided to grant metropolitan Mikhail the corresponding yarliq. Since he was appointed in Vladimir, he has said prayers for us, all our clan and tribe. Thus, we decided that he shouldn't pay tribute in any form; no money, podvoda, foodstuff, drinks, no gifts or present should be asked from him. They are not obliged to deliver a saddled horse to a rider either. No one is allowed to enter churches, clerical waters, lands, vegetable gardens, vineyards, mills and plunder them. If someone dares to take something there, he will have to get it back immediately. No one is allowed to destroy churches. If someone dares to destroy them, he will face consequences and die.

And you, Metropolitan Mikhail, pray that if you are granted those Church houses or lands or waters and in the gardens and vineyards or over the religious people, –you are free to set duties on what is at your disposal. Or it will be made through theft or lie or some evil deed and you will not be able to see it, but you will do as God orders. And will pray to God for us, and you will be as before, but we will not say about this.

Having made this decision, we gave these yarliqs with a scarlet tamga in acknowledgement in the sheep year of daryka on the 10th day of sylgat month when the Horde was roaming not far from Velkoluz. It was written on

2. [26 September 1347]

YARLIQ OF TAIDULA TO THE RUSSIAN PRINCES

2 TSARINA TAIDULA GAVE A YARLIQ TO METROPOLITAN IOAN

Taidul's word to taida. Metropolitan Ioan has been praying for us since the very first kind days. He should not pay taxes or tribute as he prays for us. Everyone must be aware of that. If it comes to any taxes or problems in other towns, listen to them carefully and then judge them. Or if there are complaints about priests, satisfy them yourself so that they prayed for us.

You, Russian princes, led by Semyon have changed nothing, you are doing the same things as your predecessors.

So we gave him the charter with a nishan of 5 August in the year of the pig. The Horde was at Zheltaya Trost'. It was written on

3. [1 August 1267]

YARLIQ OF MENGU-TIMUR

3 YARLIQ WAS GIVEN BY TSAR MENGU-TIMUR

With the power of highest God, by the will of the Highest Trinity Mengu-Timur's order is addressed to ulus baskaks, and princes, and danshiik, and scribes, and visiting ambassadors, and falconer, and pardusnik. Chinggis Khan is merciful to them because they are saying prayers for us and our health from the depth of their hearts, so they should not be touched. Saying that, the last tsar gave yarliqs to priests and monks. They should be given everything they ask for: popluzhnoe, warriors, but do into give a tamga. We started giving them charters for saying prayers. One has no right to enter their secular lands, waters, gardens, vineyards, mills, zimovishhe, letovishhe. If an offender is caught, he must give back that which he has stolen. Nobody has right to touch holy books and other relics. And those who will abuse their religion will have to apologise and keep silence. All family members of all clerics must have the same rights. If tribute is taken from them, it must be returned to them. According to this charter, we granted the priest for saying prayers for us diligently.

And you do not have the heart to pray for us-God will put that sin on you. Saying this. It is also possible to accept the laity under patronage in case they pray to God. Saying that we gave the charter to the

Metropolitan. This charter seen and heard by priests and monks confirms that baskaks, princely scribes, popluzhniks, tamozhniks are not allowed to take taxes from them, in case they disobey, they will have to present their apologies and die by the order of yasa.

The yarliq was given in the year of hare on 4 September when our camps were in Tala. Written on

4. [4 February 1351]

YARLIQ OF TAIDULA TO METROPOLITAN THEOGNOST

4 CHENIBEK'S YARLIQ WAS GIVEN TO METROPOLITAN THEOGNOST BY TAIDULA

According to Chenibek's yarliq, Taidula's order is addressed to ulus princes and volost and town and village officials and collectots of tamga, and tax collectors from ships coming to the shore and visiting ambassadors and many other categories of people. From the old good times popes and all the priesthood have been praying for us, so they do not know any taxes and duties—they pray for our clan and the whole tribe in front of the Lord. Saying that the tsar received metropolitan Theognostuts and gave him a yarliq with a red tamga. We gave him this charter on the basis of yarliqs with a nishan. Since he was appointed in Vladimir, he has said prayers for Zdenibek, us and our children. He does not have to pay tribute in any form: food supply, presents, his people, podvoda, zapros cannot be accepted from him. Nobody is allowed to touch his lands, waters, vegetable gardens, vineyards, mills. If someone harm them, he will be punished and killed. And you, Metropolitan Theognistus, let people know that you were granted. If someone enter your gardens, vineyards, waters, lands, you know what to do. Do not forget to say prayers for us. Saing that that we passed this nishan charter to be acknowledged. On the 8th day of aram month the Horde was roaming in Sarai. Written on

The complaint was lodged by Taobogga, Akkhoch's mukhtar and Uchugui's karapchii. Written on

5. [November 1357]

BERDIBEK'S YARLIQ GIVEN TO METROPOLITAN ALEKSEY

5 THE YARLIQ WAS GIVEN TO METROPOLITAN ALEKSEY BY TSAR BERDIBEK

By the mercy of God's order of Berdibek's grandfather and great-grandfather and Tatar ulus prince Mualbuga's message is addressed to volost officials, and princes, and copyists, and custom officers, and border guards, and foreign ambassadors, and porters, and supervisors, and many other categories of people.

Priests and different religious figures said prayers for Chinggis Khan and next khans, our fathers, and received khan yarliqs for that because it was necessary, no matter what taxes and tributes were. They were granted with yarliqs saying these words. Now we decided to grant metropolitan Alexey⁴³ with the corresponding yarliq as well. Since he was appointed in Vladimir, he has said prayers for us, all our clan and tribe. Thus, we decided that he shouldn't pay tribute in any form; no money, taxes, foodstuff, drinks, presents should be accepted from him. No one is allowed to enter churches, clerical waters, lands, vegetable gardens, vineyards, mills and plunder them. If someone dares to take something there, he will have to get it back immediately. No one is allowed to destroy churches. If someone dares to destroy them, he will die as a sinner. And you, Metropolitan Aleksey, pray that if you are granted with those Church houses or lands or waters and the vegetable gardens and vineyards or over the religious people, that through taxes it will be made-and on you. Or it will be made through theft or lie or some evil deed and you will not be able to see it, but you will do as God orders. And God will pray for us, and you will be as before, but we will not say anything about this.

When they decided to act this way, they gave a paiza and a red tamga to be confirmed on the 10th day of the growing moon of tigiguys year when the Horde was not far from Kaonga. The petition was written by Temir, emir of copyists, and it was represented by head princes.

6. [11 February 1354]

THE YARLIQ GIVEN TO METROPOLITAN ALEKSEY BY TAIDULA

THE SIXTH YARLIQ WAS GIVEN BY TSARINA TAIDULA
TO METROPOLITAN ALEKSEY TO GUARANTEE HIS INVIOABILITY IF HE DECIDED TO
GO TO CONSTANTINOPLE AND SEE THE TSAR DCHENEBEK

According to Dchenibek's yarliq, Taidul's speech was addressed to temniks, tysyatskies, princes, sotniks, dessiatniks, and volostels, and road inspectors, and princes, and ambassadors, and many other people.

When this metropolitan Aleksey goes to Constantinople, we prescribe not to arrest him and not to cause any constraint wherever he was. Wherever he stays, no one has to arrest either himself or his servants and horses as he prays for Jani Beg, his children and us. That is our will. The powers that be who employ violence towards him will be charged on the basis of the great law.

The charter was given with a nishan. It was written in the year of horse in the month of aram on the second day of the moon in decrement when the camp was in Gülüstan. The petition of Metropolitan Aleksey was presented by Timur-hoja.

7. CONCLUSION OF THE COMPILER OF THE COLLECTION

THESE AND MANY OTHER YARLIQS WERE PASSED TO THE HOLY CHURCH
BY GODLESS TSARS AND REPRESENT A STORY OF THE METROPOLITAN
AND HIS POWER

All the heads of Russian Orthodox church got corresponding yarliqs from all the Tatar khans except for Batu. One should not stoop to be in the good graces of the Tatars. You, Orthodox princes and boyars, ought to protect the possessions and privileges of the church from those barbarians not to be disgraced. As the Gospel says, one day or another they will be brought before the court and will be responsible for their crimes and recant publicly.

There are also yarliqs of previous tsars in the metropolitan office but it is impossible to translate them as the language they are written is in unfamiliar to us. We have suffered a great deal from these godless people who are blinded by the lack of knowledge of Christian laws and encroach on church property.

Lenin State Library, Troitsk, No. 765, sheets 174–180.

Historical legislative review

The first yarliq

Applied to various Tatar officials, the yarliq exempts the servants of the Russian Church from all kinds of tribute and obligations in favour of the khan's authority. This exemption is conditioned by the fact, that the 'priestly rank' held a church service for Tatar khans. In addition, the yarliq consolidates inviolability and immunity rights of landownership of Russian spiritual fiefs. The yarliq of Tulyak (Tulunbek) is based on the no longer extant Toqta Khan yarliq, issued to the Metropolitan Peter. It was dated back to 'seven hundred and eighth year of Dhu al-Qi'dah on the tenth day of waxing crescent', that is 12 April 1308. It was the time when Peter was consecrated as Metropolitan (according to the 'Life of Metropolitan Peter', he died in December of 1326, having sat in the Metropolitan's chair for 18 years and 6 months). M. Priselkov believes that the Toqta yarliq was confirmed by his successor Uzbek in 1313 (upon his accession to the throne), when Metropolitan Peter visited the Horde (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, vol. 25, p. 160), and again around 1333, when Metropolitan Theognostus visited the Horde as well. Later, the Toqta yarliq was confirmed by Berdi Beg and Aziz Khan ('Tsar Aziz and Berdi Beg afterwards'). The Berdi Beg yarliq of 1357 has survived (see the fifth yarliq), whereas the Aziz yarliq (ca. 1365) is no longer extant. Afterwards, finally, Metropolitan Mikhail was issued the commented yarliq. This yarliq is the latest out of all the extant khan's yarliqs, granted to Russian Metropolitans. The date is unclear: the 'sheep year'. In this case, converted from

the Mongol chronology, it means 1379. In 1379, Mikhail received the Metropolitan's chair in Rus' (Ruthenia).

Several comments should be made concerning the dates of yarliqs noted in titles (in so-called Dated form). The Dated form of incomplete recension was obtained as a result of the collation of yarliq texts with the information from the chronicles. The chronicle edition of this type of yarliq is proven by dates, denoted in their titles (copies C, A II). The author of the Dated form supposed that he is dealing with a collection of chronologically set yarliqs (according to chronicle style of material narration) and tried to determine the date of their issuance, relying on the data of the chronicles. He was guided by the names of Metropolitans mentioned in the yarliq texts. The chronicles of 6862 note: 'Prince Ivan Ivanovich left the Horde and took the throne in Vladimir. The same year Alexius was consecrated as Metropolitan, and in the autumn he came out to Rus' (Ruthenia) (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, vol. 26, p. 121; vol. 26, p. 179). According to the context, the author of the chronological order of Short collection of yarliqs assumed that Alexius left the Horde as well, which led to the date 6864, as a date of the last in his collection, the fifth yarliq to Metropolitan Alexius. The chronicles of 6850 (perhaps, in some of the copies of 6851 as well) say: 'The same winter Metropolitan Theognostus left the Horde'³; hence, the date 6851, the date of issuance of the forth yarliq to Theognostus.

The preceding third yarliq in the texts of the Dated form is connected to Metropolitan Peter. The author of the collection dated it to 6816, that is the first year of Peter in the Russian metropolitanate. The second yarliq refers to Metropolitan John. In the chronicles a Metropolitan with this name is mentioned in 6673. This same date could be set before the yarliq as well⁴.

The first yarliq of the collection refers to Metropolitan Mikhail. According to the reasoning of the dating author, he was supposed to be Metropolitan before Ioann, and, indeed, the chronicles of 6642 (1134) mention such a Metropolitan. Hence, the last date of the collection is also incorrect, as well as the rest of them.

By the mercy of God's order (translation)—By the power of the Eternal Sky; by the will of the Eternal Sky.

Of grandfathers and great grandfathers—according to testaments of grandfathers and great grandfathers.

With thought (translation)—lead by.

ulus (translation)—Great Ulus.

'Ratnym knyazem'—Begs, Commanders (cf. 'polchnye knyaz'ya' - regimental princes from the third yarliq).

Volost officials—volost official (daruga)—the supreme chief of all income to the khan's treasury. He also managed the census, tribute collection, and delivery. Volost darugas are his assistants and assigned to volosts. The Mengli Giray yarliq (1453) mentions darugabegs, the Temür Qutlugh yarliq mentions 'darugas of internal settlements'; the forth yarliq—'city', 'volost' and 'settlement' darugas; the sixth yarliq—'volostel' and enclosed land darugas'. In the 13–14th centuries, the Horde had a special 'Moscow daruga', 'Tver daruga', with whom the princes of separate principalities met to discuss the payment of tribute.

Princes—Begs (Noyans, Emirs), representatives of the Tatar-Mongol feudal elite.

Scribes, copyists—bitikchi (scribes), Divan (chancellery) secretaries. Their head were bitikchi of the Great Divan (cf. Divan bitikchi of Great Tamga in the Mengli Giray yarliq of 1453, cf. 'Palace copyists'; in the Temür Qutlugh yarliq; cf. 'Prince copyists' in the third yarliq).

Custom officers—apparently, collectors of tamga, trade taxes, cf. 'tamozhennyj' (customs) of the Temür Qutlugh yarliq and 'tamgovshhiki' (tamga officers) of the Mengli Giray yarliq.

Poberezhnik—tax collectors from ships coming to the shore. 'Poberezhnoye' (of shore)—(see in Letters patent of the latter half of the 14–first half of the 15th centuries; Acts of the Archaeographic

³ Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, v. XXIV, p. 128; cf. v. XXV, p. 175.

⁴ Nevertheless, the date of 6670 (1162) was specified in the surviving lists although the last letter-number "r"[g] obviously could have been simply omitted.

Expedition, vol. 1, No. 17, 21, 42; SHA: Supplements to the Historical Acts Collected and Issued by the Archaeographical Committee, vol. 1, No. 8,9).

Visiting ambassador—cf. in the third yarliq 'arriving ambassador', in the Temür Qutlugh yarliq 'visiting and arriving ambassadors'.

Sokolnik—falconer, the servant in charge of falcons; cf. also in the Temür Qutlugh yarliq and 'sokol-nich`i' in the Mengli Giray yarliq.

Pardusnik—'barsnik', hunting servants in charge of snow leopards.

Buralozhnik—according to Berezin, hunting servants, 'volchars', from Tatar—buruluk, wolf-carer. Perhaps, it is better to see the term as misspelled 'berlozhnik'. It is a poor translation of one of the Mongol official titles, tutkaul (by the way, it means 'lair of the beast'); cf. the closeness of bukauls to tutkauls, reflected in other yarliqs.

Zastavshchik—khan's officials, collecting travel taxes at the pikes; cf. 'border guards' (tutkaulov) in the Mengli Giray yarliq.

Lodeishhik—rowers in rowboats; cf. 'lodochniki' in the Temür Qutlugh yarliq.

For Chinggis Khan (translation)—before Chinggis Khan.

Right now (translation)—right now.

According to the yarliqs of predecessors (translation)—according to previous yarliqs.

Tribute—tribute (dan`) paid to the Tatar treasury (otherwise known as the Horde silver, proportionate to the property of a tax payer.) Sometimes, this tribute was called desyatina (the First Novgorod chronicles of 1257): it was determined on the basis of property (firstly, the land) census of the tax payers.

Podvoda—a duty to deliver (lead) the saddled horse to the rider. Cf. the Temür Qutlugh yarliq: 'podvod is not taken from their livestock'; in the Tokhtamysh yarliq of 1382—'podvod is not to be forced or to be rushed'. 'Podvoda' as service duty is mentioned in the letters patent of 1362–1374; SHA: Supplements to the Historical Acts Collected and Issued by the Archaeographical Committee, vol. 1, No. 8.

'Korm' (foodstuff)—food supply.

Zapros—extraordinary tribute. Cf. in the Trinity Chronicle of 1357: 'That same year the ambassador from the Horde arrived...after the zapros to all Russian princes'. Cf. the First Novgorod Chronicle of 1339: 'the tsar zapros, that the Tsar requested from me'.

Dar—in this case a gift—a semi-voluntary offering to khan officials.

Pochest'ya—see the charter of Rostislav Smolensky of 1150.

Vineyards—in Rus' vineyard could mean a garden in general (the Temür Qutlugh yarliq mentions 'duty from vineyards').

'V gresex budut' (face consequence) (translation)—those that will face consequences.

In acknowledgement (translation)—in acknowledgement.

With a scarlet tamga—with a red stamp.

Daryka—tarikha, chronology; cf. the Tokhtamysh yarliq of 1393. For conversion of yarliq dates to modern chronology see L. Cherepnin, 'Russian Chronology', Moscow, 1944, pp. 82–88.

The second yarliq

Along with the exemption of Russian clergy from exactions in favour of Tatar khans, the Taidula yarliq contains a message for Russian princess with a demand to not infringe upon the 'tribute' in their relations with the Metropolitan.

The beginning of the yarliq is ruined: there was no Metropolitan Ioann in Rus' (Ruthenia) in 1347 (the yarliq was issued on 26 September, 1347—in the eighth month of the pig year on the fifth day of waning gibbous). In 1347, the Moscow Prince, Semeon Ivanovich, visited Jani Beg in the Horde and returned in 1348 'with a granting' (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, vol. 25, p. 177). Apparently, the yarliq must refer to this trip. In general, the yarliq confirms the immunity of clergy from jurisdiction of the Princely court; cf. statutory charter of the treaty of Metropolitan Cyprian of 1404.

Since the very first kind days (translation)—'perhaps, from the time of the former Sain long ago' (Butu Khan's nickname 'Sain' meant 'kind').

Или накы—если же [if however].

Russian princes, led by Semyon—the yarliq applies to all the Russian princes, the head of whom is considered to be the Moscow Prince, Semyon Ivanovich.

Vsemi mitropolity—with all the Metropolitans.

With a nishan—with a stamp.

At Zheltaya Trost'—in Sary Kamysh (near modern day Kamyshevo).

The yarliq is given on behalf of the Khan's wife, Taidula. The 14th century historian, Al-Omari, wrote about Mongols, that 'their wives take part in government affairs along with them (husbands); the orders come from (both of) them' (V. Tizenhauzen, Collection of materials, vol. 1, Saint Petersburg, 1884, p. 229).

The third yarliq

The yarliq of Mengu-Timur is the earliest of the yarliqs presented in the short collection. It was apparently issued on 1 August 1267: 'the first autumn month of the hare year, on the forth day of Waning gibbous'. Mengu-Timur took the Khan throne in 1266. The chronicles of 6774 (1266) say: 'the Tatar Tsar Berkai died, and Besermen were fast weakened from violence by Christians' (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, vol. 25, p. 146).

With the power of Highest God, by the will of the Highest Trinity (translation)—by the power of the Eternal Sky, by the will of the Eternal Sky.

Ulus (Rus. 'lyud'sky'm')—from 'ulus'—people. The original text of the yarliq stated: 'Velikogo ulusa' (of the Great ulus).

Baskaks—Tatar-Mongol officials, responsible for the service of internal 'security' in the subject countries. (A. Nasonov). They supported Mongol tribute collectors, scribes, 'chislennik' with their armed detachments. The people's movements of the 20s of the 14th century in Nor-Eastern Rus' (Ruthenia) forced the Tatar-Mongols to abolish the baskak (darughatchi) system. Therefore, baskaks (darughatchi) are not mentioned in other yarliqs (the 14th century).

Danshhik—in this case, collectors of the Horde tribute. Due to the abolishment of the baskak system in Rus' (Ruthenia), the tribute collection was assigned to Russian princes, therefore, danshhiks are not mentioned in the yarliqs of the 14th century.

He заммають—не трогают [(they) do not touch].

Popluzhnoe (from 'plug'—'plough')—a tribute, charged from a plough, 'ral'. 'Poralskoe srebro' is mentioned in the will and testament of Clemens of 1270; 'poralnoe' is mentioned in a Letters patent of 1477; cf. 'pososhnoe' (from 'posokh'—'stave') in the 15th century.

Warrior—the delivery of recruits during military operations.

Mills—the first mention of mills in Rus' (Ruthenia).

Zimovishhe, letovishhe (from 'zima'—'winter', 'leto'—'summer')—winter and summer encampments (mechanically transmitted in the yarliq, intended for the Russian clergy). Cf. Laurentian Chronicle of 6707.

Мастери—ремесленники [craftsmen].

Извиниться—повиниться, будет обвинен [to confess, to accept charges]; cf. Art. 4 of the agreement of 1229.

Treated in the same way—the same benefit.

Princely scribes—see scribes in the commentary to the first yarliq.

Popluzhnik—a tribute collector (see above).

Yaza—meaning 'yasa' of Chinggis Khan.

Tala—steppe, plain.

L. Cherepnin compares the yarliq to Article 12 of the statutory charter of Metropolitan Cyprian of 1404: 'Although popovich (pope) will be assigned to my service (of the Grand Prince), if he wants to become a pope or a dyakon, he is free to do that. Whereas popovich, who lives with his father, who eats the food of his fathers, is mitropolich. The popovich, living separately and away from my father and eating the food of his own, those are mine, of Prince Grand' (see above).

The forth yarliq

On the 8th day of aram month—in this case, 4 February 1351.

According to M. Priselkov, the charter is based on the Jani Beg yarliq ('on the Chenibek yarliq'). According to the chronicles, Jani Beg became Khan in 1342 (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, vol. 25, p. 73), when, as noted by M. Priselkov, he could have issued his yarliq. M. Priselkov assumes, based upon the Taidula charter, that the Jani Beg yarliq was not as beneficial, as the Toqta yarliq or of other khans. In the chronicles Jani Beg is characterised differently: 'the kind Tsar Chzhanibek has died' (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, vol. 1, p. 180). But at the same time, the 6850 (1342) chronicles narrate the trip of Theognostus to the Horde, where the Metropolitan 'suffered a great deal in the Horde, as the Tsar took him and tortured, and demanded: "where is the yearly tribute?" But he did not give up and bribed him with 600 rubles' (Ibid., p. 174). Therefore, the Jani Beg yarliq does not contain exemption of church people from tribute and, at the same time, references to orders of Chinggis Khan and his heirs, there is no more a ban of billeting in church houses, a right of no appeal for the Metropolitan decisions before the khan authority (cf. different in the first and fifth yarliqs).

If someone harm them (translation)—if one runs riot.

He will be punished and killed (translation)—and he will be scared, or be dead.

Nishan charter (translation)—yarliq.

The complaint was lodged (translation)—but reported (reported a petition).

Mukhtar (translation)—foreman.

Karapchii (translation)—karachi—supervisor, confidant of the Khan.

The fifth yarliq

The Berdi Beg yarliq, like the Tyulyak yarliq of 1379, dates back the Toqta Khan yarliq to Metropolitan Peter of 12 April 1308: 'seven hundred and eighth year of Dhu al-Qi'dah on the ninth day of the Waxing crescent'. The phrase 'as sat in Volodimer' referred to Peter, not to Alexius (the latter had been sat on the Metropolitan's chair for three years by the time of the yarliq issuance, whereas Peter had just received the appointment).

Tigiguys on the 10th day of the growing moon—the tenth month of the chicken year (from 'tekhiya'—chicken), that is in November, 1357. According to M. Priselkov, at this time Berdi Beg confirmed the old, beneficial version of the khan's yarliqs, having renounced the version of his father and his predecessor on the khan's throne, Jani Beg. This turn in khan's politics was encouraged, according to M. Priselkov, by Tsarina Taidula's 'healing' by Metropolitan Alexius in the Horde that same year (cf. Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, vol. 25, p. 180).

The fifth yarliq is quite similar to the first one. Only the names of khans are new (Berbi Beg instead of Tulyak; uncle Mualbugin instead of Mamaev; 'our fathers' instead of Aziz and Berdi Beg'; Alexius instead of Michael; addition of Mualboga and further to the end), date and place of yarliq drafting ('in Kaong' instead of Vekoluz on the river; 'tigiguya leta desyatogo mesyaca' (on the tenth month of the chicken year) instead of 'ovech'a leta daryka' (the sheep year). Other differences in reading are clearly due to the specifics of interpretation. The following is absent: 'Pred' ('Chinggis Tsar'); 'v rod i rod' ('to family and family), 'ni darov' (no gifts), 'domekh'. The following is added: 'ne yemlyut u nikh' (they are not charged), 'i ves' vash' popov'skyi chin' (and your entire pope rite); 'baisu'. The following is recited differently: 'i posledniy' (and the last one) instead of 'a posle togo' (and after that); 'tako ml'vya' (that was said) is given in the yarliqs instead of 'tako yesmy vzmolvili' (they pronounced); 'da ne li inoye chto uvedav' (have seen the other thing) instead of 'otvedav' (having tried); 'pr''vykh tsarei yarlyki' (yarliqs of the first tsars) instead of 'paki pr''vykh yarlykov'; 'tvorit' (makes a prayer) instead of 'vz''daet' (honours), etc.

Next khans—tsars, khans, succeeding Chinggis Khan.

Силы над ними не творят—не творят над ними насилия [(they) impose no coercion on them].

Baisa—paidze, tablet (cast iron, silver, gold) with an inscription, replacing travelling charter for officials. Baisa provided its owner with the right to a means of transportation, billet and food while travelling.

Not far from Kaonga—near Kang (in the former Astrakhan guberniya).

Kutlugbulai—in 1387 Kutlubuga renewed a trade agreement with the Genoese. In 1382 a jarlig of Tokhtamysh Bey-Khodzha was assigned for his name as the Crimean ruler. Around 1381 he was sent by Tokhtamysh to the Duke of Lithuania Jogaila (see Tokhtamysh jarlig of 1393). However, it is also known about Katlug-Buga, the son of the Akh Horde leader Urus Khan, who was killed around 1374-1375.

Myur' bakshii (*emir of copyists*)—the chief of scribes.

The sixth yarliq

After May of 1353, Alexius made his way to Tsargrad (Constantinople) for consecration as Metropolitan. Supposedly, he received the yarliq on 11 February 1354 from Taidula. This yarliq ensured him the unhindered passage to Tsargrad ('if he goes to Tsargrad'). In the same year of 1354, in Tsargrad, Alexius was consecrated as Metropolitan and set off to Rus' (Ruthenia) in autumn (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, vol. 15, p. 179). So, in the Taidula travelling voucher Alexius is named Metropolitan ('Metropolitan Alexii').

To temniks, tysyatskies, princes, sotniks, dessiatniks—to Tatar-Mongol military commanders: beg-temniks—chiefs of tumens (detachments of 10,000 people), beg-thousandmen (tysyatskies)—of 1000 person detachments, hundredmen (sotniks)—leaders of the 100 person detachments, tenmen (dessiatniks)—leaders of the 10 person detachments.

Pak silu uchinit'—*if once employ violence, using force.*

Year of horse in the month of aram on the second day of the moon—11 February 1354. Aram is the first month of the year for the Uighur (Uyghurs) (see the tables of Ulugh Beg).

In Gülistan—according to V. Trutovsky, Gülistan was the small capital of the Golden Horde khans, the remains of which are in the Selitryannoye archaeological site of the former Astrakhan guberniya, 220 versts from the Sarai ruins. According to N. Veselovsky, it is a palace near Sarai.

Conclusion

Since Sain—Since the time of Batu Khan.

You, Orthodox princes and boyars—the compilation of a short yarliq collection is aimed at the princes and boyars urging them to protect the wealth and privileges of the Church. This appeal does not mention the Grand Princes, which means the collection most probably dates back to the late 14th century.

In the archive of the metropolitanate—it is unclear whether this refers to the Moscow or Vladimir archive. The latter is more likely, since later (since the end of the 15th century) the Moscow metropolitan archive did not contain any yarliqs: copy books and log books of the Moscow Metropolitans do not mention them: same is for other official documents of that time (yarliqs are mentioned in the 'reply' of Metropolitan Simon of 1503 about the monastery agriculture—the latest addition).

He възмогохом привести—не смог привести [(he) failed to bring].

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 4

The Yarliq from Mengu Timur to Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich

The yarliq of Mengu-Timur, Khan of the Ulus of Jochi, to the Grand Prince of Vladimir, Yaroslav Yaroslavich, containing assurance of safe passage for German guests through his land. The suggested source has quite a significant meaning for study of the Golden Horde. The small number of Jochi act materials in general, especially at the early stages of its consolidation and development, in particular, makes this document even more valuable. The source was found in the Riga hall of records and published for the first time in 1868 by K. Napiersky. The document is not dated, the time of its issuance might be during the period between 1266 and the winter of 1271/1272, that is from the moment Khan Mengu-Timur came to power in Ulus Jochi up until the death of the Grand Prince of Vladimir, Yaroslav Yaroslavich. The yarliq was most likely issued in 1270, as indicated by the following text of the charter of the treaty between Novgorod and Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich: 'Our guest can stay in Suzdal lands without restrictions, according to the Tsar's charter' [Gramoty, 1949, pp. 11–13]. The overleaf of the charter of treaty says: 'Ambassadors, Chevgu and Baishi, were sent by Tsar Mengu-Timur to give Yaroslav the charter' [Ibid].

This yarliq of Mengu-Timur (as well as his yarliq for the Kiev Metropolitan, Kirill) has been preserved only in Russian translation. The document is very informative, its content is incommensurable to its wordage. The value of the suggested source also lies in the fact that the scribe had essentially combined two acts in one document. Thus, the source can be divided into two parts: the first one being the Mengu-Timur yarliq itself and the second one the safe-conduct charter of Prince Yaroslav. The brevity of the first part allows us to assume, that such a cut was made by the scribe himself. The compiler had left the yarliq of the Golden Horde rules just as a brief order to his vassal, who, in his turn, informed his direct subjects. It is interesting that the scribe focused more on the decree of Prince Yaroslav, by which he emphasised the rights and powers of the local ruler, but marked his dependence on the Khan of Ulus Jochi. The protection yarliq of Mengu-Timur Khan is quite short and laconic. It was most likely the work of the compiler, who tried to just give the subject matter of the document, while keeping within its general structure. At least here we can separate the initial record, typical of act materials of the Golden Horde and Chinggis Khan in general. In our case, one of the main aspects, proving the Golden Horde origin of the analysed document, is intitutionation. A stand-out feature is the addresser, 'The word of Mengu-Timur', typical for all the Golden Horde yarliqs. The inscription or addressee does not match the known paper form of the Golden Horde yarliqs, which is most likely the result of the scribe's cut. The main part of the yarliq is represented only with an order ('open the path for the German guest to your volost'). As one can see, the main part was given by the scribe only in a general sense. Other components of the abstract paper form were dropped completely. Thus, based on the brief structural analysis of the first part of the considered document, one can come to some conclusions concerning the authenticity of the Mengu-Timur yarliq to Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich.

The source cited by the publication: Des Fürsten Jaroslaw Jaroslawitsch mit Bewilligung Mengu Temir's, des Chans der (1266–72) goldenen Horde, ertheiltes Sichergeleit für die rigischen und andre (fremde) Gäste durch sein Gebiet. (Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich with the authorisation of Mengu Temir, the Khan of the Golden Horde (1266–72), command of safe passage for Rigans and other (foreign) guests through his territory.) Ohne Datum (zwischen 1266–1272) (Undated [between 1266–1271]) // Russisch-livländische Urkunden. Gesammelt von K.E.Napiersky. Hrsg. von der archäographischen Commission. St.Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1868 (Russian-Livonian acts. Collected by K. Napiersky. Published by the Archeographic Committee. St. Petersburg: Typography of Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1868).—Pp. 13–14.

The source: 'The word of Mengu-Timur to Prince Yaroslav: give passage to a German guest in your volost. From Prince Yaroslav to the people of Riga, old and young, visitors and all: your way is clear in my volost. The ones that are my warriors I will meet myself. Guests can have an open path along my volost'.

Material prepared by Marat Gatin, Lenar Abzalov

No. 5

Marco Polo. 'The Travels of Marco Polo'

The source and notes are quoted from the following publication: Kniga Marko Polo (The Book of Marco Polo) / Translated from the Old French text by I. Minaev. Edited and opening article by I. Magidovich.—Moscow, 1956.—Pp. 227–343.

CHAPTER CCXX

Of the Lords of the Tatars of the West

The first tsar of the Tatars of the West was Sain, who was a very great and powerful king. He conquered Russia, and Comania, and Alania, and Lac, and Mengiar, and Zic, and Gucia and Gazaria¹. All these provinces were conquered by king Sain. Before this conquest, they were all Comanians [Kipchaks], but they were not under one government; and through their want of union they lost their lands, and were dispersed into different parts of the world; and those who remained were all in a state of serfdom of King Sain. After King Sain reigned King Patu [Batu], and after him King Berca [Berke], next king Mungletemur [Mengu-Timur], then King Totamongur [Tuda Mengu], and lastly Toctai [Toqta], who now reigns².

Having thus given you a list of the kings of the Tatars of the West, we will tell you of a great battle that fell out between Alau [Hulagu], the Tsar of the East, and Berca [Berke], the Tsar of the West, as well as the cause of the battle, and its result.

CHAPTER CCXXI

*Of the War between Alau and Berca [Hulagu and Berke]
and the Battle They Thought*

In the year 1261 [of Christ's incarnation] there arose a great quarrel between king Alau, Tsar of the Tatars of the East, and Berca, Tsar of the Tatars of the West, on account of a province which bordered on each of their territories, which both claimed, and each was too proud to yield it to the other¹. They mutually defied each other, each declaring that he would go and take it, and he would see who dared hinder him.

Six months after the call each gathered up to three hundred thousand horsemen, all well armed according to their custom with everything needed for war. When everything was prepared, Alau, the Tsar of the East, went on campaign with all of his men. They rode many days without meeting any adventures and arrived in the large plain situated between the Iron Gates and the Sea of Sarain², in which they encamped in good order. I tell you truthfully there was many a rich pavilion and tent³. And there Alau said he would wait to see what course Berka would follow, as this spot was on the border of the two kingdoms.

[Let us leave Alau and his people and return to Berca and his army.]

CHAPTER CCXXII

How Berca [Berke] and His Host Went to Meet Alau [Hulagu]

Now when Tsar Berca had made all his preparations, and knew that Alau was on his march, he also set out on his way, and in due time reached the same plain where his enemies awaited him, and encamped at about ten miles' distance from him. Berca's camp was quite as richly decked out¹ as that of Alau, and his army was more numerous, for it numbered full three hundred and fifty thousand horsemen. The two armies rested two days, during which Berca called his people together, and addressed them as follows:—'Fair sirs', said he, 'you know certainly that since I came into possession of the land I have loved you like brothers and sons, and many of you have been in many great battles with me, and you have assisted me to conquer a great part of the lands we hold. You know that I share everything I have with you, and you ought in return to do your best to support my honour, which hitherto you have done. You know what a great and powerful man Alau is, and how in this quarrel he is in the wrong, and we are in the right, and each of you ought to feel assured that we shall conquer him in battle, especially as our number exceeds his; for we know for certain that he has only three hundred thousand horsemen, while

we have three hundred and fifty thousand as good men as his and better. For all these reasons, then, you must see clearly that we shall gain the day, but since we have come so great a distance only to fight this battle, it is my will that we give battle three days hence, and we will proceed so prudently and in such good order that we cannot fail of success, and I pray you all to show yourselves on this occasion men of courage, so that all the world shall talk of your deeds. I say no more than that I expect every one of you to be well prepared for the day appointed.'

[Berca here stopped and said nothing more. Let us leave him. We have told some things about him. Now we speak of Alau and his army, and what he was doing when Berca and his army came close to him.<...>]

CHAPTER CCXXIV

Of the Great Battle between Alau and Berca [Hulagu and Berke]

When the day fixed for the battle arrived, Alau rose early in the morning, and called his men to arms, and marshalled his army with the utmost skill. He divided it into thirty squadrons, each squadron consisting of ten thousand horsemen; and to each he gave a good leader and a good captain. And when all this way duly arranged, he ordered his troops to advance, which they did at a slow pace, until they came half way between the two camps, where they halted and waited for the enemy.

On the other side, king Berca had drawn up his army, which was arranged in thirty-five squadrons, exactly in the same manner as that of Alau's, and he also ordered his men to advance, which they did within half-a-mile of the others. There they made a short halt, and then they moved forward again till they came to the distance of about two arbalest shots of each other.

It was a fair plain, and wonderfully extensive, as ought to be, when so many thousands of men were marshalled in hostile array, under the two most powerful warriors in the world, who moreover were near kinsmen, for they were both of the imperial lineage of Jengiz-khan [Chinggis Khan].

CHAPTER CCXXV

More about the Battle between Alau and Berca [Hulagu and Berke]

Both kings stood not far from each other, waiting for the start of the battle and the sound of nacar¹. After a short while the nacars at length sounded, upon which both armies ran at each other; took the bows and shot arrows at the enemy. The arrows were flying from one side and another that you could hardly see the sky. You could see so many were slain, man and horse; you have to believe me: it could not be otherwise, as so many arrows were shot. They did not stop while there were arrows in the sheaths, and the ground was covered with the dead and mortally wounded. When all their arrows were exhausted, they grabbed for swords and maces, ran at each other and traded heavy blows. A fierce and cruel battle had begun. It was hard to look. You could see hands and heads flying off; there were dead men and horses lying on the ground; many had died; the battle had started at a wrong time; what a shame! No other battle had killed as many people as this one. The noise was louder than the thunder of heaven. To tell the truth, they were forced to walk on corpses; the ground was covered with them and reddened with blood. The truth is, I will tell you, it had been a long time since there was such a battle with as many people getting killed as this one. People were crying and those who fell deadly injured were screaming not being able to stand up. It was so hard to look at! It was a bad time for both sides. Many wives became widows and many children orphans. They had shown that they were deadly enemies.

King Alau [the brave]² showed his strength in the battle, proved himself capable of possessing the land and to wear the crown. He distinguished himself by his valour, supported his warriors; they saw how brave and strong their King was and followed his example. It was indeed an incredible act of valour; everyone was in awe, friend and enemy alike; it seemed as if Alau was not a human, but lightning or a storm. That was how Alau acted in the battle.

CHAPTER CCXXVI

How Berca [Berke] Acted Bravely

[I will tell you how Berca differed as well. He acted well and was brave; indeed, the entire world praised him; but on that day his bravery was of no use; all of his warriors were killed, some injured

and dropped to the ground, and he became restless. Thus, as the battle went on till dusk, Berca and his warrior could not stand anymore and were forced to leave the battlefield.

[What can I say? When they could not take it anymore, they fled as fast as they could;] and Alau and his men saw it and pursued them furiously, cutting down and slaying without mercy. After they had pursued a short distance, Alau recalled his men, and they returned to their tents, laid aside their arms, and dressed their wounds; and they were so weary with fighting, that they gladly sought repose. Next morning Alau ordered the bodies of the dead to be buried, enemies as well as friend, and the loss was so great on both sides that it would be impossible to describe it.

After this was done, Alau returned to his country with all his men who had survived the battle. [Know that, although he won, many of his men died; but indeed, more men died on his enemy's side. So many men died in this battle, that you would not believe.]

Now you have heard how the battle was fought, and Alau was victorious¹.

Now let us leave Alau and these affairs and we'll tell you clearly about the battle of the Western Tatars.

CHAPTER CCXXVII

How Totamangu [Tuda Mengu] was Lord of the Tartars of the West

You must know that in the West there was a king of the Tatars named Mongutemur [Mengu-Timur], and the sovereignty descended to Tolobuga [Talabuga], who was a young bachelor, and a very powerful man, named Totamangu, slew Tolobuga, with the assistance of another king of the Tatars, named Nogai¹. Thus Totamangu obtained the sovereignty by the aid of Nogai, and, after a short reign, he died, and Toctai [Toqta], a very able and prudent man, was chosen king. Meanwhile the two sons of Totamangu had grown to be now capable of bearing arms, and they were wise and prudent. The two brothers assembled a very fair company, and went to the court of Toctai, and presented themselves with so much courtesy and humility on their knees that Toctai welcomed them, and told them to stand up. Then the eldest said to the king, 'Fair sir Toctai, I will tell you in the best way I can why we are come to court. You know that we are the sons of Totamunga, who was slain by Tolobuga and Nogai. Of Tolobuga, I have nothing to say, since he is dead; but we claim justice on Nogai for the slaughter of our father, and we pray you as a righteous lord to grant it us. This is the object of our visit to your court.'

The young man stopped and said nothing more.

CHAPTER CCXXVIII

[How Toctai [Toqta] demanded of Nogai a report on the death of Totamagu [Tuda Mengu]

When Toctai [Toqta] had heard the youth, he knew that what he said was true, and he replied. 'Fair friend, I will willingly yield to your demand of justice upon Nogai, and for that purpose we will summon him to court, and do everything which justice shall require.'

Then Toctai sends two messengers to Nogai, and ordered him to come to court to answer to the sons of Totamagu [Tuda Mengu] for the death of their father; but Nogai laughed at the message, and told the messengers he would not go. When Toctai heard Nogai's message, he was greatly enraged, and said in the hearing of all who were about him, 'With the aid of God, either Nogai shall come before me to do justice to the sons of Totamagu, or I will go against him with all my men and destroy him'.

He then quickly sent two other messengers with the words you are about to hear.

CHAPTER CCXXIX

How Toctai [Toqta] sends messengers to the Nogai

The two messengers rode in all haste to the court of Nogai, and on their arrival they presented themselves before him and saluted him very courteously, and Nogai told them they were welcomed. Then one of the messengers said: 'Fair sir, Toctai [Toqta] sends you word that if you do not come to his court to render justice to the sons of Totamagu [Tuda Mengu], he will come against you with all his host, and do you all the hurt he can both to your property and person; therefore resolve what course you will pursue, and return him an answer by us'.

When Nogai heard Toctai's message, he was very angry, and replied to the messenger as follows: 'Sir messenger,' said he, 'now return to your lord and tell him from me, that I have small fear of his hostility;

and tell him further, that if he should come against me, I will wait for him at the entrance of my territory, for I will meet him half way. This is the message you shall carry back to your lord'.

[He stopped and said nothing more.]

The messengers hastened back, and when Toctai received this answer, he immediately sent his messengers to all parts which were under his rule, and summoned his people to be ready to go with him against King Nogai, and he had soon collected a great army. When Nogai knew certainly that Toctai was preparing to come against him with so large a host, he also made great preparation, but not so great as Toctai, because, though a great and powerful king, he was not so great or powerful as the other.

CHAPTER CCXXX

How Toctai [Toqta] proceeded against Nogai

When Toctai's [Toqta's] army was ready, he commended his march at the head of two hundred thousand horsemen, and in due time reached the fine and extensive plain of Nerghi¹, where he encamped to wait for his opponent. With him were the two sons of Totamagu [Tuda Mengu], who had come with a fair company of horsemen to avenge the death of their father.

[But enough of Toctai and his warriors and more about Nogai and his men. As soon as Nogai heard that Toctai was marching toward him, he waited no longer,] Nogai also was on his march, with a hundred and fifty thousand horsemen, all young and brave men, and much better warriors than those of Toctai.

What can I say to you? Not even two days had passed when Toctai arrived at this plain, while Nogai with all his men were already there and has established a camp some ten miles from the enemy. When the camp had been set up, many beautiful installations of golden fabric, many glorious tents were visible, that this was the camp of a wealthy king. Toctai's camp was no worse or poorer, but even better and richer, there were incredibly rich installations and rich tents here. The two kings stayed in the Nerghi plain and rested there, in order to be fresh and full of energy on the day of the battle.

CHAPTER CCXXXI

Toctai's [Toqta's] Address to His Troops

Then king Toctai [Toqta] assembled his chiefs, and said to them: 'Sirs, we are come here to fight king Nogai and his men, and we have great reason to do so, for you know that all this hatred and rancour has arisen from Nogai's refusal to do justice to the sons of Totamagu [Tuda Mengu] ; and since our cause is just, we have every reason to hope for victory. Be therefore of good hope; but at all events I know that you are all brave men, and that you will do your best to destroy our enemies'.

[He stopped and said nothing more.]

Nogai also addressed his men in the following terms: 'Fair brothers and friends', said he, 'you know that we have gained many great and hard fought battles, and that we have overcome better men than these. Therefore be of good cheer. We have right on our side; for you know well that Toctai was not my superior to summon me to his court to do justice to others. I will only further urge you to demean yourselves so in this battle that we shall be talked of everywhere, and that ourselves and our heirs will be the more respected for it'.

Nogai stopped and said nothing more.

After this, as the two kings had said their addresses, the next day they prepared and armed for battle. Toctai drew up his army in twenty squadrons, each with a good leader and captain; and Nogai's army was formed in fifteen squadrons, with ten thousand horsemen in each and a good leader and captain.

What can I tell you? When both kings had armed and prepared their armies well, they started their way and rode towards each other. As they had reached the arrow flight distance from each other, they stopped and started waiting. After a short while the nacars at length sounded, upon which both armies ran at each other, shooting arrows. You could see arrows flying from one side and another in incredible amounts. Horses and men fell to the ground, dead or mortally wounded. There was much shouting and crying. When all their arrows were exhausted, they grabbed for swords and maces, flinging themselves at one another, trading blows. A fierce and cruel battle had begun; palms and hands were chopped off, bodies and heads cut off. It was clear how horsemen fell to the ground dead or mortally wounded. The noise was louder than the thunder of heaven. There were so many corpses as there had never been in

any battle; but there were more casualties on Toctai's side rather than on Nogai's. Nogai' warriors were better than those of Toctai. I will tell you the truth, both sons of Totamagu distinguished themselves by their valour; both did the best they could to avenge the death of their father, but they failed, it was not easy to kill Nogai.

What can I tell you? It was a fierce and deadly battle; it was not a good time; there were many healthy and strong men at dawn, who were then slain in this battle; many wives became widows; no wonder, as it was a fierce battle. Toctai did his best to support his men and save his honour, and distinguished himself by his valour; the entire world praised him. He threw himself at the enemies with no fear of death; he was dealing blows left and right. And his actions did harm both to his men and the enemy: he harmed the enemy by slaying them with his own hands; but he harmed his men: as they saw how brave their King was, ran to the enemy courageously and died from the hands of the enemy.

CHAPTER CCXXXII

How the King Nogai Distinguished Himself

I will tell you the following about king Nogai: he distinguished himself as no one did on both sides of the battle. He was attacking the enemy as bravely as a lion attacking wild animals. He was making his way destroying and killing the enemies. He did a lot of harm. He threw himself into the toughest combats and destroyed men as if they were small cattle. His men took example and did their best to harm their enemy.

Without many words, I want you to know that Toctai's [Toqta's] men did their best to save their honour, but they failed, as they had to face glorious and strong warriors. They had withstood so much and seen that if it remained so they would all die, that they could no longer last, so they fled as fast as they could. Nogai and his men pursued them furiously, cutting down and slaying without mercy.

It was as you heard, Nogai won¹. I tell you, full sixty thousand men were slain in this battle, but king Toctai, as well as the sons of Totamagu [Tuda Mengu], escaped. <...>

Notes

To Chapter CCXX

¹ <...> Mengiar probably refers to the country of Magyars, or Hungarians, Zic to the country of Circassians, Gucia to the country of the Crimean Goths. (*Comania* is the land of Cumans; *Alania* is the land of Alans (ancestors of Ossetians). *Crimean Goths* are ancestors of a relatively small group of the Goths, a German tribe, that had moved to the South Crimea in the 3rd century A.D. and later assimilated with the local native population.—*Note by the editor*).

² Marco Polo erroneously distinguishes Sain from Batyi [Batu], whom the Mongols nicknamed Sain Khan ('kind khan'). Other khans: Berkai [Berke] (further in the original Berca, 1257–1266), Mengu-Timur (1266–1280) and Tuda Mengu (1280–1287). (After Tuda Mengu and before Toctai (Toqta) the Khan of the Golden Horde was Talabuga (1287–1290), who was omitted from the list in the text.—*Note by the editor*).

To Chapter CCXXI

¹ The dispute was over the province Arran (in Transcaucasia) and Azerbaijan; cf.: Ohsson, III, 379.

² That is between the Derbent Pass [Caspian Gates] and the Northern part of the Caspian Sea. The battles were fought in 1262 in a place to the north of Derbent and on the Terek River. (Marco Polo uses Sea of Sarain to refer to the northern part of the Caspian Sea by the name of the Golden Horde capital, Sarai, situated at the lower reaches of the Volga River (Sarai Batu).—*Note by the editor*).

³ Pavelonz in the original text.

To Chapter CCXXII

¹ Pavilons in the original text.

To Chapter CCXXV

¹ Nakar—a battle drum.

² Prodonmes (the brave) in the original text.

To Chapter CCXXVI

¹ The results of the war were not as favourable for Hulagu; he managed to destroy Nogai's detachment (squadron) to the north of Derbent and rob Berca's [Berke's] camp beyond the Terek, during which his army was unexpectedly attacked by Berca and suffered defeat. The remains of his army fled through the Terek, where the ice under them broke and many men drowned.

To Chapter CCXXVII

¹ The original text, as seen further, has mixed the names Toloboga or Tolobuga [Talabuga] and Totamagu or Totamigu [Tuda Mengu]. Talabuga overthrew (according to the [Persian] historian, Wassaf, also killed) Khan Tuda Mengu, but failed to keep power in his hands; he was murdered by Toqta with the help of Nogai. Historians have provided no evidence of the sons of Tuda Mengu or Talabuga taking part in the battle between Toqta and Nogai. Nogai was the great grandson of Juchi, the oldest son of Chinggis Khan. (For Nogai see Grekov B., Yakubovsky A. 'The Golden Horde and its fall'. Moscow, Leningrad, 1950, pp. 84–88.—*Note by the editor*).

To Chapter CCXXX

¹ Nerghi. The battle between the Toqta and Nogai, that ended with the victory of the Nogai, occurred near the Don River. (The name Nerghi has not been explained.—*Note by the editor*).

² Pavillonz, hereafter paveilonz.

To Chapter CCXXXII

¹ Consequently, Nogai was defeated and killed by Toqta near the Dnieper River. These events happened in the last years of the 8th century, after 1295; more certain chronological dates are still impossible to determine. (Nogai was defeated by Toqta and killed in 1300; see 'The Golden Horde and its fall', p. 87.—*Note by the editor*).

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 6

George Pachymeres. 'De Michaelae Et Andronico Palaeologis Libri Tredecim'

George Pachymeres (1242–ca. 1310), a contemporary of the Mongol invasion of Asia Minor, held a host of senior positions in the state throughout his life, both in church and civil government. He had an insight into state affairs and was familiar with aspects usually hidden to other people, which is why his account is of particularly high value.

Prominent among his contemporaries with his education and literary work, Pachymeres left several extant writings. The most important one is 'The History of the reigns of Micheal and Andronicus Palaiologos', covering the period from 1255 to 1308. There Pachymeres gives the evidence of relationships between Byzantium and the Mongols during the reign of the first Palaeologus. The first mention of the Mongols in the 'History' of Pachymeres refers to the time when Michael Palaeologus, already announced as the co-regent of the child John, the son of the Emperor of Nicaea, Theodore II Laskaris, and crowned for kingdom, began to show his aspiration for monocracy. The information chronologically dates back to 1261. At the time, the Mongols, whom Pachymeres referred to as Tocharians, were a powerful force.

The source is quoted from the following publication: Vizantijskie istoriki, perevedyonny'e c grecheskogo pri Sankt-Peterburgskoj Duxovnoj Akademii. Georgiya Paximera Istoriya o Mixaile i Andronike Paleologax. Trinadcat' knig. Tom I. Carstvovanie Mixaila Paleologa 1255–1282. (Byzantine historians, translated from Greek by the Saint Petersburg Theological Academy. Georgii Pachymeris de Michaelae Et Andronico Palaeologis Libri Tredecim. Thirteen books. Volume I. The reign of Micheal Palaiologos 1255–1282.) Translation under editorship of Prof. Karpov.—Saint Petersburg, 1862.—pp. 159–325.

'3. Having arranged things well and at his own wish, the Tsar started sending embassies to the ruler of the Tocharians, Hulagu, and to the Ethiopian Sultan. Whereas the Persian Sultan Azatin was beside him and lived in the city, immoral, spending time in debauchery and drinking at crossroads; as the city was still empty and the crossroads were similar to deserts, he sat there with no shame with a large crowd of followers, indulging in Dionysian orgies and drinking. Thus, he sent embassies to those kings and welcomed ambassadors from them. He gave his illegitimate daughter Mary, borne by Diplovatacina, to marry Hulagu and assigned the monk and priest Prinkips as a middleman. Prinkips, who was at the time the archimandrite in the residence of the Almighty, accompanied said maiden grandly, luxuriously and carried with him various fortunes, including a travelling temple made of thick covers, and images of saints, lined with gold and fixed with crosses and strings, and holy precious jars for consumption at holy sacrifice. But in the meantime, while the marriage was under preparation, Hulagu passed away before Prinkips' arrival, and the maiden, come too late for the father, married his son Abaqa, who was left as his heir. The Ethiopian Sultan had another reason for entering into negotiations with the Tsar. The Sultan originated from Cumans and, having been one of those given to slavery, had a commendable reason to seek an alliance with his kinsmen. It is well-known that the northern and southern climates on Earth, being opposed to each other, have influence on inborn abilities of the residents, both on body and soul, as well as on temper, the difference in which can be seen not only in inarticulate animals, in comparison to animals alike, but in people compared to people. In the north animals are white, and black in the south. People in the north are unreasonable and barely rational beings: they have no rules of language, no science, no knowledge, no sense, no economy in life, no arts, and nothing else, that sets people apart from inarticulate animals; the only thing they have is inclination to hostility, and, being vigorous, they are always ready to join battle, they throw themselves right away, if someone agitates them. The attitude towards each other is kind of reckless and bacchic, and they serve Ares. Things are quite the opposite in the south: these are noble, completely reasonable and great in social life, known for the arts, verbal sciences and conscientiousness, but they are slow in their strivings, weak for battles and prone to live with less in idleness rather than have a lot through hard work. The natural reason for such phenomena can be considered the sun, that rarely shows itself in the north and insufficiently warms the brain, as its warmth brings out positive natural qualities, whereas skin-straining cold brings harshness to the limbs. In the southern part the sun, on the contrary, is up longer and promotes the development of positive natural qualities, which, however, makes all the limbs of the body weaker for heroic acts; according to physics, souls match the bodies. Hence, Ethiopians highly regarded Scythians in

the past as well, when they used to obtain them for slave service, or when they used them as warriors: but now the power was in the hands of a Scythian; so Scythians were welcome there and comprised a subsidiary army. But being hired, they could get there only through the Euxine Sea Channel; but it was hard to do without the Tsar's permission. Which is why there were often ambassadors with gifts, sent to the Tsar, so he would allow those in the ships to enter the Euxine Sea and, having hired Scythian boys for big money, to go back home. As we know, it happened quite often: the Tsar received gifts from there, and the voyagers had clear way to the Sultan from here.

Meanwhile, we still withheld the impudence of Tocharians—not with the courageous army, but with friendly, or rather slavish offerings. We engaged in family ties with them and sent them gifts, sometimes exceptional and the greatest. That was the second in time alliance with western Tocharians, who came out of nowhere and occupied northern countries with their immense forces headed by their leader Nogai. The Tsar betrothed his second illegitimate daughter, Euphrosyne, to him; which is how they achieved on friendly terms that which they would have scarcely got by the harshest war.

Now it is necessary to recall Azatin Sultan, who was a terrible plague for the Macedonians and Thracians and who clearly accomplished what was foreboded by the comet. After living in Constantinople for a long time and constantly expecting to return with a large force, Azatin eventually lost any hope for success; for he saw that the Tsar was busy with other things and knew about his secret deals with Abaqa, according to which his return to his homeland had to be postponed. Hence, he seized the occasion when the Tsar was away and contacted one of his relatives, a pleasant man in the northern shorelands of Pontos Euxinos (Black Sea) and secretly asked him for help against the Tsar, who was holding him unarmed and pretending to be his friend though he was no different from an enemy. If you help me, Azatin added, then you can contact Constantine and persuade him to attack the Romans; meanwhile, I will be by Michael's side and throw him right to your hands, especially, if you will be not only with Constantine of Bulgaria, but with the Tocharians as well. As soon as the Tsar is captured, it will be easy for you to attack; if not, you will at least gain a fortune and take over the royal treasures; you will have the best of that fortune; just remember the kinship and past glory. But in case these two reasons are not enough to hurry—if kinship and hope to dare to do a great deed are not enough, then just the desire to help a relative and have mercy on him is enough to make it happen. Thus, being in secret correspondence with his uncle and having received written promises from him, Azatin pretended to strongly seek a meeting with the Tsar and said that he even wrote to him and asked for permission to visit him, as it was hard for him to not see His Majesty for so long. Whether or not I have his permission, Azatin added, I will still visit him; because a strong desire aches and tortures me. Having found out about this, the Tsar (could he suspect such treachery?) wrote to the Sultan himself and allowed him to pay a visit, moreover, he would have a chance to see western countries, which he, living in the east, had never seen. Having received permission, the Sultan was quick to depart and, leaving all of his fortune, even his wives, children, sister and mother, partly, to avoid any suspicion, partly, to have no obstacles on his way, left the city with one servant and headed directly to the Tsar. In the meantime, the aforementioned uncle visited the Tsar of Bulgaria, Constantine, and opened up to him, or rather his wife, about the Sultan's plans against the Tsar and managed to persuade them into doing what they had been ready to do for a long time since. Afterwards, he sent ambassadors to many Tocharians, promising them a fortune, if they united with him and the Bulgars. At the time this people was ruled autocratically; as the Nogai, who were the first to start overthrowing despots, had not yet fully subjugated it. While living in peace with Tocharians and being on friendly terms with them, he was conquering lands with them not in favour of the Khan, who, as they thought, sent him, but left them for them and himself. Having heard of such invitation, the Tocharians, like hungry dogs, rushed to empty the best regions. This was before the blood tie, which the Tsar and Nogai engaged in; as his illegitimate daughter Euphrosyne was betrothed to a Nogai later on. At the same exact time, when the Tsar was returning home from the west, they met up with Constantine and, while getting through the Haemus gorges, camped there. However, these masses did not come in one formation and did not stay in one place, but scattered to many hills, where they jumped out in ambush with others and, thus, wrecked havoc—robbed, killed, captured, did all kinds of evil. Naturally, the Tsar soon heard of this; as they did not attack secretly and cautiously, but quickly surrounded the entire country, like raging fire. At the first message of this Michael's heart trembled, and he found himself in a difficult situation. He was not ready

for a battle at all (the troops were sent home), as he was coming home with few of his court servants; meanwhile, the Tocharians were known to the Romans as an invincible nation. There was no way to flee either, because the enemies, having occupied and surrounded the passages, were fearlessly running around in crowds and killing some and taking others to the barbarians as slaves; so, no matter where, no one could secure his freedom. Thus, having surrounded the entire place, they almost captured the sovereign; since, according to how messengers managed to report on the barbarisms of the enemies, the distance between them and the Tsar was barely half a day's ride; so in the evening they camped in the place that the Tsar has left in the morning, or, stayed where he was the day before. However, they were in such a mess, that were not divided into phalanxes, but scattered all over the place in hope of spoils, and that hope was bigger than their fear. Constantine was travelling in a chariot, as having once broken his leg, he was unable to use it properly either walking or riding a horse. Surrounded by Bulgars, he was thoroughly informed where the Tsar was and hoped to capture him, when he will be left alone; since all of those, surrounding the Tsar, servants and inmates, worried about the safety of their own, fled without looking back and left the Tsar to worry about his own rescue. From that point on, every man only had his own safety in mind and did not think of those close to him: some were guided by reasonable fear, others by excessive cowardice; some others were moved by necessity, for if they did not take care of themselves, they would be captured; some who did not understand the trouble followed the example of others and, coming to the same conclusion, left for places in which they hoped to find safety. They were unable to unite and face the enemies in battle; since their leader was scared of this situation himself and was looking for a place to hide. Indeed, having a few especially close and loyal people by his side, the Tsar took particularly desolate routes and, while leaving some horrors behind, encountered the others; so, after having escaped danger there, he faced it here, and, as he saved himself from one evil, another even greater one awaited him. Petrified, he often thought some hill tops to be armed warriors. Any news was terrifying to him; as everyone he met or who approached him told him horrible stories. Hence, when someone told them he was near the enemies to know how many of them there were and where they were going, the ones with the Tsar, having only rescue in mind, did not trust such bravery. Finally, thanks to the night's darkness and various detours, the Tsar somehow reached the Ghana mountains and left the others to save themselves. The ones left behind he thought to be in captivity and abandoned all hope for them. Meanwhile, they had the royal treasury in their hands, and Sultan Azatin was beside them. Having climbed the mountain, the Tsar sent riders, some to observe the enemies, carefully and hiding their escape route, others to drive a light triera to the mountain as soon as possible; while he moved from one place to another, elaborately hiding from the enemy whenever they drew near. When he learned that the triera was ready, he climbed down the mountain with others, boarded it and arrived in Constantinople. The both sides were fighting to death, but the fortress defenders finally felt their powerlessness and saw death ahead of them; which is why they sent ambassadors to announce that they would agree to give them the Sultan, only if they swore in front of God and the holy shrine to leave them alone (this embassy was sent to Constantine). Having sent the embassy and received agreement from their enemies, they reached out to their local bishop. The bishop, wearing holy clothing and holding sacred icons, came out with the entire clergy and made his way to Constantine. When Constantine uttered his vow in front of God and the hierarchy, the bishop returned to the fortress, and the besieged immediately surrendered the Sultan with his entire entourage and property. Having captured him, the enemies left right away and did not demand anything else; as they swore to have only the Sultan and to do nothing else. But fate appeared to be strong; no matter how hard you fight it, you cannot escape your destiny. A day or two later, royal trieras appeared in the sea. They had hardly reached the pier when the residents of the fortress rued their deed. However, there was nothing to do, the penitence was too late and was useless. Hence, as they could not bring back what had been already done, they started to think about a way to save at least the money and avoid any mistakes here; because the country was still full of enemies scattered all around. Having set trieras in front of the city and lined troops on both sides of the route to the sea, they carried out the royal treasures, brought them aboard, boarded the ships themselves and sailed. As they arrived in Constantinople and informed the Tsar of everything that had happened, the Tsar, annoyed by such news, was enraged and lost his temper. The bishop was forced to face the trial of Church, he was convicted and almost sentenced to a special penalty for taking part in those affairs; servants were beaten and banished,

wearing women's dresses, as a sign of dishonour; the Sultan's wife, daughter, mother and sister, along with the children and all of his servants, were imprisoned; and all of his treasure, silver and gold, luxurious covers, clothes and belts, pearls and gemstones—all items of so-called Persian luxury were passed to the common treasury chamber.

4. Nogai of the Tocharians was a powerful person, an experienced ruler and skillful warrior. Sent from the Caspian Sea shores by the leaders of his nation, bearing the name of khans, with numerous troops of native Tocharians, who were called Mongols (*Μδγούλιοι*), he attacked the tribes living in the north from Pontos Euxeinos (Black Sea), conquered by the Romans a long time ago, but set apart from their rulers and governed autocratically, since the city was taken by the Latins and due to failures of Romans. Nogai took over those tribes and enslaved them at his first attempt. Seeing how good the conquered lands were and how easy the people were to manage, he stepped back from the khans' orders and subdued the peoples to himself. As the time went on, the neighbouring tribes, which were Alans, Zyggii, Gothi, Rus' and many others, learned their language and, naturally, adopted their customs and clothing, became their allies in war. Hence, the Tocharian tribe soon became extremely widespread, powerful and unbeatable; so, when it, as a rebellious tribe, was attacked by the supreme rulers, not only it did not give in, it also defeated many of them. In general, the Tocharians are easy-going and sociable, fast and strong at war, vain in life, unpretentious and careless when it comes to maintenance. Their legislator was neither Solon, Lycurgus, nor Dragon (as they were legislators of Athenians, Lacedaemonians and other similar nations—the wise men of the wisest and the smartest, the best in science), but an unknown and wild, who was first a blacksmith, then rose to the title of Khan (that is how they call their ruler); nevertheless, he brought up courage in his tribe to leave the Caspian Gate and promised them victory, if they obeyed his laws well. The laws were as follows: do not cede to comfort, be content with what will happen, help each other, avoid autonomy, love the community, do not think about the means of life, consume any food as there is no bad food, have many wives and provide them with all that is necessary. Hence, the fast reproduction of this tribe and abundance of all the needed. They were also accustomed to not have things in possession forever and not live in houses, like their own estate, but move from place to place when needed. When there was not enough food, they were to hunt with a weapon in their hands, or stab a horse and drink its blood; if solid food was needed, they said to take the internals of a sheep, pour blood on them and put them under the saddle, where they would cook a little with warmth from the horse, and that would be their dinner. If someone would find a piece of old fabric, one had to sew it to one's dress right away, whether one needs it or not—it does not matter (so that the Tocharians were not ashamed to sew old patches to their old clothes, when it would be needed). Using these regulations, the legislator taught his subjects to live in complete mindlessness. Having received a spear, saddle, clothes and life itself from a woman, a Tocharian was ready for a battle with an enemy right away, with no problems. Secured with such regulations from their Chinggis Khan (now I remember his name: Chinggis is his name, Khan means Tsar), they are certain in their words and true in action; being free souled and straightforward at heart, they wish to hear truth and see authenticity of actions in others.

Thus, having engaged in blood tie with their tribe leader, Nogai, the Tsar sent him many materials for clothing and for different food, and, moreover, barrels full of fragrant wine. After tasting the food and wine, Nogai accepted all of it with pleasure along with gold and silver cups. But as for various caps and clothes (since such things were sent to him from the Tsar as a gift as well), he moved them aside and asked the carrier: does this head cap cure headache, or do these pearls and other stones protect the head from lightning and thunder, so that the one wearing the cap becomes invincible? Can these precious dresses save me from exhaustion and tiredness? If no one stopped him, he would tear the sent clothes apart; if he tried one or another on, it was only for the sake of friendship with the Tsar, but he wore it only for a minute, afterwards, he would come out in his dog fur or wool clothing and be proud of it more than of those of high value. He did the same with the caps, choosing the useful ones over precious. Having found anything useful, he would tell the carrier: this treasure is for this and for that, and put it on right away, drawing his attention not the stones and pearls, but to the thing's application. <...>'.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 7**Rashid al-Din. 'The Compendium of Chronicles'**

Sources and notes are quotes as per the following edition: Rashid-ad-Din. *Sbornik letopisej*. Tom II. (Rashid al-Din. *The Compendium of Chronicles*. Volume II) / Transl. from Persian by Yu. Verkhovsky, notes by Yu. Verkhovsky and B. Pankratov, edited by prof. I. Petrushevsky.—Moscow-Leningrad, 1960.—pp. 78–87.

'PART TWO**NARRATIVE OF JOCHI KHAN;**

**DATE [OF ACCESSION TO THE THRONE] AND STORIES ABOUT THE PERIOD OF
HIS REIGN; DESCRIPTION OF THE THRONE, WIVES, TSAREVICHES
AND EMIRS DURING HIS ACCESSION TO THE THRONE;**

**NOTE ABOUT HIS SUMMER AND WINTER NOMAD CAMPS AND SOME WARS,
WHICH HE WAGED, ABOUT THE VICTORIES, WHICH HE GAINED;
DURATION OF HIS REIGN**

All the regions and ulus located between the Irtysh River and the Altai mountains, summer and winter nomad camps of those surroundings were granted by Chinggis Khan to Jochi Khan. Chinggis Khan also issued a strict decree, according to which [Jochi Khan] had to conquer and annex Desht-i Qipchaq and states, located in these lands. His yurt was within the Irtysh bank, and there was the capital of his country. That's all!

Short story about Jochi Khan's affairs

Due to the fact that Jochi Khan died earlier than his father, it's impossible to narrate a story only about him, that is why we [hereby] provide a short description of his deeds, which [have already been] mentioned in details in the narrative of Chinggis (Genghis) Khan, as well as circumstances of his illness and death. That's how it was:

According to Chinggis Khan's order, Jochi Khan was constantly in campaigns and he conquered and subdued many regions and cities, so when Chinggis Khan, heading to the Tajiks, reached Otrar, he left him [Jochi Khan] there, telling him to conquer Otrar. Jochi Khan, as it has [already] been told in the narration of Chinggis Khan, captured Otrar and, having destroyed it, went back. He conquered the regions, which were on his way back, until he came to his father in Samarkand. Chinggis Khan once again sent him together with his brothers Chagatai and Ögedei [in a campaign] to conquer Khwarezm. When they besieged this place¹, they could not capture it due to his [Jochi Khan's] disagreement with Chagatai. Chinggis Khan assigned Ögedei commander in that war. Thanks to his abilities, he established agreement among the brothers, and they captured Khwarezm in unity. Chagatai and Ögedei set off to their father and reached [him] in Talikan Fortress. As for Jochi Khan, he headed to the Irtysh through Khwarezm, where his slings of carts were waiting, and joined his hordes. [Previously] Chinggis Khan ordered Jochi to start a campaign and conquer the northern countries, such as: Kalar, Bashgird, Urus, Cherkes, Desht-i Qipchaq and other regions lying in these lands. When he evaded the task and went to his dwellings, Chinggis Khan was enraged and said: 'I will execute him, he will see no mercy.' But suddenly Jochi became ill, and that is why when his father came back from the country of the Tajiks to his headquarters, he could not ride to him, but sent several *khavārs*² of hunted swans³ and profuse apologies. Subsequently, Chinggis Khan repeatedly ordered him to come, but due to his illness [he] kept on not coming and apologising. Then [one day] a man from the Mangut tribe rode through Jochi's yurts; and Jochi, changing one yurt to another and remaining ill, reached one mountain where he generally hunted. As he was weak, he sent hunting emirs to hunt. When this man saw this hunting group, he decided that it was Jochi [himself who was hunting]. When he came to Chinggis Khan, he was asked about Jochi's illness, and so he replied: 'I have no data on Jochi's illness, but I saw him hunting on a mountain...' Chinggis Khan inflamed with anger and decided that [Jochi], apparently, rebelled and paid no attention to his father's words, and said: 'Jochi must be mad to do this.' And he ordered his army, headed by Chagatai and Ögedei,

to set off to Jochi's dwellings, planning to follow them afterwards. Meanwhile, the sad news⁴ about Jochi were delivered in...⁵. This news deeply distressed and saddened Chinggis Khan, he carried out an investigation and proved that this Mangut was lying, and Jochi was really ill and could not hunt. [Chinggis Khan] demanded this man be executed, but nobody could find him. Respected emirs and messengers, coming from Jochi's ulus at various times, told that his death had happened when he was from thirty to forty years [old], and these words are comparatively close [to the truth]. Others said that he declined when he was twenty years old, but it is clearly a delusion. After his and Chinggis Khan's death, when Ögedei Qa'an enthroned, he rigorously fulfilled the decree about Jochi Khan's conquest of the northern regions, previously issued by Chinggis Khan, and ordered the members of his house to continue his ancestor's assignment, and they engaged in this [conquest] with the help of other tsareviches.

**Story about Batu's enthronement as his father's successor
and notes about circumstances of his [life] during [his] reign**

When Jochi Khan died, Batu, his second son, ascended to the Khan's throne in his ulus. His brothers submitted and obeyed. In Ögedei Khan's epoch, as it was told in details in the narrative of Ögedei Khan, his brothers and other tsareviches were assigned as per the previous decree issued by Chinggis Khan to conquer the northern lands. All the assigned gathered at Batu's ulus and jointly set off and, as it has [already] been narrated, conquered the majority of these countries. After tsareviches Mengü Qa'an and Güyük Khan return [from the campaign], his brothers and he [Batu], as it has [already] been mentioned in addition to his genealogy, started conquering the remaining part of these regions. In the beginning of 639 [July 1241 AD], when Ögedei Qa'an died, Batu, due to his declining years, felt a decline of strength. He was requested to attend the quriltai, but on [the ground] of the illness he evaded his participation [in it]. As he was the oldest of all [the relatives], due to his absence, the affair with [the title] of Khan was not cleared out for three years. Töregene Khatun, the oldest of Ögedei Qa'an's wives, was ruling. Meanwhile, distemper went into the suburbs and central parts of the state. The Khan made his grandson Shiremun the heir to the throne, but Töregene Khatun and some emirs could not agree and said: 'Güyük Khan is older'—and they asked Batu to enthrone him. Even though he felt aggrieved and was afraid of sad events due to previous relations, still he set off and rode very slowly. [Even] before his arrival and relatives' appearance, they confirmed Güyük Khan's title by means of their own power. Due to the fact that Güyük Qa'an was suffering from an incurable illness, he headed to Emil-Kudjina⁶ together with all his army on the grounds that 'the water and air of the ancient yurt, granted by my father, are more wholesome for me'. When Batu approached this place, he started to have some fears. By virtue of the mutual friendship, established and set among Jochi and Tolui Khan and their houses from the times of Chinggis Khan, Sorkhokhtani⁷—Bekhi, the oldest wife of Tolui Khan, secretly sent a message, that Güyük Khan came to these lands not without cunning intentions. In this regard, Batu's distrust increased, and he was waiting for Güyük Khan's arrival with precaution and prudence. As for [Güyük Khan], he died in 640 [1 July 1242–20 July 1243 AD] from the illness he had been suffering from, when he reached Samarkand located one week away from Beshbalyk. And once again the throne remained Khanless for a long period of time, and Töregene Khatun continued her reign.

Sorkhokhtani-Bekhi sent her son Mengü Qa'an to Batu, as soon as the news about his illness blew about, on the grounds of visiting the ill. Batu was glad to receive him, and as he noticed with his own eyes the signs of glory and intelligence in this man, [moreover] being offended by Ögedei Qa'an's children, he said: 'Mengü Qa'an is the eldest son of Tolui Khan, who was the eldest son of Chinggis Khan; the root yurt and dwelling [of Chinggis Khan] belong to him. This tsarevich⁸ is very intelligent and gifted and prepared for reign. Who else can be the Khan, if he is present? Moreover, Ögedei Qa'an's children acted in contradiction to their father's words and did not give the authority to Shiremun, and contravened the ancient law and custom, without relatives' advice and any reason killing the youngest daughter of Chinggis Khan, whom he loved more than [his] any other child and called Chaur-sechen. That is why they don't deserve the khanate'. He installed⁹ Mengü Qa'an on the throne and made all his brothers, relatives and emirs obey and subdue. He sent his brother Berke Khan and

son Sartaq, who was an heir to the throne, with Mengü Qa'an, accompanied with three tumens, so that they were able to put Mengü Qa'an on the imperial throne of qa'anate in the region of Onon and Keluren, the root yurt of Chinggis Khan, and cope with the intrigues of Ögedei Qa'an's children, who had been planning treachery.

All in all, the house of Tolui Khan commenced ruling the qa'anate and established [its] rights to it thanks to Sorkhokhtani-Bekhi's abilities and insight as well as to Batu's help and assistance, thanks to his friendship. After this event till the end of his life, and even after his death in the times of Sartaq and Ulaghchi, and most of the time of Berke, the houses of Tolui Khan and Batu shared feelings of unity and friendship.

Within the lifetime of Batu Mengü Qa'an sent his third brother, Hulagu Khan, with a large army to Iran lands and ordered to [select] two men out of each ten warriors of every tsarevich's army in order to send these men together with Hulagu Khan as helpmates. Orda sent his elder son Kuli with one tumen through Khwarezm and Dekhistan, whereas Batu sent¹⁰ Balakan, Shayban's son, and Tutar, Mingkadar's son, grandson of Buval, who was the seventh son of Jochi Khan, through Kipchak Derbent, so that they became a reinforcement to Hulagu Khan's army and served him. Batu deceased in 650 [14 March 1252–2 March 1253 AD] in the lands of...¹¹, on the bank of the Itil river. He was forty-eight when he died. Möngke Khan received his son Sartaq with honour, assured his throne and state and gave [him] a permission to leave. He [Sartaq] also died on his way back. Mengü Qa'an sent his messengers, inducing and gaining friendship of his wives, sons and brothers, as well as wishing Ulaghchi [Batu's son] the throne and tsardom of his father and marking everybody with various favourable and affectionate words. Soon Ulaghchi also died and left his throne and tsardom to others. That's all!

Story about Berke's enthronement to the throne of Jochi Khan's ulus and about circumstances of [his] life

When Batu died and his sons Sartaq and Ulaghchi, who were chosen his successors, died one after the other, and [when] his younger brother Berke took his place in 652 [21 February 1254–9 February 1255 AD], his orders were strictly fulfilled in his ulus. He traditionally kept amiable sincere terms with the house of Tolui Khan, going along the road of faithfulness, benevolence and unity. In 654 [30 January–20 December 1265 AD] Balakan, who was in this state¹², laid a scheme of treachery and betrayal against Hulagu Khan and resorted to sorcery. Accidentally [it] came into light¹³. An inquiry was held, he confessed. In order to prevent the insult, Hulagu Khan sent [Balakan] and emir Sundjaq to Berke. When they arrived, the doubtless guilt of Balakan was proved, and Berke sent Balakan [back] to Hulagu Khan: 'He is guilty, and you should deal with it.' Hulagu Khan executed him. Soon after that Tutar and Kuly died. It was surmised that they were deliberately given a deadly potion. That is why they became discontented [with each other], and Berke started to have a feud with Hulagu Khan, and as it will be told in the narrative of Hulagu Khan, they had a battle in Shawwal, 660 [August 1262 AD]. Most of the army which had arrived with Kuly and Tutar scattered away. Some of them left through Khorasan and dwelled from the mountains of Ghazni and Bini-Gau to Multan and Lahore, which were the borders of Hindustan. The older of emirs, who were the commanders of the army, was Nikuder, and Unkudjene, one of Hulagu Khan's emirs, was close on their heels. Others reached their dwellings through Derbent. This feud between Berke and Hulagu Khan continued during [all their] lives. Nokai, a son of Jaruq¹⁴, who was a son of Tumakan, who was a son of Kuly, was Berke's commander. He was a brave and varmint tsarevich. In 663 [24 October 1264–12 October 1265 AD] Hulagu Khan died in his winter nomad camp in Chagatu, and his son Abaqa Khan took his place on the throne, he preserved his hostile relations with Berke. In 663 [24 October 1265–12 October 1266 AD] Berke returned to Shirvan and, having passed through Derbent, died near the Terek River in 664 [13 October 1265–1 October 1266 AD]. That's all!

**Story about the enthronement of Mengu-Timur, a son of Toqoqan Khan,
who was the second son of Batu, to [the throne] to rule his ulus**

When Berke died, he was replaced by the aforementioned Mengu-Timur. For a long time he also resisted Abaqa Khan, and they had several battles, and Abaqa Khan was winning. Finally, in...¹⁵ due to urgent necessity they concluded peace, as it has been described in detail in the narration of Anaqa Khan. Since then they had forgotten their disputes until the times of Arghun Khan, when in Ramazan, 687 [29 September–28 October 1288 AD] a huge army reached them. Tama-Toqta and Buka were their commanders. Arghun Khan had [already] been heading from his winter nomad camp in Arran and Mugan to his summer one. When he heard about this arrival, he returned and sent an army headed by older emirs Togachar and Kunji-Bal. And there was a battle, and they killed Burultai, [one] of the commanders of their army and many warriors. The splintered enemies turned back. Since then, a blessed epoch of Islamic sovereign Ghazan Khan, let Allah immortalise his authority, they abandoned their conflict and due to [their] weakness preferred an agreement to a feud, looking for friendship and unity and sending the Islamic sovereign messengers with the news about their [affairs] with gifts and offerings. That's all!

**Story about the enthronement of Tuda Mengu, about his overthrow carried out
by Mengu-Timur's and Tarbu's sons, about their conjoint ruling, about Toqta's escape,
about their canning capture executed thanks to Nokai's help and about [their] execution**

After 16 years of reign, Mengu-Timur died in 681 [11 April 1282–31 March 1283 AD], and on this very day Tuda Mengu, the third son of Toqoqan, ascended [to the throne] and was a sovereign for some time. Afterwards, Mengu-Timur's sons, Algu and Togryl, and Tula-Buka and Kunchek, sons of Tarbu, the oldest son of Toqoqan, dethroned Tuda Mengu on the grounds that he was insane. They ruled conjointly for five years. They started to plot against Toqta, Mengu-Timur's son, whose mother was Oljai-Khatun, Kelmish-Aka Khatun's granddaughter. They started to conspire when they noticed that he showed the signs of courage and manhood. He found out about this circumstance and ran away from them, searching for protection from Ilylkchi, Berkechar's son. He sent the following message to Nokai, who was a commander of Batu and Berke: 'The cousins attempt my life¹⁶, you are older, I resort to the protection of the one who is older, so that he will support me and stop this attempted assassination. Until I'm alive, I will obey to the older one and will follow his orders.' When Nokai found out [about it] he felt grudge and indignation. He pretended being ill and set off from Urus and Kehreb, which he had conquered and made them [his own] yurt and residence, then he crossed the Uzi river and won over each thousand and each emir, whom he visited. He told [them] : 'The declining years are coming, I abandoned arguments, disputes and distempers, have no arguments with anybody and don't want to make war. However, I've got a decree from Sain Khan¹⁷, according to which if somebody executes a wrongdoing in his ulus and disturb the ulus, I will investigate this [case] and make peace between the arguing.' Thousands and warriors, hearing these guidance and seeing his concern, subdued and obeyed him. When he approached the horde of the aforementioned tsareviches¹⁸, he pretended being ill—drank fresh blood and vomited it back. He went along the road of friendship and amity, but secretly sent Toqta a message: 'You need to be ready and, as soon as you receive my notice, you should come [to me] with an army, which [you] 'll be able to get.' When Tula-Buka's mother heard about moderation and sincerity of Nokai and about the fact that he vomited blood, she told her sons: 'Have a conversation with this feeble old man as soon as possible, as he is leaving [this] world and firmly wants to get to another world. If you were careless and negligent [in this affair], than your mothers' milk would have been useless for you!' As per [their] mothers' advice, tsareviches came to Nokai carelessly and imprudently to pay him a visit. He said them as a guidance the following: 'Dear children, I served your fathers, and used to restore justice in past and recent times, that is why you need to hear my harsh words, so that I [will be able] to transform your arguments into true agreement. Your good is in peace, arrange the qu-riltai, and I will give you peace.' And he was continuously vomiting caked blood. Having informed Toqta [about their arrival], he used this sweet talk to lull the tsareviches' vigilance, until Toqta and several thousands appeared unexpectedly and captured the tsareviches, killing them immediately. Nokai went back straight away and crossed the Itil river, heading to his permanent yurt. That's all!

Story about Toqta's enthronement to the throne¹⁹ of his ulus, about his disagreement with Nokai, about the war between them, about Nokai's defeat and execution

Toqta killed the aforementioned tsareviches thanks to Nokai's help, and afterwards became a sovereign on Jochi's throne and repeatedly sent messengers to Nokai, inviting him and promising him great fortunes. [However] Nokai did not agree to come. Saljidai Gurkhan from the Khongirad tribe, Toqta's father-in-law and Kelmish-Aka Khatun's husband, proposed his son Yajlag, born by the abovementioned Khatun, as a husband for Nokai's daughter, a certain Kabaq, and Nokai agreed. Soon after the wedding Kabaq-Khatun converted to Islam. Yajlag did not get along [with her], as he was a member of a religious community of the Uyghurs. They used to quarrel and argue on the topic of religion and beliefs. His community despised Kabaq. She told her father, mother and brothers [about it]. Nokai was in a rage and sent a messenger to Toqta saying: 'People know how much I struggled and how many troubles I overcame, I got involved in treachery and trickery in order to free the throne of Sain Khan²⁰ for you, and now karachu Saljidai is sitting on this throne. I [my] son Toqta wants to strengthen our father-and-son relationship he should send Saljidai to his yurt, situated near Khwarezm.' Toqta disagreed. And once again Nokai sent his messengers [to him] with his request regarding Saljidai. Toqta said: 'He is like a father and a tutor to me, and [he] is an old emir, how can I deliver him into the enemy's hands?' And he didn't give [him] out. Nokai had a wife, whose name was Chapai and who was most intelligent and gifted. She was the one who had repeatedly ridden to Toqta with ambassadors. She had three sons: the eldest was Juke, the middle one was Eke and the youngest one was Turi. They gained over several thousands which belonged to Toqta, and, having submitted them, put them across the Itil [river], making a bold and violent gesture in Toqta's lands by ruling [there] by themselves. Tokhta got angry and requested them to return [these] thousands. But Nokai also refused, saying: 'I shall send them back when he brings Saljidai to me, as well as his son Yajlag and Tama-Toqta.' This situation flared a fire of disturbance and enmity. Toqta mobilised an army and in 698 [9 October 1298–30 August 1299 AD] carried out a parade of approximately thirty tumens on the bank of the Uzi [river]. Due to the fact that the Uzi did not get frozen completely that winter, he was unable to cross it. As for Nokai, he remained where he was. In spring Toqta turned back and spent the summer on the bank of the Tan [river]. Next year Nokai crossed the Tan together with his sons and wives and once again proceeded with tricks, saying: 'I've got an intention to [organise] the quriltai in order to make peace with you.' He knew that Toqta's army had dispersed and there [was] only a small part of it with him, so he hurried to move forward in order to attack him unexpectedly. Toqta found out about his arrival and gathered the army. They had a battle in Bakhtiari lands on the bank of the Tan. Toqta was defeated and fled to Sarai. Emirs Madji, Sutan and Sanguy turned their backs on Nokai and headed to Toqta. Toqta summoned Toma-Toqta, a son²¹ of Eluga, who had been protecting and defending Derbent for a long time, and once again gathered a big army and unleashed war with Nokai. Nokai had no power to resist, so he evaded [the battle] and crossed the Uzi river. His enemies plundered the city of Crimea and captured many captives. The local citizens went to Nokai's headquarters and implored for release of the captives. Nokai ordered to bring the captives back. Warriors immediately became angry with Nokai and send the following notification to Toqta: 'We are the slaves and lieges of the ilkhan²²; if the sovereign forgives us, we will capture Nokai and bring him to you.' Nokai's sons found out about this message and decided to stand against the thousands. Emirs—the thousands heads—sent a man to Teke, the second son of Nokai, [with the following message] : 'We all conspired against you, but if you hurry to us, we will give the ruling to you.' Teke rushed to them. He was instantly captured. Juke, who was the eldest brother, mobilised an army and fought with the greater thousands. The thousands were defeated, and one head of thousands got into his hands. He sent his head to the remaining thousands, which had captured Teke. Three hundred men were guarding him. They took his side and one night ran away and went to Nokai and [his] sons. When Toqta learned about their discordance, he crossed the Uzi river with sixty tumens and settled on the bank of the Tarku River, where Nokai's yurt was located. At the same time, Nokai, sitting in an araba cart, approached with thirty tumens from the other bank [of the river] and settled there. Pretending to be ill, he lay in his araba cart and sent his messengers to Toqta, saying: 'Your slave did not know that the sovereign was coming personally. [My] tsardom and army belong to the slaves of the

ilkhan²³, and [your] slave is an old man, he is feeble, he spent all [his] life serving to your fathers. If there was a misdeed, [it] happened because of the sons. I hope that the sovereign will be merciful and will forgive them" However, he secretly sent Jule with a big army and ordered him to cross the Tarku higher up the river and stroke Taqta and his army. Toqta's soldiers on guard duty captured a spy and this spy described the state of affairs. When Toqta found out about this treachery, he ordered his army to get ready and set off. The armies started to fight. Nokai and his sons were defeated, and many people were killed in this battle. Nokai ran away with seventeen horsemen. A Russian horseman from Toqta's army wounded him. Nokai said: 'I am Nokai, lead me to Toqta, who is the Khan'. Urus took his [horse's] headrope and led him to Toqta. But he gave up his [spirit] on his way there. As for Toqta, he gloriously returned to Sarai Batu, which was their capital. Nokai's sons hesitated over the choice without any use [for them] ; and as they saw no good in their fate Eke, Chubi's son, and Yajlak, Turi's mother, addressed to Juke: 'The best we can do is to leave the argument and cussedness behind and to go to Toqta.' Juke was intimidated by this proposal, so he killed his brother and step-mother, and kept on [purposelessly] wandering with some adherents²⁴. He hid in a fortress, the way to which was as narrow as As-Sirat [Bridge]²⁵ and as tight as the heart of a tightwad; what will be his end? Even before that Nokai laid foundation for a sincere friendship and unity with Anaqa Khan and Arghun Khan, in...²⁶ he sent his wife, son Turi and an emir to Anaqa Khan sought marriage for Anaqa Khan's daughters. He [Anaqa Khan] married his daughter with Turi. They stayed there for some time and left, having enjoyed much kindness. When Nokai and Toqta quarreled, he repeatedly sent distinguished ambassadors to the Islamic sovereign [Ghazan Khan], let Allah immortalise his authority, appealed [to him] asking for help and wanted to become dependent²⁷ from his highest person. Indeed, the situation was very convenient, but the Islamic sovereign Ghazan Khan, let Allah immortalise his ruling, disagreed to help due to highness of [his] thoughts and paid no attention to unfavourable circumstances of [Toqta] saying only the following: 'Currently treason and breach of promise are far from being noble; treachery and lies are frowned upon and forbidden by sense, God law and Yasa; and even though Nokai and I are good friends, I won't deal with his arguments and quarrels, as using a convenient situation for evil is not a praiseworthy quality, and this is especially true for supreme sovereigns'. Toqta was afraid and on the alert [himself], so in order to get rid of this circumstance he [also] sent ambassadors offering friendship. The Islamic sovereign Ghazan Khan, let [Allah] immortalise his authority, summoned the ambassadors from both sides and told them during the reception the following: 'I won't take part in your internal strife and won't make use of your inconvenient circumstances. If you make peace, it will be good and meritoriously'. In order to [get rid of] their doubts and suspicions, he personally decided not to spend the winter in Arran, but spent it in Baghdad and Diyarbakır, so that their spirits were calm and confident. In his heart he still keeps friendly feelings and sincerity for both Toqta and Nokai's sons. He repeatedly ordered and [always] continue to order relatives to stop their quarrels with them and not to seek motives for enmity. 'We will never start an argument [he said] and won't be [the first] to start something that will cause distemper, because then we won't be guilty of devastation in the ulus'. It seems that the Supreme Creator created his sinless and radiant soul from pure kindness and limitless mercy. This sovereign, gifted with magnanimity of character, famous in all the ends of the world for [his] just and virtue. [This is] the Tsar of Tsars, concerned about religion, he is an impartial justice, arranger of the army, kind to his subjects, [born] under a lucky star, chosen by the crowd. Let our God, one-above-all and all-mighty, grant him being [ahead] of the world's peoples for many years and endless ages, let our God grant him a life full of pleasures, statehood, tsardom and authority. I swear on the honour of the best of prophets [Muhammad] and his house of righteous men! Let Allah be merciful to [his] slave, who said 'Amen'. <...>

Notes¹

- ¹ 'Bukhara'.
² خروار 'kharvār'—a unit of mass, which equals 300 kg in Tabriz.
³ قوقو 'swan'?
⁴ that is, of death.
⁵ Omission in manuscripts.
⁶ ایمیل قوجین.
⁷ سیورقو قتنی.
⁸ Literally 'son', meaning Mengü.
⁹ Literally 'lifted'.
¹⁰ دریند قیجا.
¹¹ Omission in manuscripts.
¹² That is, in Iran.
¹³ I, B, B1*—'the informer reported'.
¹⁴ Manuscript A has: 'Tatara, son' بوال written under this name. <...>
¹⁵ Omission in all manuscripts.
¹⁶ From here until the end of the sentence third person is used everywhere instead of second person.
¹⁷ That is, from Batu.
¹⁸ Literally 'sons'.
¹⁹ Literally 'for ruling'.
²⁰ That is, Batu.
²¹ Tsarevich?
²² ما بنده و ایل خانیم.
²³ از ان بندکان ایخانست — that is, to ilkan.
²⁴ یاوکی میگرد) from ch. یوکرمق. Budagov, Vol. 2, p. 380 (Budagov L. Comparative dictionary of Turkish-Tatar dialects, Vol. 1, St. Petersburg, 1869; Vol. 2, St. Petersburg, 1871—*Editor's note*).
²⁵ As per an Islamic belief the bridge across Hell is as thin as a hair, and as sharp as a saber. Righteous men will cross the bridge and go to Heaven, whereas sinners will fall into an eternal fire.
²⁶ Omission in all manuscripts.
²⁷ متعلقان 'under the aegis'?

Materials were prepared by Alsu Arslanova

¹ A—a manuscript of the 14th century from the collection of Jurabek of the State Public Library of Uzbekistan; I—a manuscript from 1596 Of the Tehran Museum; B—a manuscript of 1576 From the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences; B1—an edition of the text 'Jami al-Tawarikh' E. Blochet in GMS, Leyden-London, 1911.

No. 8

Ötemish Hajji. 'Chinggis-name'

The author of the 'Chinggis-name'—Ötemish Hajji, a son of Mawlānā Muhammad Dosti; a descendant of a powerful family, serving Ilbars Khan (918/1512–931/1525). His ancestors served to Yadgar Khan, a Shaybanid, whose ulus in 80s of 15th century was located in the lower reach of the Syr Darya river. Initially, Ötemish Hajji served the abovementioned Ilbars, apparently, as a court scrivener.

V. Yudin, an orientalist from Kazakhstan, made a significant contribution to studying of the 'Chinggis-name', prepared this work for publishing in Russian, amplifying it with textological notes and transcription of the original text. The 'Chinggis-name' occupied a special place in historiographic analysis of V. Yudin as a source, credibly and vividly depicting historic and socio-economic history of Desht-i Qipchaq in the 14th century, showing the military science, lifestyle, culture, ideology and language of the nomadic population.

Ötemish Hajji's manuscript covers the ruling period of Chinggis Khan and the Chinggisids—13–14th centuries. It contains data on the Khans of the Golden Horde, starting from Batu Khan to Tokhtamysh Khan.

The 'Chinggis-name' was written on the basis of legends and oral information.

The source and comments are quoted as per the following edition: Ötemish Hajji. Chinggis-name/ Facsimile, translation, transcription, textological notes, research by V. Yudin. Commentaries and indications by M. Abuseitova, Alma-Ata: Gylym, 1991, p. 91–104, 108–118.

[Chapter One]

BEGINNING OF THE NARRATIVE OF CHINGGIS KHAN

When Chinggis Khan conquered vilayets¹, [which] were bordered by Baghdad from one side, by Hindustan from another, by Desht-i Qipchaq [and] the Idil river² from the other side, he granted these vilayets to his four-five sons. Hulagu Khan³ got the vilayet of Iraq. Ögedei Khan was ruling in his vilayet. Tuli Khan was by Chinggis Khan's side. Chagatai Khan got the vilayets of Bukhara, Samarkand⁴, Khorasan⁵ and Hisar⁶.

Jochi Khan was the eldest of his sons. He [Chinggis Khan] gave [him] a big army and sent him to rule in Desht-i Qipchaq, saying: 'Let it be a pasture for your horses'. He [also gave him] the vilayet of Khwarezm. When Jochi Khan rode to the vilayet of Desht-i Qipchaq, he reached Ulug-Tag⁷, which is well-known. One day, when he was hunting in the mountains, he saw a herd of maral-kiyiks (deers and roe deers). He was following the herd, shooting arrows, fell off his horse, broke his neck and died.

[Chapter Two]

IJAN KHAN [AND] SAIN KHAN

Ijan Khan and Sain Khan are famous. They were born by Turali Khan's daughter, his [Jochi Khan's] wife. [He also had] seventeen sons, who were born by other wives. These Ijan and Sain // succeeded each other on the throne. Sain Khan was younger. He told his elder brother Ijan the following: 'You are my elder brother, [who] was like a father to me. It means that you are my father. We are leaving for an alien yurt⁸. You should be the Khan.' Ijan replied: 'It is the truth that I am older than you. But our father loved you a lot and you grew up spoiled. Up to this moment I coddled you and subdued. [But] one day it [may happen] that, if I become the Khan, I won't be able to subdue [any more], and there will be a war [and] much hatred between us. [So] you should be the Khan. I will be able to accept your leadership, while you won't be able to accept mine.' [Sain] offered his elder brother the throne many times, saying: 'How can you say that?! How I can possibly be the Khan, when I've got the elder brother as per yasak⁹?!' When he refused, and when [Sain] said the following: 'Then, let's do something. Let's go to our mighty grandfather Chinggis (Genghis) Khan. I will tell him what I think, so will you. Whatever our grandfather decides, we'll comply',—[he] approved these words and accepted [them]. Two sons, born by one mother, and seventeen sons, born by other mothers, altogether went to the korunush¹⁰ of the great Khan. When they came to serve their [grandfather], the Khan erected three yurts for them: a white yurt with

a golden doorstep for Sain-Khan; // blue horde¹¹ with a silver doorstep for Ijan and a gray horde with a steel doorstep for Shayban¹².

In brief, Shayban Khan's oghlans are proud and cocky to oghlans of Tokhtamysh Khan¹³, Timur-Kutlu¹⁴ and Urus Khan¹⁵ due to three reasons. They say: 'We are exceeding you'. First of all, because of the yurt. [They] say: 'Our father Jochi Khan had died, and after that our fathers went to our mighty grandfather Chinggis Khan, who, having erected yurts for Ijan and Sain, [also] erected a yurt for our father Shayban Khan. But [he] didn't prepare [even] a [roofed] cart for your father. Secondly,—[they] say,—when Öz Beg Khan, being in anger, showed kindness to Kiyat Isatay and gave [him] for koshun¹⁶ all his oghlans together with their houses and tribes, he showed us respect and honour and gave us a two-part el¹⁷, saying: '[They] are the oghlans of bogatyr Shayban, who used to saber [and] conquer yurts'. One of them was the Karluk tribe, the other was the Buyrak. [We] took these two els, we were left to ourselves in our yurt, given [to us] by Sain Khan. When [other oghlans] put stones [and] bricks in the mausoleum of Jir Kutla¹⁸, when [they] were standing around the doors [of the yurt] of his son Tengiz Buga¹⁹ [and] kneeling while singing the hymn in his honour, we didn't participate in this'. Moreover, when Berdi Beg Khan²⁰ was ruling, and Sain Khan's oghlans perished, Tay Duali Begim, Jani Beg Khan's mother, having decided that the yurt and Khanate would belong to Shayban Khan's oghlans, summoned Khizr Khan, Mangkutai's²¹ son, [and] made [him] the Khan in the vilayet of Sarai²². 'We took the throne of that Khan after Sain Khan's oghlans',—[they] say. This story is provided hereby as a retelling.

And here we are once again at the beginning of the previous legend.

In short, when they returned from the korunush in Chinggis Khan's headquarters to the allocated vilayets, Sain Khan, having arrived on the banks of the Idil River, mobilised an army and organised a campaign against Maskav²³, the city located in the vilayet of Urus.

They say the following things happened. During that campaign [Sain Khan] gave Shayban Khan thirty thousand people and sent him to the vanguard detachment, [whereas] he was following him. [Shayban Khan] was three days ahead. Moscow sovereign received the news [about the enemy approaching. He] rode towards the enemy with one hundred and fifty thousand people. They received the news about Moscow sovereign riding towards them. Shayban Khan decided to approach him in a forced march. No matter how much [Beks] tried to talk [him] out of it, [he] was uncompromising. So by means of the forced march three days away from the [major army] [he] burst into the camp of [the sovereign], who was unaware of the peril. The Russian sovereign could not defeat [Shayban Khan, so the latter] captured its [Russian vilayet's] sovereign. Those, who were to be killed from his army, were killed, [while] the others were captured. [They] took a countless amount of property and equipment, chain armors [and] cuirasses. However, Shayban Khan ordered not to appropriate any things or [pieces] of equipment, grabbed by any man, [and] to bring them all. They say, [that] there were several piles of things, each type [of things] in a separate pile. And [these] piles were uncountable.

[Sain] Khan arrived two days later and saw this victory. The plunderage was taken to the Khan [and] was given to [Sain Khan]. [He] was greatly pleased [and] praised Shayban Khan. Afterwards, when [Sain Khan] arrived and organised the korunushes, he favoured Shayban Khan and was benevolent to him // and gifted him. He gave all the plunderage to Shayban Khan, [and he] gave it to his army. Next morning [they] set off [and then] arrived at the vilayet of Maskav. They stayed there for several months, arranged the affairs in the vilayet, collected mal [and] kharaj²⁴, established darugas²⁵ [and] assigned hakims²⁶. Victorious, they returned to their vilayet.

Meanwhile, before they came back, Ijan Khan's nökers²⁷ rebelled against their master and killed Ijan Khan together with all his oghlans. When Sain Khan learned about it, he was mourning deeply. As soon as he arrived home and organised a funeral banquet, he mobilised his army and organised a campaign against this enemy. And they were unable to oppose, and their leaders ran. Sain Khan resettled all other houses and tribes, annexed them to his el, and gave each aimag²⁸ to a Beg for koshun. This is the reason why it is traditional up to the present time to put mutineers and enemies to the sword.

So when Sain Khan took [all] these vilayets and els, he distributed tribes and kins among all his relatives, and allocated [them] lands and yurts. But when he consulted his Beks while allocating vilayets, kins and tribes to Shayban Khan, his Beks said: 'This man did a great deed. And now he is putting on airs.

It's no good giving him kins, tribes and vilayets, keeping [him] close. You should add an army to those thirty thousand people which [you've recently given to him] and send this man in unconquered vilayets. Let him take any vilayet he'll conquer.' [Sain] Khan liked these words, he added another ten thousand Kyat [and] Yuraldai to thirty thousand people, whom he had previously given to [Shayban Khan], and sent [him] as an appointee to the vilayets of Crimea²⁹ [and] Kaffa³⁰.

[Chapter Three]

BEGINNING OF THE NARRATIVE OF SHAYBAN //KHAN

Shayban Khan did many exciting and amazing deeds. We will recount one of these deeds in this short story. So his deed was the following.

There is a strong granite fortress in the vilayet of Crimea called Qırq Yer³¹. Its might and inaccessibility are well-known [all] over the world. [Shayban Khan] was laying siege to [it and] trying to storm it, but he couldn't take it. Finally he ordered: 'Hit any object with another object making clink-clank from dusk till dawn!' [His people] took [such objects] in both hands and started hitting one object with another, they started hitting in copper boilers, trays and bowls. So loud and rumbling it was in his army, that the ground [and] sky shivered, and the ears grew deaf. The besieged were running back and forth in great panic, wondering what had happened. That night this rumpus and clatter didn't stop till the morning, and the besieged didn't sleep. When the sun rose, [the besiegers] stopped [making any noise]. Next evening they started rumbling and clattering again. They repeated their actions for a week [or] for approximately ten days. The besieged were so exhausted due to restless nights [that] they started saying: 'If they had wanted to do something, they would have [already] done it. It is possible, that this time of the year they have such a custom or [such] a tradition',—and they calmed down. When Shayban Khan found out that they had calmed down, he gathered his army. They say that this fortress was located on a bare cliff. That very night [the besiegers] were making more noise [than before]. They started digging underground passages to the fortress from four different sides. By dawn they managed to dig [such a big] passage that a man could pass through it. Due to the rumpus and clatter the besieged could not hear the noise of pick axes [and] could not know that there was [the digging]. When the passages were ready, [the besiegers] started storming the gates. The besieged ran to the gates. One detachment of the Bahadurs were assigned to this digging mission. [The Bahadurs] ran out of these passages, // rushed to the fortress and took it. We were able to talk to some travellers, who had seen this fortress; and they said that the signs of this digging were [still] visible.

After that Shayban Khan went on a campaign to the vilayet of Ulag³² and captured it. Then he went on a campaign against the vilayet of Koral. Koral is a large vilayet. Many battles were held for Koral. Finally, he conquered Koral and made it the capital. He died there. [Even] now there are descendants of the ruler of Koral [vilayet]. Shaykh Ahmad Khan was a captive in this vilayet for several years, then he successfully escaped and came to his vilayet of Hajji-Tarkhan³³. He used to say: 'Whatever aimags our Uzbek peoples belong to, [all these aimags] are present there: they went together with Shayban Khan and stayed there'.

And so now, when we've finished our story about Shayban Khan, we once again come back to the story about Sain Khan. Sain Khan became a great sovereign in the vilayet of Desht[-i Qipchaq]. He ruled in happiness and prosperity for several years. When his fatal hour came and he left this world, he had two sons. One was called Sary-Taq (Sartaq)³⁴, the other was called Tugan (Toqoqan)³⁵. Sary-Taq died before him at the age of eight. Tugan [also] became [fatherless] in his young age. Begs cooperatively sent a scabbard without a saber and a shirt without a collar, meaning that the el was left without a sovereign, and the women were left without their husbands.

When Hulagu Khan found out about this news, he went to the vilayet of Shirvan³⁶ and, having equipped a big army, he sent [it] with [a messenger]. While this army is approaching, we've come to [the story about] Berke Khan³⁷—let [Allah] send his mercy and benevolence to him!

[Chapter Four]

BEGINNING OF THE NARRATIVE OF BERKE KHAN

The aforementioned [Berke Khan] —let him enjoy [Allah's] mercy—is known [due to the fact that] he was a Muslim from the moment he was born by his mother. When he was born he didn't drink milk [neither] of his mother, // [nor] of other non-Muslim women. In this regard, [Jochi] showed [him] to his magicians and sorcerers. When they said: 'He is a Muslim. Muslims don't drink milk of non-Muslim women',—a Muslim woman was sought and brought. He started drinking her milk.

Several years after that his father Jochi Khan died, and he went to Sygnak³⁸, being unable to stay among disbelievers. When he came to this vilayet he heard about distinguished features of Shaykh al-Alam Shaykh al-Din Baharzi³⁹, who was [one] of caliph Khazrat Shaykh Najm al-Din Kubra⁴⁰. So he came to serve him with great eagerness and love. For several years he aimed at obtaining the greatest degree of [spiritual] perfection of saints. He was still serving the Shaykh when Sain Khan died [and] his Begs cooperatively sent a messenger to Hulagu Khan.

One day the Khazrat Sheikh told Berke Khan the following: 'Oh, [my] son! Here is the will of our Supreme God: 'Go and rule in the yurt of [your] fathers!' [He replied] : 'I am serving you. If I go, I will be doomed to rule this [perishable] world and cope with its problems'. So the Sheikh replied: 'You won't be able to evade the Judgment of our Supreme God, even if you get into trouble or accept the torments of this life'. As a result, the abovementioned Khan occurred in a hopeless situation and agreed. It took several days to prepare for the travel, [and then] he left. The Khazrat Sheikh ushered [him] from Bukhara to Karaköl⁴¹. The Khan was walking on foot holding the headrope of the Sheikh's [horse]. In Karaköl the Sheikh blessed [Berke Khan] and returned home, [whereas] the Khan // headed to the vilayet of Desht.

When the vilayet of Desht subdued Berke Khan, he converted the majority of disbelievers into Islam. Some people say, that he ruled for thirteen years, others say that he ruled for sixteen years. Then he united with the merciful God. The Khazrat Khan left no children. Earlier we've mentioned [that] Sain Khan had two sons: one was Sary-Taq, the other was Tugan. Sary-Taq // died before his father at the age of eight. Tugan left two sons: one was called Tuda Mengu⁴², the other was Mengu-Timur⁴³. [When Berke Khan died] this Mengu-Timur was little. And even though Tuda Mengu was of age, he was a feeble-minded, mentally deficient man. Unable to find another descendant of Sain Khan, Begs had to make the aforementioned [Tuda Mengu] their Khan. There are many strange and astonishing legends, unbelievable stories about this man. But [only] one [or] two of them are mentioned in the present manuscript.

They say the following things happened. One day ambassadors of the supreme (?) Khan arrived. Cooperatively, the Begs of the Khan [Tuda Mengu] told him the following: 'This ambassador from a far-away land has come. Don't say anything stupid in front of him. Ask him if the Khan is healthy; also ask him if his el is prosperous. Don't ask anything else'. Moreover, they added: 'You can't do whatever you wish. We will tie a rope to your legs, and one of us will get under the throne and will sit [there] holding the rope. [And] every time you forget about our directions and start saying stupid things, he will pull this rope. [And] then you'll stop talking'. They said [this], and he agreed with their words. They say, [that] despite his madness, he agreed with everything that his Begs told him cooperatively, and he never disobeyed. That is why he was ruling in Desht vilayet for eighteen years.

Edigu-bey—let Allah be merciful to him—used to say: 'If you want to bring disaster upon your enemy, say the following prayer: "Oh, one God! Deprive my enemy of his mind. Moreover, prevent him from paying attention to the words of those who are intelligent!" [Say] this prayer'. // He [also] used to say: 'If someone is not intelligent, [but] listens to the words of the intelligent, he is intelligent. There is no difference!'

In short, the ambassador was received next morning. [Tuda Mengu Khan] asked if the Khan was healthy. He asked, if the people were prosperous. Then he asked, 'Are there many mice in your el?' [The ambassador] replied, 'Yes, there are'. Then he asked, 'Is it raining heavily in your el?' [The ambassador] replied, 'Yes, it is'.

The man, holding the rope saw that the [Khan] was carried away in the conversation. He pulled the rope. [Then] the Khan said to the ambassador: 'I would ask you something else, but somebody is pulling

my legs.' The Begs immediately took away the ambassador, left [the reception] and ushered him away, giving him a horse [and] a fur coat as presents.

When the ambassador returned to his sovereign, the Khan asked him the following: 'What were the circumstances in which you were received by our brother the Khan and how do you find him?' and the ambassador replied, 'I was received only once. I couldn't sort the reception out. During the reception he asked me about your state of health and about prosperity of our people. He also asked the following: "Are there many mice in your el?" I replied, "Yes, there are". And then he asked, "Is it raining heavily in your el?" And I answered, "Yes, it is". Afterwards he said: "I would ask you something else, but somebody is pulling my legs". Immediately after that the Begs stood up and left the reception. So did I. That's how I talked to the Khan'. This Khan and his Begs brooded over this story and said: 'It's good that he asked about our weather, as rains bring good to any people. It's also not bad that he asked about mice: mice always bring evil to everybody'. But no matter how long they reflected, they [still] couldn't understand his words: 'Pulling the rope'. [That's] how the story goes. <...>

Some people say, [that] he was the Khan for eighteen years, [while] others insist [that] he ruled for eight years. Then, as soon as his younger brother Mengu-Timur gained strength, he did the decent thing and said: 'You've been recognising me as the Khan due to the absence of a [dignified] candidate for so long. You were in torment, so was I. And [now] my younger brother, praise Allah, has grown up. I'm pleased with you. Make my brother the Khan', and he abdicated. And the Begs were glad to hear these words [and] made his younger brother Mengu-Timur the Khan.

[Chapter Five]

BEGINNING OF THE NARRATIVE OF MENGU-TIMUR KHAN

[Mengu-Timur Khan] was a just, mighty and wise sovereign. During his reign his people were prosperous. [He] was called Koluq Khan because of his great kindness. And he is famous [under the name of] Mengu-Timur Koluq Khan. They say [that] he reigned for thirty years, [and] then died. He left two sons. The name of one [was] Tokhtogha⁴⁴, the name of the other was Toghrilcha⁴⁵. Tokhtogha succeeded his father to the throne after his father's death.

[Chapter Six]

BEGINNING OF THE NARRATIVE OF TOKHTOGHA KHAN

This Tokhtogha Khan was a great sovereign. Among Sain Khan's oghlans there were few sovereigns, who could be compared with him. They say, [that] he had such a festive table [that] every day his cooks prepared ninety hogs apart from horses, cows, sheep and other animals. He had a son, whose name was El-Basar. He [Tokhtogha Khan] exterminated all his relatives and descendants, because of fear that they would compete with him [El-Basar] for the authority after the Khan's death. He even killed his younger brother Toghrilcha. However, some people say [that] Toghrilcha died from an illness. Toghrilcha had a wife, whose name was Kelin-Bayalin⁴⁶. She was beautiful. When Toghrilcha died, she had a son. She noticed, that Tokhtogha Khan was killing his relatives for his son's benefit. She sent her [child] on the run to the Circassian mountains with several companions. The famous Öz Beg Khan—let [Allah] be merciful to him—[is] this oghlan. Later on [Tokhtogha] Khan married Kelin-Bayalin. He loved her very much. Several years had passed. They say [that] the Khan was ninety years old: he became the Khan when he was ten, he reigned for eighty years. Some people believe, [that] he became the Khan when he was twenty years old and reigned for seventy years. When his life was over, it turned out that his son, whom he had been protecting and whose future ruling he had been securing, died before him. He was deeply sorry that it happened like this, that he had a son, and trembling for his son's succession to the throne he exterminated his own urug⁴⁷, [moreover] he was sorry [that when] he was at death's door, his son had died even before him, [and] that is why his torment was so devastating. Eventually, he became ill because of this sorrow, and his illness lingered.

One day he was lying in his bed, tossing, turning and moaning. Kelin-Bayalin understood why he was moaning [and] said: 'You were constantly ill. [But] why are you moaning [only] now?' He replied: 'How can I not moan?! I completely exterminated my urug for fear that my relatives will start a competition with my only son El-Basar for the Khan title. My son followed them, and now I'm dying as well.

[Now] my yurt will belong to an alien. That's why I'm suffering.' Kelin-Bayalin replied, 'I did something against your will. If you forgive my misdeed, I will tell you.' The Khan immediately rose, sat in his bed and asked, 'What did you do?' Filled with happiness, Tokhtogha Khan felt as healthy [as never before], [when Kelin-Bayalin] replied as follows: 'When your younger brother died, I had a son from him. I was afraid that you would kill him, so I sent [him] on the run to the vilayet of Circassia. Now every year I receive the news from him that he is well. This year he [turned] fourteen. He would possibly come, if you sent your people [for him]'. [Tokhtogha Khan] praised Kelin-Bayalin with a *tumen*⁴⁸ of two thousand [people] for such a happy news. Next morning he summoned his Begs, gave forty thousand people to Kiyat Isatay and Sijut Alatai and sent [them] for Öz Beg Khan—let [Allah] be merciful to him.

[However] Tokhtogha Khan had died before they came back. There was [a certain] Bajir Tok-Buga⁴⁹ from the Uighur *omak*⁵⁰. [The Uighurs] was an *el* with numerous [and] strong houses [and] tribes, it was also the Khan's *atalyk*. It was *shaitan*'s work—as he was a black man—he declared himself Khan. He also married Kelin-Bayalin and other wives of the Khan. Some people say [the following]. Bajir was an Uighur, whereas Tok-Buga was a Nutin. It looks [like] this statement is erroneous, as it is difficult to imagine that two [men] from two [different] houses were Khans at the same time. It's more possible that his name was Bajir, and his nickname was Tok-Buga.

In sum, this Bajir Tok-Buga declared himself Khan, married Tokhtogha Khan's wives and subdued his people.

Meanwhile, those Begs, who had left for Khazrat Öz Beg Khan came to the bank [of the Idil River?]. They received the news that [Tokhtogha] Khan died and Bajir Tok-Buga proclaimed himself Khan and subdued the people. They were bewildered and got worried because of this news. They held counsel on the topic of what they could do. When Kiyat Isatay⁵¹ said: 'Even before these events he was a man with numerous [and] strong houses [and] tribes, but now everyone recognised him. We won't succeed if we'll show our aggression at once. Let's try some trick to get to him, and then we'll decide [what] to do'. Everyone agreed with these words and sent a messenger [to Bajir Tok-Buga]. [That's what they] said: 'The Khan, our lord, sent [us] to fulfill his task. [Now] we are bringing this man there. This man is also a descendant of many generations of our lords. You shouldn't have done that. Right now you've declared yourself Khan in accordance with your qualities. The people have subdued and now obey. And we also have subdued [just as well] [and] will obey. We haven't [even] thought about waywardness. And even if we have, do we have enough power?! This [man] is a boy. We'll bring [him] and will give him to you. You'll do whatever you decide'. They sent a messenger and ordered him [to tell Bajir Tok-Buga the following] : 'We don't want to be separated with our home and *el*'.

When their messenger arrived, [Bajir Tok-Buga] was happy, received [him] and treated him kindly. He immediately sent him [back] together with [his] people. He sent [him], saying the following: 'I did so because I was afraid that someone else could lift his head and would want the khanate.

Is it possible that I would like to be the Khan, when my lord's son is alive? Let the sovereign come. Both the Khanate and people are his!' When they heard these words, they started off immediately. [But] Bajir Tok-Buga and his Begs had deliberated and agreed as follows: 'When they enter the dwelling of the widow, they'll express their woes [in screams]. We'll attack them afterwards, so that they'll be able [to scream] "*chäv-chäv*" only twice'.

In a word, the Kalmaks have such a tradition. When their sovereign, or [a] respected [person] dies, they arrive, crowd after crowd, each house separately, and express their sorrow crying '*chäv-chäv*' three times. This tradition is still preserved among them in Ulug-Tag.

One day Öz Beg Khan and his Begs were riding at night. They met a man, [who] rode past them [with] a frightening scream: 'Say "*chäv*" and say "*chä*".' He said it once and rode away. [They] did not pay attention to his words. When he repeatedly said them, Kiyat Isatay inquired: 'What are the words you keep saying?' This man replied: 'My name is Sangsun. You'll understand the rest'.

Kiyat Isatay thought to himself: '[This man] has something to say,' and so he followed him and asked, 'Tell me. What's that secret?' He answered, 'Bajir Tok-Buga and his Begs were in cahoots and decided to attack and kill you soon after your arrival, when you enter the dwelling and, expressing your sorrow, cry out "*chäv-chäv*" twice. If you didn't attack them, crying "*chäv*" [only] once, then you'd be dead, and

it would be your end. Here is the gist of my secret, [just as] I've told you.' When Isatay told this news to his Begs, they decided that they should act, crying 'chäv' [only once].

Next morning they started off and arrived to the place, where the headquarters was. Bajir Tok-Buga was sitting on the throne in the dwelling, [whereas] his Begs and Nökers were on guard in front of the door. They rode closer, dismounted, and having cried 'chäv-chäv' only once, cried out 'chä' and attacked Bajir Tok-Buga. He was unable to stand up [from the throne], as Isatay came up to him and cut his neck, [he cut it so hard that] his head flew away at a step distance. Alatay put [it] on his dagger, lifted it up [above his head] and cried: 'Here [it is], the head of your lord! Don't move!' Everyone was stunned [and] froze [where he stayed]. Afterwards this head was taken from one kuren to another, and it was declared as follows: 'Let the ruling of black people stop from this moment!'

When Bajir Tok-Buga was killed, Khazrat Öz Beg Khan was elected Khan, and so he started his ruling. <...>

[Chapter Nine]

BEGINNING OF THE NARRATIVE OF BERDI BEG KHAN

Berdi Beg became Khan at his father's [Jani Beg Khan's] throne. This Berdi Beg was a very stupid and reckless man. He killed his relatives and oghlans for fear that they would question his reigning.

They say that there was a man with numerous and strong relatives, whose name was Kangli Tulubay⁵². He was an atalyk of the Khan. [The Khan] did not defy him, no matter what he said. He had a son, whose name was Sumay. He was a bogatyr and a great archer. This Sumay was robbing during Jani Beg's reign. The Khan killed him for that—let [Allah] be merciful to him. It made Tulubay angry, and in revenge for his son he advised [Berdi Beg Khan] as follows: 'You are a young man now. Your sons, who are born in this period, will be growing [with you] at the same time. You'll be getting older, day after day, [whereas] they will be getting strength. They'll question your authority and will take your Khanate from you tomorrow, when you are old. [So] kill them now. When you'll be getting old, then you'll [leave them alone].' And this ill-fated man followed this advice and killed [his sons]. That's why he is called Kerkin-Kötän Khan.

His time was marked by turmoil. Kiyat Mamai took the right wing and went to Crime with the tribes, [as for] the left wing, Tengiz Buga, Kiyat Jir-Kutla's son, took it to the bank of the Syr River. [Berdi Beg] Khan and his insiders were in Sarai. He was the sovereign of Sarai for three years, and then died.

Tai Tugly Begim, a famous wife of Öz Beg Khan and Jani Beg Khan's mother, was alive in the period, [when] there was no Sain Khan's descendant left. [Then] the aforementioned Begim said: 'Now the Khanate and yurt will belong to Shayban Khan's descendants.'

In that period there was a son of Mangutai from Shayban Khan's house, [whose] name was Khyzr oghlan. Mangutai's yurt, allocated [to him] by Sain Khan, was located in [a place] called Ak-Kul⁵³. We've mentioned before why [Mangutai] separated from other [Jochi's] oghlans and stayed in his yurt. In short, the abovementioned Begim summoned Khyzr oghlan and put [him] on Sain Khan's throne in Sarai vilayet. [But] let's interrupt this story [for now]. <...>

Now the story about Khyzr Khan begins. When Tai Dugly Begim summoned Khyzr Khan and made [him] Khan on the throne of Sarai, she erected a golden yurt, left after Öz Beg and Jani Beg Khans, as a wedding yurt. They say the following things happened. Begim dyed her hair black [and] wished to marry [Khyzr] Khan. The Khan also wanted to marry [her]. However, he had a Beg called Qutlugh Buga from the Naimans, who was against it. He said: 'She is a woman, who a subservient of Öz Beg and Jani Beg. [Whereas] you are a man, who has grown as an opponent [to their house]. Give her a lesson. Don't marry!' He followed the advice and didn't marry.

When Begim realised that he wouldn't marry her, she started showing [him] less respect and honour than before. When the Khan, being angry with her, decided to destroy the golden yurt and share [the gold] among his Cossacks⁵⁴, Begim sent a man to the Khan, saying: 'Don't let them do this. When there is no gold [and] silver, [the golden yurt] is a treasure for the Khan. But [still] they shouldn't destroy a building built by good old [men] !' Alas, Khyzr Khan refused to follow her advice, destroyed the yurt and shared the gold. In return Begim became mad at [Khyzr] Khan, gathered her trusted Begs and kicked him away. Khan left and once again came back to Ak-Kul. [Then] this Begim helped a certain

Keldi Beg to become the Khan. Other Begs called him False Keldi Beg. Everyone said: 'Berdi Beg killed Keldi Beg. How could he resurrect?!'

When the el refused to obey [False Keldi Beg], [a man] called Bazarchi⁵⁵ was elected Khan. He was a descendant of Boavul. In this period of time there was a supreme Beg called Sijud 'Ali Beg. [Begim] thought that we wouldn't subdue to this Bazarchi, so she summoned him, [so he] was brought and killed. 'Ali Beg had a son, whose name was Hasan. He ran away and came to Ak-Husein, Kongrat Nagadai's son, who was the hakim of Khwarezm vilayet. This Hasan was his nephew. [Ak-Husein] was terrified because of such indecent actions of Begim, and renounced her.

Ak-Husein sent an ambassador to Khizr Khan, saying: 'This woman is on Devil's path, [as] she's doing such deeds. But we renounced her. We'll start a campaign against her, if you are noble-minded and lead it!' He was also a revengeful man—praise [to him]! Ak-Husein mobilised the army of Khwarezm, came to Ak-Kul, made the abovementioned [Khizr] Khan and started off to Sarai vilayet. There was a battle near Sarai. Bazarchi [and] Begim were captured. Begim was put in roofed sledges, was tied up tightly. A mad stallion was harnessed to the sledges and was set free. This mad stallion ran away with the sledges, he was running in ravines and gullies, hitting the sledges till Begim died. The Uzbeks⁵⁶ say: 'Tai Dugly Begim was killed by Khizr Khan.' And we've described the circumstances of this.

Having killed [Begim], Khizr Khan became Khan for the second time and was reigning for a year and a half. He had a wicked son, whose name was Burut⁵⁷. He couldn't stand that his father became Khan, so he suddenly attacked [him] and succeeded his father to the throne. This provoked the time of turmoils. Each and everyone wanted to rule. Sarai was destroyed. The majority of the el fled to the vilayet of Crimea to Kiyat Mamai. Here we end this narration.

Once again we begin our story about Kara Nogai. For three years Kara Nogai ruled Turkestan vilayets⁵⁸ on the banks of the Syr. Then he died. His younger brother Tugly Timur⁵⁹ succeeded him to the throne. The *däftär*, which was kept by Khazrat Dost Sultan, the pride of sultans, says [that] this Tugly Timur became a great sovereign and ruled Samarkand and Bukhara. However, it's not known how long and when he ruled.

Urus, Badyk oghlan's son, became Khan after him. Urus Khan became a great sovereign, ruled in the vilayets of the whole Turkestan. Tokhtamysh Khan and Timur Kutlu Khan were not ruling in that period. They were serving this sworn Khan. By the grace of God Tokhtamysh oghlan showed royal traits of character, so [Urus] Khan's nökers and other people unwillingly leaned to this aforementioned oghlan. That is why the Khan hated Tokhtamysh oghlan to death and wanted to kill [him].

[Tokhtamysh oghlan] spent that winter serving [Timur] Beg. Spring came, and [Timur] Beg gave him several people. When [Urus Khan] was going to his summer headquarters, [Tokhtamysh oghlan] came up to his el and led away his herd of horses. They were chased, and Tokhtamysh was defeated. He returned to Timur Beg to serve him. In short, Tokhtamysh oghlan was wandering the Cossack way, stealing [Urus Khan's] herds and raiding the el.

Since ancient times the Shirin, Barin⁶⁰, Arghyn⁶¹ [and] Kipchak tribes had been the els of Tokhtamysh oghlan. [And when] this oghlan, leading the Cossack way of life, started behaving like that, daredevils, courageous lads from these els wanted to become his nökers and began supporting [him]. Urus Khan started ravaging in these els. In their turn, they sent a man to Tokhtamysh oghlan with the following message: '[Urus] Khan is angry with us because of you, he is taking out cattle. A disaster is threatening us. If you are unable to take care of us, [than] we will catch you by the collar, and the day of Judgment will come for you!' Tokhtamysh oghlan became really upset when he heard these words, and he told the messenger: 'When you head for the summer headquarters, keep in the back of the [whole] el. Encamp at the bank of a certain river and be prepared. Hopefully, I'll be alive and will certainly come to you!'

Spring came, and [Urus] Khan started off to the summer headquarters. This el followed [the other] els and also moved. When they reached the summer pastures, each el went to a bank of [a] river. These els encamped on the bank of the bespoken river. People were drinking kumis, enjoying themselves and having fun. [And] this was the time [when] Tokhtamysh oghlan [secretly] wriggled his way into this el. Due to the fact that they had already bespoken the conditions and were ready, each head of every family harnessed horses, put his children in carts and ran towards the 'Idil river.

[Only] two days later [Urus] Khan found out that Tokhtamysh oghlan took the Shirin, Barin, Arghyn and Kipchak tribes, as well as his other els to the 'Idil river. Khan immediately set off with his people, sent his messengers around and began chasing these runaways. Meanwhile [Urus] Khan's els drifted away in the summer pastures. The horses eventually became fat. [Urus] Khan was advancing like the wind. The army of far-away els hadn't made it to the Khan in time, whereas horses of near els also became fat.

When [Urus] Khan almost reached them [the runaway els], there were few people near him. There were two hundred people with him, three hundred at the uttermost. At sunset the guardsmen of this [runaway] el rode to the el, having seen [a cloud of] dust raised by [Urus Khan's detachment]. The escapees put heads together and unanimously decided the following: 'They are approaching riding weary horses. After a while they'll come up to us and will attack us [immediately]. We are condemned men. Let's die in front of our families. Additionally, let's save our semen! Let's be separated from Jalal ad-Din Sultan⁶² and Iahshy Hoja with some boys used to the life in the saddle and a guide. Let this guide [lead them] near our detachment at a voice distance. If we defeat the enemy, they will know about [it] thanks to our hooray and will join us. If the enemy defeat us, it will be clear because of his hooray. [Then] they should try to run away in order to save themselves!' They separated from Iahshy Hoja, who was the eldest son of Uriq Timur, and some boys used to the life in the saddle headed by Jalal ad-Din Sultan. Jalal ad-Din Sultan was twelve years old. Iahshy Hoja was approximately the same age.

That night they were riding alongside of the major detachment approximately at a voice distance. When one night watch had passed, [Urus] Khan caught up with them. They sent their carts in front of them, but adopted a formation and followed. [Urus Khan] said: 'These people outnumber us. If the day breaks and they notice that we are outnumbered, it won't be good. Let's attack [them] at night with violent cries. They won't understand how many we are, and they will run.' So they attacked with a battle-cry. When [Urus Khan's people] rode away after the attack, Uriq Timur's horse fell. So he cried: 'Hey, mean Tokhtamysh, have we agreed to this?! I'm left [horseless] when they have turned back!' At that very moment the boys were standing, drawing the reins, listening. Iahshy Hoja recognised his father's voice and told Jalal ad-Din Sultan: 'Have you heard? It is my father! He's been captured. Soon your father will be captured too. What our life of fatherless of wet noses will look like?! Isn't it better to die together with them?!' And so Jalal ad-Din Sultan and these boys, with the assistance of the Supreme Allah, rode to the major detachment. Each of them cried a battle-cry as a courageous voivode, and [all of them] careered (towards the enemy). [Urus Khan's people] were so afraid that they pulled the reins [of their horses]. Tokhtamysh oghlan rode back in a gallop, darted [towards the enemy], lifted [Uriq Timur] on his horse and rode away. The horses of [Urus] Khan's people were exhausted, [that is why] many of those people were captured. [Tokhtamysh oghlan's people] believed that the major detachment [of Urus Khan] was behind him, they didn't chase [his people] much. The captured were killed [right there] with arrows, their horses and equipment was taken. Tokhtamysh Khan's people followed his [major] detachments.

Those [Urus] Khan's people, who managed to escape, ran far away, [but eventually] they gathered together and noticed [that] the Khan was nowhere to be seen. One of them said: 'I was near the Khan. I saw that two people attacked and captured him. But I don't know what happened next.' [All of them] turned back, came to the battlefield [and] found the Khan's dead body. They took his body right away and rode to their homes. Meanwhile these [runaways] were running in the opposite direction, for fear that [Urus] Khan would catch them.

These are the circumstances of Urus Khan's death. The Uzbeks say: 'When Jalal ad-Din Khan was a boy, and Urus Khan was fighting with his father, he attacked him from the side leading a group of boys, he defeated and killed Urus Khan.' That's how it was.

Afterwards, [Tokhtamysh oghlan] set off and came to the 'Idil river. There was no Khan, no Sultan in Sarai. He came, he took Sarai and, seizing the opportunity, came to a mosque on Friday, read a khutbah⁶³ [in his name and] became Khan.

[After that] he marched out and started a campaign against Kiyat Mamai. Mamai also came with a big army. A violent battle took place. Mamai's army was defeated, he was captured. [He] was killed.

His el was taken to the bank of the 'Idil river. This time Tokhtamysh Khan became a mighty sovereign sitting on the throne of Sain Khan in Sarai.

Most of the els, left after Jani Beg Khan, belonged to Mamai. [Tokhtamysh Khan] killed Mamai, took his els and nökers. When he came to Sarai vilayet, those people, who high-handedly lifted their heads here and there in Desht[-i Qipchaq] vilayet, came, whether they liked it or not, to Tokhtamysh and humbly became his nökers. The aforementioned Kan Bay came too. [Tokhtamysh Khan] allocated him some land on the estuary of the Tan, because this was the place which had been allocated [to him before]. But he was constantly seeing 'Arab oghlan. He allocated him some nomad territory at the right wing, asked him to sit near him and arranged equestrian competitions. Dzhatba songs were sung at this festival⁶⁴:

'You became Khan at Koxdey.

Don't boast, [that] you led the way.

You swelled your bosom [like a turkey-cock],

We hit your forehead for a long time, standing upside down,

Why did you follow our asses, Kan Bay!?'

In short, Tokhtamysh Khan hosted many favours and gave many presents to 'Araboglan and ordered: 'Let all the people, who used to belong to Shayban Khan, come to you, wherever a slave, who has run away from his master, or an el, who has eluded his yasak, were...' <...>

Commentary on the translation¹

¹ Vilayet (Wilayah) is an administrative division, a district in countries of the East, in Arabic literally meaning a country, a district or a province (Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, 1969, p. 525).

² The Idil (Itil, Volga) river flows into the Qalzam (Caspian) Sea. Historical chronicles have it as *Atal*, in Moghulian it is called *Idil* (The Tarih-i-Rashidi, Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, p. 220). 'Having left the wagon-train there and singled out the picked troops, he launched a raid and set in pursuit of Tokhtamysh, crossed the Idil passage, which the Turks call Turatur...' (Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 12).

³ Hulagu Khan, son of Tolui, grandson of Chinggis Khan, founder of the Hulaguid dynasty in Iran; reign years 1256–1265.

⁴ The Samarkand vilayet, comprised the regions of Bukhara, Kesh, Karshi, Guzar, Kermine and Karakul and Sughd and Shaurad tumans (Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, p. 537).

⁵ Khorasan is a region in the northeast of Iran. At that time Khorasan included the nor–eastern part of Iran, south of the present-day Turkmenia and the nor–western part of the present-day Afghanistan.

⁶ Hisor (Hisar) is a district and city in the valley to the sou–east of the Hissar range. During the Timurids and the Uzbeks the city was the headquarters of practically independent rulers. The Uzbeks acquired a stronger hold of the region since the time of Abdullah Khan II (*Bartold V. Hisor (Hissar) // Sochineniya v 9 tomax*, Moscow, 1965. Vol. 3, pp. 401–402). At present the Hisor area forms a part of the Surxondaryo Region of Uzbekistan, and partly, including the town of Hisor, belongs to Tajikistan.

⁷ Ulug-Tag (Ulu-Tag, Ulu-Dag) is a part of the Alay Mountains, a massif of high mountains west of the Isfairam mountain crossing and the Kara-Kadyk pass. The Ala-Tag extends for 50 km. The mountains are west of the Karaganda region and northwards of the Sary su river.

⁸ Yurt is a term used in the sources to denote the 'territory', within which a given administrative-tribal unit conducted its nomadic life; it can also mean a 'country' (Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, p. 496).

⁹ Yassa means here the so called 'decrees by Chinggis Khan' (Yasa/Yasaq—Editor's note), that is the common customs and conventions, that he put in the form of laws, which observation was obligatory for all, without exception, residents of the empire.

¹⁰ Korunush is an introduction ceremony.

¹¹ Orda (Horde), in its original sense of the word meaning a yurt, khan's yurt, palace yurt or front ceremonial yurt, acquired the new meaning of the 'headquarters, residence of a Khan or ruler' (*Yudin V., Hordes:*

¹ Text of comments is significantly reduced.—Editor's note

White, Blue, Gray, Golden... // Kazakhstan, Srednyaya i Central'naya Aziya v XVI-XVIII vv., Almaty-Ata, 1983, pp. 116–117).

¹² Shayban (Shiban) is a son of Jochi Khan and a brother of Batu.

¹³ Tokhtamysh Khan (Tokhtamysh) was a descendant of Tuqa-Timur, managed to briefly unite under his power the left and right wings of the Ulus of Jochi, reigned in 1380–1395.

¹⁴ Timur Kutlu (Timur Qutlugh, Temür Qutlugh) is a descendant of Tuqa-Timur, the 13th son of Jochi. He founded the dynasty of Astrakhan khans (*Yudin V.*, *Hordes...* p. 123).

¹⁵ Urus Khan (1369–1379) is one of the rulers of the left wing of the Jochid Ulus.

¹⁶ Koshun is unit, a 'hundred', in the military organisation.

¹⁷ El is the term that the sources and researchers use in various meanings: a tribe, tribal union, people, state, power, country, orda, assembly of nobility of different tribes. Here it is a clan, tribe.

¹⁸ Jir-Kutlu is a historical personality. According to Chinggis-name, he was also a son of Kiyat Isatai, while his son Tengiz Buga built a mausoleum above his father's grave on the Syr Darya banks and a detachment of Jochids—prisoners took part in the construction. The construction was carried out in the year Berdi Beg Khan died (1359).

¹⁹ Tengiz-Buga is a son of Kiyat Jir-Qutlugh, the sole master of the Golden Horde's left hand (wing), who, according to some sources, was killed by Urus Khan. During the reign of Berdi Beg Khan (1357–1359), Kiyat Mamai drove a part of the Golden Horde people to Crimea, while Kiyat Tengiz-Buga took his part to the Lower Syr Darya. That was how the famous Mamai Horde emerged, as well as the yet unknown to historians the Horde of Tengiz-Buga came to life on the territory of Kazakhstan (*Yudin V.*, *Hordes...* p. 154).

²⁰ Berdi Beg Khan (1357–1359) was a son Jani Beg Khan (1341–1357), had the nickname Kerkin-Kotan Khan.

²¹ Mangutai (Mangkutai, Mongatai): Kadak-oghlán was the third of Shayban Khan twelve sons. He had a son named Tala-Buka. And he, Tala-Buka, had two sons. Their names were Mangutai and Tuman-Timur (Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 55).

²² Sarai was the first capital of the Golden Horde, founded by Batu Khan at the beginning of the 1250s.

²³ Maskav is the city of Moscow.

²⁴ Kharaj is a term related to the tax system; products rent has been mostly known as 'kharaj'; a synonym of this term is *mal* (sometimes *mal-i kharaj* or *kharaj-i mal*, *mal-i gallya*) (*Abduraimov M.* Studies of the agricultural relations in Bukhara Khanate in the 16–first half of the 19th centuries), Tashkent, 1970. Vol. 2. p. 148).

²⁵ Daruga is a Mongol ruler, Khan's vicegerent in a town; the daruga responsibilities included general governance, supervision over the collection of tribute, taxes and execution of duties. In the 15–16th centuries the term 'daruga' had a broader meaning of a ruler, manager, general administrator, in charge of collecting duties for the treasury, a governor (*Grebkov B.*, *Yakubovsky A.*, *The Golden Horde and its fall.* Moscow; Leningrad, 1950. p. 471).

²⁶ Hakim is the ruler of a town or a province, appointed by the Khan, performing administrative and judicial functions.

²⁷ Nöker in Mongolian literally means a comrade, warrior, servant. The term was denoting a free warrior, who pledged to serve his leader. Turkic people by the term 'nöker' defined members of retinue, military servants (Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, p. 500).

²⁸ Aimag, equally 'omak' or 'obak', means a 'tribe', 'clan'; the same also in Islamic works of the 15–18th centuries (Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, p. 494).

²⁹ Qirim—its ruins are located on the territory of the present-day town of Sary Krym.

³⁰ Kaffa (Caffa) is a medieval town on the southern coast of the Crimean peninsula, in ancient times and now again called Feodosia (Theodosia). In the latter half of the 14th century the southern Crimean coast was occupied by Genoese settlements-colonies, for which Kaffa (Feodosia) served as an administrative center. Until the 1260s, it was a minor village.

³¹ Qırq Yer (Kyrk-Or, Chufut-Kale)—its ruins are known at present under the name of Chufut-Kale and are situated not far from Bakhchysaray. Throughout the 13th century the town was an autonomous domain, semi-dependent on the Golden Horde. In 1299 it was destroyed by Nogai troops, with its autonomy being abolished after that, and it became one of the Golden Horde towns in the peninsula. After the emergence of

Bakhchysaray (16th century) Qırq Yer finally lost its significance (*Smirnov V.*, The Crimean Khanate under the rule of the Ottoman Porte before the beginning of the 18th century., St. Petersburg, 1887, p. 120).

³² Ulak—upon assumption of V. Yudin, the word is spelled in such a way that it should be read Ulaq. However, the *ḥarakah*, when being written, gets a thickening at the beginning, so that the *fathah* starts resembling a *ḍammah*. Though perhaps it is indeed a *fathah* here, and the word should be read as *Avlak*, that is *Vlach*. See: Textological notes, Leningrad, 41a, line 178.

³³ Hajji Tarkhan (Xacitarxan, Aztarakan), its ruins are found at the Shareny Bugor archaeological site, situated on the right bank of the Volga, a little upwards of Astrakhan.

³⁴ Sary-Taq (Sartaq) (1256–1257) is Sartaq, a son of Batu Khan, reigned apparently for less than a year.

³⁵ Tugan (Tukan, Togan) is a son of Sain Khan (Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, Vol. 2, p. 288).

³⁶ Shirvan was situated between Derbent and the Kura, with Shamakhi being its capital.

³⁷ Berke Khan (Birkai, Barka, Baraka) is a son of Batu (Sain) Khan. According to Bosworth, Berke Khan ruled from 655/1257 (*Bosworth*, The Islamic Dynasties, p. 203).

³⁸ Sygnak, the region of the northern and lower reaches of the Syr Darya with the towns of Otrar, Sairam, Sygnak and Jand, constituted the main part of the domains of the Kok Horde Khans. Sygnak ruins are situated on the right bank of the Syr Darya near the town of Zhanakorgan (Yani Kurgan) in Kyzylorda Region of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

³⁹ Sheikh al-Alam Sheikh Saif ed-Din al-Boharsi (1190–1261) is a famous Sheikh, a student-follower of Nadjm ed-Din Kubra, the founder of the Sufi order Kubrawiyya. He set up a khaniqah in Suktari near Bukhara (*Kubrawiyya* community actively functioned there till the end of the 18th century, while its members spread the ideas of al-Kubra up to the western borders of China) (*Islam. Encyclopedic dictionary*, p. 140).

⁴⁰ Nadjm ed-Din al-Kubra, Shaykh Abu 'l-Djannab Ahmad ibn Umar (1145–1221) is the founder of the Sufi order *Kubrawiyya*, a famous Persian theoretician and practitioner of Sufism, a poet. He died in 618/1221 during the Mongol assault on Gorganj, which he was defending with arms together with his students. His grave is situated in the municipality of Kunya-Urgench. Al-Kubra founded his school of a mystical way of learning. He worked out ten principles, the basics of the *Kubrawiyya* order and rules of behaviour for a murid. He set out his views in a number of treatises in Arabic (*Bertels E.*, Sufizm i sufijskaya literatura (Sufism and Sufi literature). Selected works, Moscow, 1965, Vol. 3; *Islam. Encyclopedic dictionary*, p. 139).

⁴¹ Karakul (Qorako'l) is a district west of Bukhara. It is a city-fortress situated between Bukhara and Chardzhou on the Amu-Darya. At present it is a district capital in Bukhara Region of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

⁴² Tuda Mengu is a son of Tugan, a son of Batu. He ascended the Sarai throne in 681 (11 April 1282–31 March 1283) after the death of his brother Mengu-Timur. In 686 (16 February 1287–5 February 1288) Tuda Mengu, the Tatar Tsar of the northern regions, abdicated the tsardom (Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, Vol. 1, p. 122).

⁴³ Mengu-Timur (1266–1281) is a son of Tugan, a son of Batu.

⁴⁴ Tokhtogha, Toqta is a Khan of the Golden Horde (1290–1312). His name is also being presented as Tokhtai, Tokhtaigha, Toqta, Tochtugu, a son of Mengu-Timur, who was a son of Toqoqan, the second son of Batu.

⁴⁵ Toghrul (Toghrilcha, Toghluk, Tulicha) is a son of Mengu-Timur Khan, a kin brother of Tokhtogha (Toqta).

⁴⁶ Kelin-Bayalin (Bayalun) is a Byzantine princess, a wife of Toghrilcha, then of Toqta, then of Bajir Tok-Buga and, at last, of Öz Beg Khan. According to Chinggis-name, she was Öz Beg's mother. It is worth noting that, by reports of Arab sources, to marry Bayalun, Öz Beg was to receive a special permission of Islamic law experts, and such was allegedly given only because his father was a disbeliever and the marriage of the Öz Beg's father with Bayalun was recognised as illegal. Meanwhile, other Golden Horde Khans used to marry stepmothers under the rule of levirate, without any interference of Islamic lawyers. The fact, naturally, is worrisome. According to other sources, Bayalun was not Öz Beg's mother.

⁴⁷ Urug or Uruk means 'a family, a descendant, a clan'. In the written sources of the 15–17th centuries this term was used in a narrower meaning than 'aimag' or 'omak' and denoted an association of blood kinsmen

headed by the patriarch or the person, who for some reason played a leading role in the association (Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, p. 497).

⁴⁸ Tumen (Tuman) is an administrative unit (feudal estate) contributing a tumen of warriors. Some researchers tend to consider this term in this case as a tribal name. It is not so apparently. Its use in Eastern works identifies it more as a social term, and that its usual meaning is ten thousand, a military formation of 10,000 men, a district, which could dispatch or maintain 10,000 warriors (Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, p. 494).

⁴⁹ Tok-Buga (Tula-Buka) (1287–1291) is a Jochid, a son of Batu Khan's son Toqoqan.

⁵⁰ The Uighur is one of the largest tribes of Desht-i Kipchak; the Uighurs went with Muhammad Shaybani Khan to Transoxiana, later settling down in Khwarezm.

⁵¹ Kiyat Isatai-beg is a powerful favourite of the Golden Horde from the Kiyat tribe, who, according to Kadyr-Ali-Bey ibn Hushum-bey Jalair, enthroned Öz Beg Khan and led in his time, as reported by Ötemish Hajji, a special detachment of Jochids. His descendants had an important political influence in the Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq and at times concentrated all the power in their hands (Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, p. 493). Kiyat Isa-Gurken, or Isa-Kurhekan, that is the Isakhan son-in-law, and Isa-Korkoz, that is Isa-One eyed, was married to Itkujuk-Zhuk, a daughter of Öz Beg Khan. One of the main grandees and favourites of Öz Beg founded a line of Kiyat tribe Beys in the left wing of the Golden Horde, who after the death of Berdi Beg Khan even (1359) usurped the power in the Syr Darya region. His descendants were broadly known in the Eastern Desht-i Kipchak long after Öz Beg Khan death (died in 1341). For example, Buzanjar-Bey Kiyat demonstrated activity in the late 15–early 16th centuries. He was also the father-in-law of Öz Beg as his daughter Urduja was the Khan's spouse (Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, p. 295) and his other daughter Isataya was married to Sijut Alatai (Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1884, Ibid.).

⁵² Tulubai (Tugly-bey, Tavlubey, Tuvlubey) is one of the most influential emirs in the reign of Jani Beg Khan.

⁵³ Ak-Kul is a small lake in the north-west of the present-day Daşoguz (Tashauz) (Turkmenia), the lake to which the Zhelanshik (Jilanchi) river flows into (Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, p. 543, 546). <...>

⁵⁴ Cossacks—in the opinion of V. Yudin, the word '*cossack*' appeared in the sources only in the post-Mongolian period in the 13th century. It was applied to a person, who had separated from his state, tribe or clan and had to conduct an adventurer's life. In Turkic languages the word had several derivatives: *cossack*—'kazak', *kazaklyk kylmak*—'to imitate a cossack, to conduct a cossack way of life', *kazaklamak*—also 'to imitate a cossack, to conduct a cossack way of life'. One of the most vivid evidences of the original meaning of the word is the famous report by Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat about the confer on the part of the Uzbeks, who roamed away with Giray and Jani Beg from Desht-i Qipchaq to Semirechye, the appellation of *Kazak*, which later became their national name (Yudin V. On the etymology of the ethnonym *Kazakh* (*Kazak*) (Manuscript)).

⁵⁵ Bazarchi is a new Khan of the Golden Horde, enthroned by Taydula. House (descendant—Editor's note) of Tangkut, a son of Yoji Khan. Tangkut had two sons. They were called Tokuz and Sudai. Tokuz had three sons. The latter's names were Kalmutay, Arslan and Boakly. And from their descent were Tubay, Bazarchi Khan... and Bazarchi Khan's son Timur-Malik (Materials on the History of Kazakh Khanates, p. 38).

⁵⁶ The Uzbeks—in the 14th and 15th centuries the name Uzbeks was used not as ethnonym, but as a collective, political name to denote local Turkic and Turkised Mongol tribes of the Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq (The history of Kazakh SSR from ancient times to the present day: in 5 Volumes, Alma-Ata, Vol. 2, 1979, p. 177; Ahmedov B., The state of nomadic Uzbeks, Moscow, 1965, p. 11–16; Gafurov B., Tajiks: The early, ancient and medieval history, Moscow, 1972, pp. 547–548).

⁵⁷ Burut (Murat, Amurat)—he minted coins in New Sarai and Belad Gulistan from 762 to 764 AH, died on 10 October 1362/1363.

⁵⁸ Turkistan (Yasi) is a city and a vilayet. At the end of the 14th century the city became an arena of fight between Tokhtamysh and Tamerlane. In the 16th century the city got the name of Turkestan and played an important role in the history of Kazakh Khanates.

⁵⁹ Tugly (Tughlugh) Timur—we know about Tughlugh Timur that he was a Khan, though available sources identify him with Moghulistan Khan Chagataid Tughluk Timur.

⁶⁰ The Barin—other variants of the ethnonym include 'bayri, barym, bahrim, bagrin, baarin'. A known Turkic-Mongolian tribe, which divisions happened to be scattered around the Chagatai Ulus. Il Barin are noted among the Moghuls of Moghulistan in the time of Ulugh-Beg (Tarih-i Rashidi, Manuscript, Institute of Oriental Studies Of The Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, B 648, p. 395). They are mentioned as an independent aimag even in the middle of the 17th century on the territory of Kashgaria (*Shah Mahmud Choros*, Ta'rikh, p. 74a, 84a; *Yudin V.*, Clan and tribal composition of Moghuls of Moghulistan and Moghulia and their ethnic connections with Kazakh and other neighboring peoples // *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Kazaxskoj Sovetskoj Socialisticheskoy Respubliki, Organizaciya Ob`edinenny'x nacij*, 1965, Issue 3, p. 55).

⁶¹ The Argyn (Argun) is a tribe, which in the period of the reign of Abu Said roamed from the Syr Darya basin to Transoxiana. A contingent of Desht Argyn volunteers took part in the capture of Herat by Abu Said in 862 AH (1457–1458). Argyn tribe representatives are also mentioned among high officials of Timurid Ahmad Mirza (Tavārīkh-i guzīdah nuşrat'nāmah. Manuscript. Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, p. 745; *Sultanov T.* Nomadic tribes of the Aral Sea Region., p. 11).

⁶² Jalal ad-Din, Sultan (the Green Sultan), is a son of Tokhtamysh Khan.

⁶³ The Khutbah represents a kind of an exhortation, which begins with the praise of Allah oneness and invocation of blessings on the Prophet and his family; then follows a prayer for the reigning sovereigns of the faithful and finally admonitions to piety with recitation of the Quran and sayings of Muhammad (*Muhammad Yusuf Munshi*. Tarih-i Mukim khani (Mukim-Khan History), p. 239. Note 34).

⁶⁴ Dzhatba is a specific song genre'.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 9

The Tale of Peter, Tsarevich of the Horde

The 'Tale of Peter, Tsarevich of the Horde' is dedicated to the founder of the Petrov Monastery in Rostov. A nephew of Berke Khan, Peter adopted Christianity and went to serve the Prince of Rostov. It should be noted however that Peter's name and the names of his descendants are not mentioned in historical documents. The 'Tale' was written in the 15th century with the purpose of validating the land rights of Peter's descendants and of the monastery itself. With this in mind, the author of the 'Tale' wrote rather freely about the story of the Rostov Princes.

The source and notes are quoted from the publications: *Povest' o Petre, tsareviche Ordynskom* (The Tale of Peter, Tsarevich of the Horde) // *Drevnerusskie Predaniya* (Old-Russian Tales) (11–16th centuries), Moscow, 1982, pp. 151–160 (published per the copy of the early 16th century (Sofia compilation No. 1364. of the State Public Library named after M. Saltykov-Shchedrin)) // *Russkie Povesti XV–XVI* (Russian Tales of the 15–16th centuries) / Compiled by M. Skripil', Moscow-Leningrad, 1958.—*Editor's note*.

'The life of the blessed Peter, the nephew of Berke Khan¹, and how he came to experience the fear of God, and how he was moved in his soul, and how he arrived from the Horde to Rostov in the year 6761 (1253) and was baptised, and how he saw the apparitions of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul on the field, where now stands the Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul and where now a monastery is set up. Bless me, Father.

The blessed Bishop of Rostov, Kirill, went to the Horde to the Tsar Berke to request honourably for donations for a church to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Tsar learned from him about the saint Leontius, who was descended from the Greek lands; how he baptised the city of Rostov, how he strengthened the people who lived there in their faith, how he came there, blessed by the Patriarch and already accepting this honour from the Russian princes and the Greek Tsar, the Patriarch, and the whole Ecumenical Council, and how since the death of Leontius, miracles to this day have been occurring from his relics at his tomb. And along with that, Kirill preached many sermons on the Evangelic holy teachings. And the Tsar Berke listened to the bishop and felt delight. He honoured him, gave him what he asked for, and let him go. I dare say, the Tsar Berke then enjoined the Yaroslavl princes to pay annual tribute for decorating his tomb following the bishop's death. That same year, the only son of Berke fell ill. The Tsar received no help from doctors and chose to send him to Rostov, to the holy Vladyka, promising him rich gifts so that he would cure his son. The Vladyka called for public prayers in all the churches of Rostov, blessed the water, and upon arriving at the Horde, healed the Tsar's son.² The Tsar rejoiced together with his whole house and his whole Horde and ruled to give annual tribute to the Vladyka to build a church to the Blessed Virgin Mary. A certain boy, a son of the Tsar's brother, though being young and never failing to serve the Tsar, having heard the exhortations of the Vladyka, felt touched in his soul and shed tears. Secluding himself, he went to the field, and reflected: 'How do our Tsars believe in this sun and crescent moon and stars and fire, and who is the true God?' He contemplated just as Abraham had once done, but the latter had been a branch of a good root, while this youth was a good branch of an evil root. So he decided to leave together with the holy Vladyka, to see the churches of the Russian land and the wonders worked by holy men. The youth said: 'No miracles occur from the sun, crescent moon, stars and fire in our countries'. At that time, his father, the Tsar's brother, was already dead. His mother was in charge of considerable wealth all belonging to him. Disregarding this wealth, however, he with all his heart strove for faith. His mother then, lamenting over her son's intentions, showed him all the riches of his father. But he instead distributed all these riches among the Tatar poor and gave many treasures to the bishop.

And so he secluded himself from the world, thus receiving great grace even before he was baptised. In this way too, the ancient Melchizedek, a Tsar's son, became a priest after running away, having experienced the divine grace of God before baptism. Of such people the Gospel says: 'Many that are first shall be last, and the last first'. And so the youth came with the Vladyka to Rostov and saw there a church, the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, beautified with gold and pearls and precious stones as on a bride³.

Inside, the singing was mellifluous, like that of the angels: the left choir was singing in Greek, while the right choir was singing in Russian.

The youth, who had no faith, heard all this and a fire burned in his heart, the crescent moon waxed in his thoughts, and the sun began to shine in his soul. He threw himself to the Vladyka's feet and said: 'O Holy Consecrator, my Lord, I was pondering over the gods of our Tsar and my parents: the sun, crescent moon, and fire, and understood that they are God's creatures, while your faith is right and righteous and your God is true. I beg you to give me the sacred baptism.' The Vladyka gave him honour, but told him to wait, for he was still reflecting on the youth's journey.

The Tsar Berke died not long afterwards. Unrest broke out in the Horde⁴ but no one looked for the boy there. The holy Vladyka then baptised him, christening him Peter. So Peter began studying the Christian faith, spending each day in the Vladyka's sanctuary. Then, the holy Vladyka Kirill passed away and was buried with honours and prayers. May the memories of him live forever. The Vladyka Ignatius then took the diocesan throne⁵. He began to cover the roof of the Blessed Virgin Mary church with tin and covered the floor with marble. He went to the Horde to pay tribute to the Tsar. And Peter, following the instructions of the Vladyka, prayed day and night to God and fasted for Him.

Peter, however, did not abandon his royal entertainments: he still went out to the Rostov lake for falconry. Once, he was hunting by the lake and fell asleep after his usual prayer since it was already late at night. And here two men, radiant like the sun, came to him, woke him up and said: 'Our friend Peter, God has heard your prayer and your alms'. Is it not a wonder, brothers! Is it not surprising that the alms given at a time of doubt were heard in faith! The same way as in the old times, when the pagan, Eustachius Placidus⁶, handing out alms, was rewarded during his life with faith and with the heavenly kingdom after his death, just like Peter. God himself has said the following about alms: 'Are not five sparrows sold for a copper coin? And not one of them is forgotten before God'. The same way the alms of the blessed Peter, given in doubt, with prayer were heard in faith. Having woken up, Peter saw in front of him two giants and was in awe; they seemed to rise all the way to the clouds, illuminating the whole world with their light. Peter stood up, but then fell down in horror. He stood up again, but once more fell down. And still a third time he stood up, but just as before he fell down. And those two radiant men took him by the hand and told him: 'Our friend Peter, do not be afraid. We are sent to you by God. You have come to believe in him and have been baptised. He will strengthen your family, your tribe, and your grand children till the end of the world; he will reward you for your alms. For your labours, you will receive eternal blessings'. And they gave him two scrips and said: 'Take these pouches, one with gold, and the other with silver. In the morning go to the city and barter for three icons⁷: an icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary with a child and icons of St. Dmitry and of St. Nikola. Give for them whatever is requested'. Peter looked at them and now saw them as ordinary men. He took the scrips, supposing that they were strengthening his Tatar tribe, not truly perceiving the meaning of what was being said to him. Then, gathering his thoughts, he told them: 'My Lords, what if the icon traders ask me about the origin of the scrips, what am I to do? And who are you?' And the two radiant men answered to him: 'Keep these hidden in your bosom so that no one knows about them. If the icon traders ask for nine coins of silver and the tenth one of gold, count them out one by one. Upon receiving the icons, go to the Vladyka and tell him: 'Peter and Paul, Christ's disciples, have sent me to you so that you build a church by the lake at the place where I fell asleep. And here is the omen from them, the icons that I have procured and the scrips that I was given. What do you order me to do with them?' And do what he will tell you, and remember us, Peter and Paul, the disciples of Christ'. And they disappeared. Look, brothers, it was not untrue when God said: 'For I shall honour those that honour me'. And so God blessed this Peter for his alms.

The same night the Holy Apostles appeared before the Vladyka and made him tremble. They told him: 'Build a church with the resources of the diocese for our servant Peter, for he has given a lot of gold to the Vladyka's diocese, and consecrate this church in our name. If you do not do this, we shall bring death upon you'. Having said this, they disappeared. And the saintly Ignatius, having awakened, started to ponder over this apparition. There was plenty of gold and silver in his diocese.

He then called on the Prince of Rostov and said to him⁸: 'I do not know what to do. Peter and Paul, exactly the same as on the icons, appeared before me and frightened me. They told me to build a church

in their name, but where, that I do not know'. The Prince replied to him: 'I see you, Vladyka, overcome with awe'.

So they were conversing in the bishop's chamber when the Prince saw Peter coming from the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and the light from his icons was shining brighter than fire and reaching higher than the church. And the Prince was stricken with horror and exclaimed: 'Oh Vladyka, what is this fire?' And it seemed to them that he was a man in flames. Yet, no one else saw this fire. As for Peter, he had already come to the city in the morning and taken the icons. He now went and placed them in front of the Prince and the Vladyka. He then bowed to the ground before them and said: 'Holy Vladyka, Peter and Paul, the Apostles of Christ, have sent me to you so that you build a church by the lake, at the place where I fell asleep. They gave me these icons, their signs, and these scrips. What do you order me to do with them?'

It was the hour before services. The Prince and the Vladyka stood up and bowed to the sacred icons, uncertain of where they were from, for there were no icon-painters in their city while Peter was too young and as they knew, descended from the Tatars. So they asked him: 'With whom have you traded for these icons?' Peter answered to this: 'My Lords, I traded for them at the market'. And they reflected on the apparition that had taken place. The light from the icons in the chamber started to shine like the sun, and all those present felt terrified. After the morning service, the Vladyka Ignatius sang prayers to the Blessed Virgin Mary, to Saint Dmitry, and to Saint Nikola. Sainly Ignatius also honoured Peter, telling him to get on a chariot with the icons and ride to the place where he had fallen asleep. At this, the Vladyka, the Prince, and the whole city, singing, drove the icons to Peter's sleeping place and at this place gave a prayer to the Holy Apostles. At the service, the Prince and Vladyka, with tears and joy, called the names of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul and donated farmsteads and villages to them. Having given the prayer, the people, by orders of the Prince, set up the chapel with the materials brought from the city and surrounded it with a fence. They then returned back to the city. Peter, for his part, then mounted the icons there in the chapel.

Having mounted his horse, the Prince in jest remarked to Peter: 'The Vladyka will build you the church, but I shall not grant the plot. What will you do?' Peter replied to him: 'Prince, by the will of the Holy Apostles, I shall buy from you as much land as your grace will allot'. The Prince, who had already seen Peter's pouches at the bishop's chamber, thought in silence: 'It is necessary to take them from you, while the Vladyka still remains in awe of the apparition of the Holy Apostles'. And then he muttered to himself: 'It well may be like in the time of Elijah the prophet, the jar of flour will not be used up, the tub of water will not be emptied, and the jug of oil will not run dry'. And he said to Peter, as if in jest: 'Peter, I shall ask you: whatever you have given for the icons, so give the same for my land. Put out nine grivnas of silver and the tenth of gold. Will you do this?' Peter replied: 'The Holy Apostles told me: do as the Vladyka commands you. So I shall go to ask him, my Lord'. And Peter asked the Vladyka. The Vladyka in his turn took a cross, blessed Peter, and said: 'Give to everyone asking from you, and you, child, do not regret the wealth of the parents, as it is written: "the jug of oil will not run dry, the jar of flour will not be used up". Your family, son, will be blessed by the prayer of the Holy Apostles. Respect the Prince's will and do give for the land as much as he asks for'. Peter bowed down to the ground to the Vladyka and trusting his words, went to the Prince and said: 'So be it, Prince! Upon the will of the Holy Apostles, all shall be as you wish!'

And so the Prince ordered to throw a measuring rope from the water to the gates, and from the gates to the corner, and from the corner to the lake. And the plot was spacious. Peter then said: 'Prince, order for a ditch to be dug around this place as they do in the Horde, so that no-one shall trim this plot later'. And so the Prince did. And the city-dwellers, those who had come with the icons, immediately dug the ditch, which has remained to this day. For his part, Peter began to lay out coins along the rope, picking them one by one from his pouch—nine grivnas of silver and the tenth one of gold. Carters filled up their barrows, the very barrows they had brought for the chapel, with Peter's coins so much so that the horses could hardly move them. The Prince and the Vladyka saw plenty of gold and silver, and pouches all full, worth ten vykhods (tributes)⁹, and said to themselves: 'God, what is all this? Not for our sins is this being done. Clearly, this man received great grace before God and we now marvel at your kindness and the strength of the Holy Apostles'. And so they placed on guard at Peter's yard the promised men who

attended the prayer and they told Peter to mount a horse. And there was a great celebration in the city. Peter was accorded great honours and many gifts. Public prayers, praising God and the Holy Apostles' miracles worked in our time, were given for many days, much alms were given, and beggars fed.

Peter had no idea how this miracle had happened and stayed in silence, secluding himself. And so the Vladyka and the Prince noticed that Peter kept silent, and started to talk to each other, saying: 'If this man of the Khan's tribe goes away from us to the Horde, then there will be great harm to our town'. Peter was tall in stature and handsome in face. And so they asked him: 'Peter, would you like us to find you a bride?' Peter, moved to tears, replied to the Prince and the Vladyka: 'My Lords, having come to you, I have come to love your faith and abandon my parent's beliefs. So let the will of God and yours be done'. The Prince then found for him a fiancée of a great prince. And this prince, a prince of the Horde, was living at that time in Rostov. And so the Vladyka married Peter and built him the church and consecrated it as ordered by the Holy Apostles.

The Prince took Peter with him for royal entertainment, to the falconry by the lake, in order to keep him in our faith. And the Prince told him: 'Great grace you have found before God and thanks to you, so has our city as well. For it is said: "I shall recompense God of all the good that he bestows upon us". Peter, accept some land from our patrimony, which lies opposite the church of the Holy Apostles near the lake of Rostov. And I shall write you a charter of gift'. Peter replied to this: 'Prince, neither I, nor my father nor mother, have ever owned land. What is this charter for?' And so the Prince said: 'Peter, I shall arrange everything for you. The charters are needed to ensure that, after us, my children and grandchildren could not take away these lands from your children and grandchildren'. Peter replied to that: 'So let the will of God be done, Prince'. And the Prince ordered, with the bishop to bear witness, that they write the charters to Peter for the possession of many lands along the lake, together with waters and woods. These charters to this day still exist. And houses for Peter were built on these lands. As for the Horde, it remained in peace for many years.

Such were Peter's sweet answers and good nature in everything. And the Prince liked Peter so much that he would not sit at a table without him, and so the Vladyka had to make him and the Prince sworn brothers in church. And so Peter started to be called the Prince's brother. And of Peter were born children, his rightful successors.

A few years later, the Vladyka Ignatius passed away and entered the Kingdom of Heaven. May the memories of him live forever. The old Prince then also died a few days after the Vladyka. And the children of the Prince were calling Peter uncle till his old age. And having lived peacefully many years, Peter then passed away in extreme old age, 'passing to God' as believers say. And he was laid to rest by the place where he once had fallen asleep, near where he had once seen the Holy Peter and Paul. And after that day, this monastery was established¹⁰.

However, the grandchildren of the past Prince¹¹ forgot Peter and his virtues and started to take away meadows and peripheral lands from Peter's children. Then, Peter's son went to the Horde and told them there that he was a grandson of the Tsar's brother. His uncles rejoiced, honoured him with many gifts, and asked the Tsar to send an envoy with him. The Tsar's envoy then arrived in Rostov. After studying the charters of Peter and the old Prince, the envoy passed judgment for Peter's son and the past Prince's grandchildren. He determined Peter's son to be right and established the boundaries to the lands, giving him a charter with a golden seal of the Khan, delineating the relations and rights between the young princes. And the envoy left. And the young princes were saying among themselves and their boyars: 'We heard that our parents called his father, Peter, an uncle, that our grandfather accepted plenty of silver from him and became a sworn brother to him in church. But they are of Tatar descent—not our blood! What kind of relatives are they to us! We have inherited neither silver from Peter, nor from our parents'. And so they continued to converse, having forgotten about the miracle of the Holy Apostles and the love of their forefathers. And they lived for many years, envying Peter's children, who were received in the Horde with more honours than they! And Peter's son also had sons and daughters born, and he passed away to meet God in extreme old age.

Peter's grandson Yury worshiped the Holy Mother of God in Rostov as strong as his parents had. He laid hryvnas upon the icon, organised annual feasts for the Master and the clergy of the Cathedral Church on the memory day of the Holy apostles Peter and Paul and memorial days of his parents and

grandparents. His fishermen gained great catches, unlike the city's fishers. In the manner of a game, Peter's fishermen threw the net and pulled out many fish, while the city's fishermen had a poor catch no matter how strong their efforts were. And fishermen complained to the princes: 'Our lord princes, if Peter's fishermen do not cease their fishing, our lake will become empty. They will catch all the fish.' The great-grandsons of the old prince appealed to Yury: 'We have long heard that your grandfather took charters of possession from our ancestors for the place under your monastery, thus defining its borders. But the lake of Rostov is ours and you have no charter for it, and your fishermen must not catch fish in it.' And the prophesy of the old prince, Peter's brother, came true who forecast that grandsons would take offenses and therefore granted his charter.

Yury, Peter's grandson, listened to them and departed to the Horde where he said that he is a great-grandson of the Khan's brother. His uncles received him with honour and presented many gifts to him and, having asked the Tsar's permission, they sent an ambassador to accompany him. The ambassador arrived in Rostov and accommodated himself in the monastery of St. Peter and Paul, and the princes were afraid of the khan's ambassador. And he was a judge between them and Peter's grandsons. Yury displayed all charters in front of the ambassador and the latter, having examined them, said: 'Aren't these charters for land-purchase false? Is it your water in the lake? Is there earth under the water? Can you remove it from this earth?' And the princes responded: 'Hey, lord, these charters are not false. And there indeed is earth under the water, and the water is our ancestral land, but we cannot remove it, dear lord!' And the judge, the khan's ambassador said: 'Since you cannot take the water away from the earth, why do you call it yours? Because it has been created by the Holy Lord so that it served all people.' And the khan's ambassador adjudged the borderline lands and water to Peter's grandson Yury: 'As the land was bought, the water was also bought in a similar way.' And he gave Yury a charter with a golden seal reflecting the khan's word and then he departed. The Rostov princes could not do any evil to Yury. And the life of Peter's grandchildren flowed peacefully for many years, and they praised God and, as their parents had taught them, they created a memory for the Holy apostles with tears and joy remembering their miracles and also annually commemorated their parents by giving a lot of alms.

And Peter's great grandson, Yury's son Ignat, grew up. And here is what happened during his life. Ahmyl¹² came to the Russian land and burnt Yaroslavl, and headed towards Rostov with all his forces. And the whole land feared his raid: the Rostov princes and archbishop Prokhor¹³ fled. Ignat, however, drew his sword, caught the archbishop and said: 'If you do not stand against Ahmyl together with me, I will cut you down. Our tribe and our fellows are there.' And the archbishop listened to him and together with all the clergy, dressed in robes, bearing a cross and a gonfalon, he headed towards Ahmyl. And Ignat marched in front of the sacred procession with citizens bearing the Tsar's merry-making items: merlins, fur coats and honey. He knelt on the lake bank before Ahmyl and told him that he came from the ancient tribe of the Tsar's brother. 'And here is the village of the khan and yours, my lord. It was bought by our great grandfather, because miracles had been seen here.' Everyone contemplated Ahmyl's weaponed army with terror. And Ahmyl said: 'You present me the Tsar's merry-making things, and who are these ones standing in white robes with a gonfalon; do not they want to fight us?' And Ignat replied: 'These are the Tsar's and your prayers and they are here to bless you, while they bear icons as our rule dictates.'

At that time, Ahmyl's son was in Yaroslavl deaffly ill, and he was transported in a cart. Ahmyl gave the order to bring his son so that he could be blessed. Archbishop Prokhor, after consecrating water, gave it to him to drink and blessed him with a cross. And Ahmyl's son recovered. Once Ahmyl saw his son cured, he dismounted his horse in front of the sacred procession and, holding up his hands to heaven, exclaimed: 'Be blessed the Holy Lord, who imposed the thought to arrive here into my head. You are righteous, Archbishop Prokhor, for your prayer revived my son. And you, Ignat, be blessed, because you saved your people and kept this city. You are of the Tsar's bone and of the Tsar's tribe. If anyone causes offense to you, do not be idle and come to us.' Ahmyl took 40 measures of silver and gave them to the archbishop, while he granted 30 measures to his clergy. He accepted Ignat's merry-making items, kissed Ignat, bowed to the archbishop, mounted his horse and returned home. Meanwhile, having escorted Ahmyl, Ignat returned to the city together with the citizens and the archbishop. Delighted, they organised a public prayer and praised God.

God, give consolation to those reading and writing about their ancestors' deeds! Grant them peace today and in the future century! Keep Peter's kin safe and multiply it! May joy without sadness be always abundant in his kin and may the memory of it be eternal till the end of days. Be our Lord Jesus Christ always glorious and powerful, honoured and worshiped, now, and ever, and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

Notes

¹ *...the nephew of Berke Khan...*—Khan Berke, Batu's brother, seized power in the Golden Horde killing his nephew Sartaq in 1257. He ruled the Horde till 1266, adopted Islam, carried out a census in Ruthenia in order that its citizens paid tribute, while exempting the clergy from the tribute. The legend that Berke's nephew had left the Horde possibly appeared in the 15th century. Many boyar families in Ruthenia traced their kins to Golden Horde migrants, the Godunovs, Saburovs, Sheins, Velyaminovs. Legends about the Horde migrants who were founders of churches and monasteries were popular.

² The Vladyka... healed the Tsar's son. Kirill II, the archbishop of Rostov [1231–1261], died in 1262. Chronicles say nothing about his visits to the Horde.

³ *...and saw there a church beautified with...*—the Cathedral of the Assumption in Rostov [see note 7 to 'The Tale of Leonty of Rostov'], its new stone building was erected in 1231. At the moment, a building dating from the 16th century stands in its place.

⁴ *Berke Tsar died afterwards, and unrest broke out in the Horde...*—Berke died in 1266 and his brother Mengu-Timur [1266–1280] ascended to the throne. Bishop Kirill died in 1262 and could not baptise the Horde man.

⁵ Vladyka Ignatius was the archbishop of Rostov [1262–1288]. He covered the whole top of the Cathedral of the Assumption with stannum and paved the floor with red marble in 1280. He visited the Horde multiple times.

⁶ Eustachius Placidus was a Roman commander who adopted Christianity. He was executed by Emperor Adrian around 118 and canonised.

⁷ *... exchanged for three icons...*—According to the 'rules', an icon can neither be bought, nor sold; it can only be exchanged for something.

⁸ *He called upon the prince of Rostov and said to him...*—Under Bishop Ignatius, the Rostov princes were Boris Vasilievich [died in 1277] and then his son Konstantin [died in 1309].

⁹ *...worth ten vykhods...*—A vykhod is a tribute the Russians paid as a favour to the Horde.

¹⁰ *And this monastery was founded since that day.*—According to a chronicle account, Peter's monastery in Rostov had existed back in the 12th century.

¹¹ *The grandchildren of the old prince...*—were possibly the grandchildren of Konstantin Borisovich, the sons of Vasily Konstantinovich, Konstantin and Fedor Vasilievich who divided the Rostov Principality between themselves.

¹² Ahmyl was a Golden Horde ambassador who came to Ruthenia together with Moscow Prince Ivan Kalita in 1322 and pillage Yaroslavl.

¹³ Archbishop Prokhor was the archbishop of Rostov 1311–1328] and the author of 'The Life of Metropolitan Peter'.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

III. Sources on the History of the Ulus of Jochi in the Second Half of the 14–First Third of the 15th Century

No. 1

Classics of Old Rus' literature. The 'Great Troubles' and the Crisis of Khan Power in Ruthenia

After rendering the text of the chronicle, its sources are indicated using the alphanumeric which have been adopted in this field [N4C—Novgorod Fourth Chronicle, Tv.Col.—Tver Collection, Sim.—Simeon Chronicle, S1C—Sofia First Chronicle, Tr.—Trinity Chronicle, ACV—Abbreviated Chronicle Vault of 1493, Typ. —Typographic Chronicle, Vl.—Vladimir Chronicler, RC—Rogozhsky Chronicler, MC—Moscow Chronicle of the end of the 15th century].

1. The 'Great Troubles' of the 1360s–1370s

'In the summer of 6865 [1357] Jani Beg Khan took the tsardom of Tevriz. That autumn, the Horde's ambassador with the mighty name of Komak came to Ruthenia, and it was a great pain for the Russian princes. In that winter, the good Tsar Jani Beg died and his son Berdi Beg inherited the throne after killing 12 his brothers by the hand of the evil betrayer Tovlubiy. And once Metropolitan Aleksy arrived in the Horde, he received much languor from the Tatars, with the help of God and prayer of His Holy Mother, he remained safe and sound and not touched by the violence of the unholy, and thus returned to Ruthenia'.

S1C, p. 432–433

'In the year 6868 [1360]... In that year the Novgorod people took Zhukotin and slaughtered many Besermyans, both men and women.'

S1C, p. 432.

'In the year of 6868 [1360]... In that winter, an ambassador came from the Horde to discuss the case of the robbers with the Zhukotin people. All the princes gathered for a meeting in Kostroma, Grand Prince Dmitry Konstantinovich and his elder brother Andrey of Nizhny Novgorod, Prince Konstantin of Rostov. They extradited the criminals and sent the ambassador back to the Horde.'

Tr, p. 377.

In the year 6868 [1360]... That year, Anfal took Zhukotin and slaughtered many Besermyans. In the same winter, Zhukotin's princes received three ambassadors from the Tsar: the oldest was Ourus, another was Kairbek and the third was Altyn bey, and the Russian princes were beaten and had much pain.'

ACV of 1493, p. 242.

'In the year 6868 [1360]... In that summer, unrest occurred in the Horde. Many Tsars, tsarinas, tsareviches and commoners were heavily beaten and slaughtered each other.

<...>In the year 6869 [1361] Russian princes came to the Horde to greet the new Tsar Khodyr [Khizr] : Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich and Prince Ondrey Kostyantynovich and his brother Prince Dmitry Kostyantynovich, Prince Kostyantyn of Rostov, Prince Mikhailo of Yaroslavl, and they were present when Tsar Khodyr was killed by his son Temir Khoja. On the 4th day he took the tsardom and on the 7th day his general Mamai organised unrest in the Horde, and a great rebellion happened there. Meanwhile, Prince Andrey Kostyantynovich departed from the Horde to return to Ruthenia and on his way Prince Ryatikoz attacked him. But God helped Prince Andrey Kostyantynovich, so he arrived back in Ruthenia safe and sound. Temir-Khoja escaped beyond the Volga and was killed there. Prince Mamai passed across the River Volga, beyond the Mountain Land with the whole Horde, and with his tsarinas. One Tsar named Kildi Beg revolted and beat many of them, but then he was killed himself. Other princes of Sarai locked themselves in Sarai, recognising Amurat as their Tsar, while Bulat-Temir, a Horde prince, occupied cities along the Volga and various uluses. And then the princes of Rostov were robbed in the Horde.

In the year of 6870 [1362] both Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich and Prince Dmitry Kostyantynovich debated between themselves on the matter of the grand principality and sent kilicheis [ambassadors] to the Horde, and Tsar Murat ordered Dmitry Ivanovich to keep occupying the position of grand prince.'

S1C, p. 432–433.

'In the year 6874 [1366]... That year, one hundred fifty Ushkuiniks came from Veliky Novgorod by way of the Volga. These Ushkuiniks, Novgorod pirates, beat many Tatars, Besermyans, Armenians in Nizhny Novgorod, kidnapped many people, including men, women and children, took their goods and robbed their properties, including barges, boats, trade boats, sailing ships. They pillaged the city and departed by the Kama towards Bulgar, robbing in the same manner and fighting in the same way.'

Tr, p. 382

In the year 6874 [1366]... In the same year a prince of the Horde named Boulaktemer came with the Tatar army and robbed all the uyezds along the River Volga, even reaching Soundoviti, including the villages belonging to Prince Boris. Meanwhile, Prince Dmitry Kostyantynovich together with his brother Boris and his children gathered troops and marched against him. He, a cursed man, did not take the fight and escaped beyond the River Piana. Chasing after him, many Tatars were beaten and some of them drowned in the River Piana. Meanwhile, Boulaktemir retreated to the Horde and was killed there by Tsar Aziz.'

Typ, p. 124

'In the summer of 6877 [1369]... In that autumn, 10 ushkuis [boats of the Ushkuiniks] sailed on the Volga. Some went on the Kama and were defeated near Bulgar.

In the year 6878 [1370]... Novgorod people arrived on the Volga twice and did much evil.'

N4C, p. 295

In the year 6878 [1370] Mamai in his Horde enthroned another Tsar—Mamant Saltan....That same summer Prince Dmitry Kostyantynovich of Suzdal gathered many warriors, sent his brother Prince Boris and son Prince Vasily with many forces and the Tsar's ambassador named Achikhozha together with them, against Bulgar's prince Osann. The latter went to meet them with obeisance, bringing many gifts. The former accepted the gifts, but enthroned Saltan, son of Bak, and returned back to Ruthenia.

Tr, pp. 389–390.

'In the year 6884 [1377]...In that winter, Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich sent Prince Dmitry Mikhailovich Volynsky with his army to fight the godless Bulgarians, while Prince Dmitry Kostyantynovich of Suzdal sent his son Prince Vasily and his other son Prince Ivan and many boyars and voivodes with him. They arrived in Bulgar in the Great Lent, on the 16th day of March, on Monday of the Holy Week. Paganish Besermyans came out of the city, stood opposite them and started shooting arrows, some of them made thunder [used cannons] from the city frightening our army. Others shot automatic arrows and the rest rode camels, confusing our horses. However, our people, were not a bit afraid of their terror, and they were strong in opposing them in the battle. They unanimously rushed to the city and attacked the Besermyans. The latter, a cursed people, retreated back to their city, while ours chased after them and killed 70 Besermyans. Then the Prince of Bulgar Osann and Maahmat Saltan came out of the city, made obeisance to the Russian grand prince, presented 2,000 rubles to another prince and 3,000 rubles to the army. Our people returned after imposing their will and placing a custom officer there. They also burnt boats, villages and winter residences, beat people and thus returned home with a victory.'

Tr, pp. 401–402.

'In the year 6883 [1375]...It was the time when Prince Dmitry was near Tver, when the Novgorod people from Veliky Novgorod and robbers-Ushkuiniks on 70 ushkuis [boats] with their alderman Prokop and another one Smolnan arrived and took the city of Kostroma....After conquering it, they pillaged it thoroughly and stayed in the city for a week and expropriated every single treasure and caught and took every single good they found. But they did not take everything with themselves: they carried only the most expensive and light things; and the rest, the heavy and excessive items, were dropped into the Volga to sink, while the other goods were burned. They captured many peasant people, including men, women and girls, took them and thus departed from Kostroma. Going down the Volga, they robbed

Nizhny Novgorod, took many captives and burnt the city. Then they headed even lower and turned to the Kama and slowed down there for a while. And then through the Kama they again reached the Volga; going down it they reached Bulgar. Over there they sold to the Besermyans their captive peasants, the people from Kostroma and Nizhny Novgorod, including wives and maidens. After that they themselves went on boats down the Volga, heading towards Sarai and robbing peasants and beating Besermyans on their way. And like this they reached the Volga estuary, a spot near the sea and near some city named Khaztorokan [Astrakhan], but the prince of Astrakhan whose name was Salchii outwitted them with flatter and thus the Ushkuiniks were defeated, and none of them were left alive, while Astrakhanians seized all Ushkuiniks' property. And thus was the death of Prokop and his troop. '

N4C, pp. 303–304

In the year 6885...In autumn, the Mordvins came God knows from where and attacked the uyezd of Nizhny Novgorod, captured many people and did much evil. Prince Boris Kostyantynovich followed them and reached the host near the River Piana, the impious started retreating beyond the River Piana, some were beaten and others sank in the river.'

VI, p. 123

'That year, some princes defected from the Blue Horde beyond the River Volga. A prince named Arapsha desired to march towards Nizhny Novgorod. Prince Dmitry Kostyantynovich sent a message to his brother-in-law Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich. The latter gathered many troops and came with his army to Nizhny Novgorod with strong forces. But there was not a trace of Prince Arapsha, and thus he returned to Moscow sending his voivodes against him together with troops from Volodimer, Pereyaslavl, Yuriev, Murom, and Yaroslavl; while Prince Dmitry of Suzdal sent his son Prince Ivan together with Prince Semen Mikhailovich and many voivodes and warriors with them, and so it was a great massive army. And they went beyond the River Piana, and a message reached them that Prince Arapsha had been noticed at the Volchya Voda [Wolf's Water]. They took alarm, but with negligence gathered their armour and threw it into carts, and some items were dropped into bags. Some warriors were not ready, neither were their shields, nor spears prepared. Their sulitsas [throwing weapons] were not spindled. Their tapings were taken off their arms and shirts were unbuttoned, as they perspired: they felt hot, they felt sultry. And once they stopped for a halt, they started drinking honey and beer immeasurably and rode horses all drunk. Indeed they were drunk at the River Drunk ['Piana' is translated from Russian as 'drunk']. At the same time, their aldermen, noblemen and voivodes went to chase game, entertaining themselves, as if they were at home. However, at that time, the pagan Mordvinian princes brought their Tatar army from the Mamai Horde to fight our princes, while ours were not aware of this. No message was received of the Mordvins. When our people reached the Para, the pagans quickly divided themselves into 5 regiments and suddenly attacked the rear, God knows from where, beating, cutting and stabbing everyone. Our people failed to do anything and ran towards the River Piana, while the Tatars followed them, beating them and like this they killed Prince Semen Mikhailovich and many boyars; Prince Ivan Dmitrievich ran in anxiety to the River Piana driven there needlessly. He bumped into the river on horse and drowned in it, and many boyars, servants and other people drowned together with him. This evil matter occurred on the 2nd day of August. <...>

In that summer, above mentioned Prince Arapsha came again and pillaged the area behind the River Sura and burnt it.'

Tr, pp. 402–403

2. The Battle of Kulikovo

In the year 6886...that summer the Tatars approached Nizhny Novgorod when the prince was absent, and the people abandoned it. Citizens escaped beyond the Volga from the destroyed city. That time, Prince Dmitry returned from Gorodets and saw the area in ruins. He offered a ransom for the city, but they rejected it, burned the city on the very day of St Boris. The next day they departed from the city and pillaged the Berezovo Pole and all uyezds along their way. Then they burned all the icons in the

Cathedral of the Savior and burned the marvelous doors which were beautifully adorned with gilded copper. <...>

In the same summer, Mamai, the Horde's prince of pagans, upon gathering troops, sent Begich with the army to fight Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich and take all the Russian land. However, Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich became aware of this and also gathered many warriors and marched against them with multiple forces. After cutting across the River Oka he entered into the land of Ryazan and faced the Tatars near the River Vozha. So they stood with the river flowing between them. After many days of waiting, the Tatars cut across the river, rushed forward on their horses and attacked the Russians. And Timofey okolnichy [a member of one of the highest ranks of boyars] attacked their one flank, Daniley Pronsky attacked another flank and the grand princes marched straight against them. That hour, the Tatars dropped their spears and ran beyond the River Vozha, while our people chased after them, cutting, beating, stabbing and killing many of them. Others drowned in the river. Here is the list of killed princes: Khazibii, Koverga, Karabaluk, Kostrov, Begichka. Soon it was evening, the sun was down, it was growing dark and finally the night fell on the field. It was impossible to chase after them beyond the river. The next day it was still misty, the Tatars kept running through the evening and through the whole night. In the morning, before midday, the grand prince departed to hunt after them, though they had run far. He found their multiple courts—tents and pavilions, yurts and hovels and carts; and discovered multiple goods in them: everything was arranged, though not a Horde man was there, as everyone escaped to the Horde....Then Dmitry Monastyrev and Nazar Kusakov, Danil's son, were killed. This battle occurred on the 11th day of August, on the day of Saint martyr Deacon Yeoupl, on Wednesday during vespers. May God help great Dmitry Ivanovich and his warriors to defeat foes and press the paganish Tatars away—similar to the cursed paganish Cumans who had been defeated in shame, and to the Ismail people who had returned home unsuccessfully....They returned back to the Horde, to Mamai, who had sent them - he was like the Tsar that time in the Horde. Nothing could be done in front of Mamai, as he held the eldership and possessed everything in the Horde.

When Mamai saw how exhausted his army was, when he saw that many princes were beaten, aldermen—defeated, noblemen—killed, and few people managed to escape, he erupted with anger and fury. That autumn he gathered the remaining troops and suddenly attacked Ryazan. Prince Oleg was taken by surprise and did not manage to prepare his forces to repel the attack. He did not stand against them, but left his lands and escaped beyond the River Oka. Meanwhile the Tatars reached the Ryazan city of Pereyaslavl, burned it with fire, volosts and villages, slaughtered many people and captured others. Thus they returned home having done much evil.'

RC, pp. 134–135.

In the year 6888 [1380]...In that summer the godless wicked khan of the Horde, the cursed Mamai, gathered many warriors, all the Cuman land and all the Tatar army, Franks, Circassians and Jász people, and with all his forces marched against Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich and against all the Russian lands. It happened in August. A message from the Horde reached grand prince Dmitry Ivanovich, that the Tatar army was on the way to fight the Christians. The wicked kin of Ismail and godless Mamai were extremely furious at Prince Dmitry because of lost friends and lovers and princes, for they had been killed on the River Vozha. So he marched against him, intending to capture the Russian lands.

Upon hearing that, Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich gathered many warriors and prepared to stand against them, striving to protect his Motherland and the Holy Church and the Orthodox Christian religion and all Russian lands. After moving beyond the River Oka, fresh news reached him: Mamai stood beyond the River Don in the field, awaiting help from Yagail and Lithuanian troops.

So the grand prince headed beyond the Don where the field was pure and vast, while the intelligence reported where the pagan Cumans and Tatars were concentrated. The Russian army thus reached the estuary of the River Nepryadva. Here, on this spot, both adversaries clashed: they rushed towards each other and it was a fierce battle lasting many hours. Through the day, they clashed and cut each other, and multiple warriors fell dead from both sides. God helped Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich, while Mamai's pagan warriors fled. Our people chased after them cutting and killing without any mercy. With an invisible force, God frightened Hagar's sons and the latter ran away with their shoulders in wounds, and many of them were killed by weapons, while others drowned in the river. And they were chased till the River

Mecha, and many of them were defeated while others got stuck in the water and drowned. Thus the foreigners led by Mamai, afraid and gingered by the fear of God, returned to their Tatar land. This battle happened on the 8th day of September, on the day of the Nativity of the Virgin, on Saturday, before midday. Among the killed there were: Prince Fyodor Romanovich Belozersky, his son Prince Ivan Fyodorovich, Semen Mikhailovich, Mikula Vasilievich, Mikhailo Ivanovich Okinovich, Andrey Serkizov, Timofey Volui, Mikhailo Brenkov, Lev Morozov, Semen Melik, Aleksandr Peresvet and many others.

Meanwhile, grand prince Dmitry Ivanovich with other Russian princes and voivodes and boyars and aldermen and the remaining Russian regiments stood on bones and thanked God and praised his army and the courage of the men who had fiercely struggled for their Motherland and ventured to fight for their God and Christian faith and managed to return to Moscow, their Motherland, with a great victory, and that the army managed to defeat their adversary. Many of his warriors felt a great joy, as they obtained a huge treasure: herds of horses and camels and oxes the amount of which could not be counted, and armour and boats and goods.

Then the grand prince was told that Prince Oleg of Ryazan sent his forces to help Mamai and broke the bridges across rivers. Upon hearing that the grand prince decided to send his troop against Oleg. At the same time, Ryazan boyars arrived and told him that Oleg had left his land and escaped together with his wife and children and boyars and Duma people. And the Ryazan boyars begged and asked Dmitry not to send his army against their city and made obeisance to him and wanted to be enrolled as Dmitry's servicemen. Having listened to them, the grand prince accepted their obeisance and didn't send the army against them. He returned to his land and placed their governors to rule in the Ryazan principality.

At that time, Mamai with a few regiments left the Don battlefield shamed and dishonoured, angry and furious because of his defeat. He gathered his remaining exhausted forces and in the morning again decided to attack Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich and all Russian lands. Once he was prepared, he received a piece of news that some khan named Tokhtamysh from the East, the Blue Horde, intended to attack Mamai. So the latter marched against him, with his army ready for another campaign. They clashed on the River Kalka. Here, Mamai's princes dismounted and made obeisance to khan Tokhtamysh and made an oath to him according to their faith and brought their troops to him and left Mamai dishonoured. Upon seeing this, Mamai retreated with his counselors and fellowmen. Khan Tokhtamysh sent a troop after them and killed Mamai when he was caught. Meanwhile, Tokhtamysh took Mamai's horde and his wives and treasury and all the ulus and shared Mamai's wealth between his warriors.

From there, Tokhtamysh sent ambassadors to the Russian land to Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich and all the Russian princes, so that they were told how Tokhtamysh had arrived and occupied the throne and how his adversary Mamai had been defeated and how he had taken his main camp himself. The Russian princes let the ambassadors go with honour and many gifts and in that winter and spring each of them sent their kilicheis [ambassadors] so that they brought many presents to khan Tokhtamysh.'

RC, pp. 139–141.

In the year of 6888 [1380] <...>

Then Mamai ran away with his few forces and returned to his land, offended and beaten and dishonoured and extremely angry because of his defeat. He then gathered his remaining warriors and decided to march against Ruthenia the next morning. And once he was prepared, a tidings reached him that someone called Tokhtamysh, a Tsar from the East, was going from the Blue Horde against Mamai. So the latter decided to go against him with his prepared forces, and they clashed on the River Kalka, and in that battle Tokhtamysh was the victor. Mamai's princes got off their horses and made obeisance to Tokhtamysh and swore an oath to him as their faith dictated, and so Mamai was left dishonoured. Having seen it, Mamai retreated with his associates, while Tsar Tokhtamysh sent warriors to chase them. Escaping from Tokhtamysh, Mamai reached the city of Kaffa and asked its citizens to provide shelter for him. And they decided to accept him. So Mamai brought multiple gifts, silver and gold, while the Kafinians consulted, betrayed Mamai, deceived and killed him. And this was the end of the godless Mamai.

Meanwhile, Tsar Tokhtamysh took the Mamai Horde, his wives, treasures and uluses. He also divided Mamai's wealth between his troops.'

MC, p. 205

In the year 6889 [1381]...That same year, kilicheis [ambassadors] of the Grand Prince Tolbuga and Moksha departed from the Horde to arrive there by the Dormition of the Mother of God. In the same year, Tokhtamysh ordered his ambassador, Prince Ak Khozya, to Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich and all the Russian princes. Ka Khozya was accompanied by an army of 700 warriors. So he reached Nizhny Novgorod and returned back. He did not dare to go against Moscow, but sent there several of his fellows with small troops.'

RC, p. 142

'In the year 6890...In that year Tsar Tokhtamysh directed an ambassador to Bulgar and ordered them to rob Russian and Christian merchants, take away their vessels with goods and load them on their own carts, while he himself gathered many troops and went along the Volga with all his forces and all the godless Tatar regiments. After cutting across the Volga he marched against Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich and against all Russian lands. Prince Dmitry Kostyantynovich heard it and sent his two sons—Prince Vasily and Prince Semen to chase after Tokhtamysh. They caught his trail at Sernach, followed him and finally reached him in Ryazan. But Grand Prince Oleg of Ryazan accompanied Tokhtamysh showing his land, and this message soon reached Moscow.

Meanwhile, when Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich heard the news, he neither decided to attack the Tsar, nor marched against Khan Tokhtamysh, but returned to his city Kostroma.

The Tsar cut across the River Oka, conquered the city of Serpukhov and burned it, and from there he headed towards Moscow. But it was a pointless move. He burned settlements and villages along his way and cut and killed Christians, capturing some of them. And on the 23 day of August he approached Moscow where Ostei, Algirdas's grandson, locked himself with many people: migrants from destroyed volosts and other remaining citizens: priors, and presbyters, and monks, and poor people of all ages and genders: men, women, children and infants.

The Tsar stood at the city for 3 days and on the fourth day he deceived Ostei with false speeches promising peace thus managing to lure him out of the city. Ostei was killed in front of the gates. Tokhtamysh then ordered his troops to go and pillage the surrounding lands and mount stairways to the city wall. On the 26th day of August he took the city on the commemorating day of Saint Andrian and Natalia, at 7 o'clock. The Cristian people who remained in the city, locked themselves in fenced stone churches. But the Tatars broke the churches' walls cutting them with their swords, killing people with other weapons, and robbing cathedral churches. They stole miraculous icons adorned with gold and silver and pearls and beads and jewels, as well as shrouds and sacred church vessels, and churchmen's robes. Multiple books were taken away from the whole city and surroundings and from cathedral churches which had been stored there, and they were forever gone. In churches and at sanctuaries, the cursed Tatars did much evil: killed people and profaned the holy place;...spilling blood like water near Moscow without burying the dead bodies: priests and other churchmen, Semen, Archimandrite of Spass, another Archimandrite—Iakov and abbot Akinf Kirilov and many other abbots and presbyters and monks and friars and popes and deacons and ordinary people from the oldest to the youngest, male and female—everyone was killed; others were captured without a chance of being rescued. At that time the city saw crying and weeping and sobbing and screaming and moaning and bitter sadness and grief and troubles and terror and fear and trembling and need and dishonour and outrage and shame and disgrace and reproach from our enemies for our sins. The Tatars took the city of Moscow, robbed all the estates, burned all the houses and ignited the whole city, slaughtering people with swords. And thus was the city's destiny.

And the Tsar released the rest of his forces to pillage other lands: some went to Zvenigorod and others to Volok and Mozhaishk, and others to Dimitrov. Some troops were sent to Pereyasavl. There, troops conquered Pereyasavl and burned it, while its citizens abandoned the city, sailed on boats along the lake and were beaten over there. The Tatars destroyed volosts and captured cities and burned villages, and robbed monasteries and slaughtered Christians, capturing many of them thus doing much evil.

Prince Volodimer Andreevich gathered many warriors and marched towards Volok. That night, several Tatars came there, but the prince drove them out. They returned to Tokhtamysh all beaten and

injured. When Tokhtamysh realised that the grand prince stands near Kostroma and prince Volodimer near Volok, he decided not to spend many days near Moscow and soon returned to the Horde. On his way, he let his warriors go to Kolomna. After conquering Kolomna, he retreated. Tokhtamysh then cut across the River Oka and pillaged the Ryazan lands, burned it with fire, slaughtered people and captured others to bring them to the Horde. When Prince Oleg of Ryazan saw it, he left his city.

On his way from Ryazan, the prince sent his ambassador Shikhmat with an embassy to Prince Dmitry Kostyantynovich, his brother-in-law, accompanied by his son, Prince Semen, while he brought his other son, Prince Vasily, to the Horde.

The Tatars disappeared and after some time Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich and his brother Prince Volodimer Andreevich with his boyars entered into their native city, Moscow, and saw it conquered, burned with fire with destroyed churches and an avalanche of dead bodies. They felt much grief and cried and ordered those killed to be buried, giving 50 kopecks for every 40 buried corpses and 1 ruble for burying over 80 people. In total, they gave out 150 rubles.

In that autumn, Prince Dmitry Ivanovich sent his army against Prince Oleg of Ryazan. But the latter slipped away with his few forces taking everything from the land and burning it and making it totally empty, as if the Tatars had pillaged it.

In that autumn, Tokhtamysh's ambassador named Karach arrived to Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich.'
Sim, pp. 131–133

In the year of 6891 [1383]...In that spring Grand Prince Dmitry Ivanovich sent his eldest son Vasily from Volodimer to Khan Tokhtamysh and senior boyars to accompany him, and his son stayed there for three years; then he sailed down the River Volga.'

Typ, p. 426

In the year of 6897 [1389]...In that year Prince Boris Kostyantynovich went to the Horde, while Tokhtamysh marched with his army against Temir Aksak. Prince Boris reached Tokhtamysh and followed him for thirty days, while the khan released him from the place called Urukhan and ordered him to arrive in Sarai before him, while he himself went to fight Temir Aksak. He ransacked his city but did not manage to find him and returned back to his ulus. <...>

In the same summer, on the 15th day of August Prince Vasily Dmitrievich occupied the throne of his father and grandfather and great grand father, enthroned by the khan's ambassador, Shikhmat.'

Tr, pp. 434–435

'In the year of 6899 [1391]...In that summer, Novgorod people from Veliky Novgorod and those from Ustug went on boats and ushkuis [pirate boats of the Ushkuiniks] down the River Vyatka and conquered Zhukotin and ransacked it, and took Kazan and thus reached the Volga and robbed all the guests and returned back home.'

Tr, p. 438

'In the year of 6899 [1391]...In that summer, Khan Tokhtamysh sent Prince Bektut to ransack the land along the River Vyatka, and he beat some people and captured others.'

MC, p. 219

In the year of 6903 there was a war between Tokhtamysh and Temir Kutluy, and the latter drove Tokhtamysh to Lithuania and occupied the throne himself.'

SIC, p. 511

'In the year of 6906 [1398]...In that summer Tokhtamysh, the khan of the Great Horde, seized control of his country and sent his ambassadors in all directions to all countries glorifying his name and receiving much gold and silver and many gifts and calling upon the Tatars so that they arrived in the Horde to him. However, someone named Temir Aksak defeated Tokhtamysh, while Temir Kutluy pressed the latter away and occupied the Horde's main camp in Sarai. Tokhtamysh then colluded with Vytautas and escaped from the Horde to Kiev with his women and two sons. <...>

In the year of 6907 [1399]...Prince Vitaūt Kiejstutavič or Vytautas of Lithuania gathered many warriors. Tokhtamysh accompanied him with his court, while among Vytautas's warriors were Lithuanians,

Germans, Poles, Samogitians, Tatars, Vlachs, Podolyans with around 50 princes among them—a great force it was. And upon gathering all his multiple regiments, he marched against Khan Temir Kutluy in order to dethrone him and give the khanship to Tokhtamysh. Vytautas himself intended to occupy the Muscovite throne and rule throughout all the Russian lands. Beforehand, Vytautas held counsel with Tokhtamysh telling the latter: I shall enthrone you in the Horde while you shall help me obtain the Muscovite throne and govern the Russian lands. And thus they decided to attack Temir Kutluy. However, the latter managed to arrive on time with his multiple regiments and his Horde princes and all the Tatar forces and joined the battle with Vytautas on the River Vorskla, and it was a fierce struggle, and it happened on the 12th day of August and lasted for a long time. God helped the Tatars and Khan Temir Kutluy celebrated the victory over Vytautas and his whole Lithuanian army. And Vytautas escaped with a small regiment, while the Tatars followed them and cut them down, and Tsar Tokhtamysh escaped from that battle and also did much evil to the Lithuanian lands as a consequence. The Tatars defeated many Lithuanian princes at that battlefield: voivodes and boyars and Christians and Lithuanians and Germans and Poles and many other people, and only a few remained alive. And Khan Temir Kutluy headed to Kiev and took 3000 rubles in Lithuanian silver as a ransom and dismissed his army to pillage the Lithuanian land. And on their way, Tatar regiments even reached great Lutsk and captured many cities, pillaged many lands. Thus Temir Kutluy did much evil to the Lithuanian lands and returned back home.

Here is the list of Lithuanian princes who were killed that time at the battlefield: Prince Andrey Olgerdovich of Polotsk and his brother Dmitry Dobransky, Prince Ivan Dmitreevich Kidyr, Prince Andrey, a stepson of Dmitry, Prince Ivan Yevlashkovich, Prince Ivan Borisovich of Kiev, Prince Gleb Svyatoslavich of Smolensk, Prince Lev Koryadovich, Prince Mikhailo Vasilievich and his brother Prince Semen, Prince Mikhailo Podbereskii and his brother Prince Aleksandr, Prince Mikhailo Danilovich and his brother Prince Dmitry, Prince Fyodor Patrikeevich of Volyn, Prince Yamant Tuluikovich, Prince Ivan Yurievich Belskii, Prince Luspytko of Krakow.'

Tr, pp. 450–451

In the year of 6907 [1399]...Vytautas and Tokhtamysh with all the Lithuanian forces, Germans and Poles, Samogitians, Tatars, Vlachs, Podolyans and Tokhtamysh's court, who make up a great force, marched against Temir Kutluk. [Vytautas] boasted that he would enthrone Tokhtamysh in the Horde and he himself would be the ruler of the Russian lands in Moscow and in order to achieve this division he inflicted this disorder; Tokhtamysh had promised to grant him Moscow and all the Russian lands. And like this the paganish thought in vain, while the Prophet said the following about them: 'Lord brings the counsel of nations to nothing: He frustrates peoples' plans.'

That time, Temir Kutluy arrived with many regiments and stood opposite Vytautas in the field on the Vorskla River. It was a scary scene that time to see these two great powers. Then Edigu arrived and attacked Vytautas with a rain of arrows, while the Polish responded with automatic arrow-shooting. But Edigu started to press those helping Lithuania; and then the Tsar came with a great force and encircled Vytautas and shot the horses they rode, and a fierce battle took place. Temir Kutluy won, while Tokhtamysh was the first to escape. Vytautas retreated with a small army and the Tatars chased after him, defeating many of the Lithuanians on their way. This battle occurred on the 12th day of August, on the day of Saints Photios and Anikita. The following Lithuanian princes were defeated: Andrius Algirdaitis of Polotsk and Dmitrijus Algirdaitis of Bryansk; Prince Mikhailo Yevnutyevech, Prince Ivan Dmitrievich Kydyr, Prince Andrey, Dmitry's stepson, Prince Ivan Yevlashkovich, Prince Ivan Borisovich of Kiev, Prince Gleb Svyatoslavich of Smolensk, Prince Lev Koryadovich, Prince Mikhailo Vasilievich, his brother Prince Semen Vasilievich, Prince Mikhailo Podberezsky, Prince Dmitry of Volyn, Prince Amont, governor of Smolensk; many other princes, boyars and knights were killed, many Polish people from many lands were slaughtered.

Tsar Temir Kutluy arrived in Kiev sending his forces to fight in the Lithuanian lands and reached Lutsk, subduing many cities along his way and making the land desolate. From Kiev, Temir Kutluy took 3000 silver and returned to his land.'

Tv.Col, columns 458–459

In the year of 6907 [1399]...In that autumn Prince Semen of Suzdal came with an army to Nizhny Novgorod while Prince Yentyak with a thousand of Tatars accompanied him. People locked themselves in the city, and Volodimer Danilovich, Grigory Volodimerovich, Ivan Likhov were among their voivodes. And the battle lasted for three days and many people died, shot by arrows and like that peace was achieved. Christians kissed the cross, while Tatars swore according to their faith that no evil would be done to Christians but [then] the latter deceived and violated their oath and robbed all Christians releasing them cleaned out. Semen then said: it was not me who did it, but the Tatars. I do not control them and thus cannot punish them. And like this the Tatars seized Novgorod on the 25th day of October and, after spending two weeks there, they heard that the grand prince went against them [with an army] and retreated [to the Horde].

But the grand prince found out and gathered many troops, and he sent his brother Yury Dmitrievich and voivodes and senior boyars and many forces with him to war. He then went and took the cities of Bulgar, Zhukotin, Kazan, Kremenchuk and pillaged all their lands, beat many Besermians and Tatars and captured the Tatar lands. And the war lasted for three months and he returned home with a great victory and much treasure to the Russian lands.'

Tr, p. 453

'In the year of 6913 [1405] an ambassador from khan Shadi Beg arrived to the grand prince. He was the khan's treasurer.'

Tr, p. 459

'In the year of 6914 [1406]...In the same month, September, on the 7th day, grand Prince Vasily Dmitrievich mobilised many warriors, marched against Vytautas and stood on the Plava River. Khan Shadi Beg sent Tatar troops from the Horde to help Prince Vasily. When Vytautas arrived with his army, they stopped at the Peshkova causeway. After waiting for a while they retreated and in the same year Vytautas asked for peace. <...>

In the same winter khan Shadi Beg killed Tokhtamysh in the Siberian lands.'

Tr, pp. 461–462, 465.

'In the year of 6915 [1407]...In that summer on the 20th day of July Prince Ivan of Tver went by boat to the Horde, to Shadi Beg khan, and it was the time of 'Great Troubles' there, when Khan Shadi Beg was ousted by Bulat Saltan.'

MC, p. 236

'In the year of 6916 [1408]...In that winter some Horde prince named Edigu, upon the order of Khan Bulat, made a campaign against the Russian land; there were four princes and other Tatar princes with him: Buchak, Tegriberdii, Altymyr', Bulat, Grand Prince Edigu, Mahmet, Isup, son of Syulimen, Prince Tegin, son of Shikh, Prince Sarai, son of Urus, Prince Obryagim, son of Temir, Prince Yakshibi, son of Edigu, Prince Seityalibi, Prince Burnak and Prince Yerikliberdi. Upon hearing that, grand Prince Vasily Dmitrievich did not stand against the Tatars, but rushed to Kostroma. And it happened during St. Philip's [Christmas] fast, on the 1st day of December, before the midday, when Prince Edigu approached Moscow with his massive army and all the Tatar forces and let them pillage all the surrounding lands, and so they dispersed and spread out like wolves, throughout all lands and cities and volosts. No place was left which would not be visited by the Tatars. They took the city of Pereyaslavl and burned it, the same fate awaited Rostov and Serpukhov and Nizhny Novgorod and Gorodets.

And Prince Tegriberdii and Prince Yakshibii, Edigu's son, and Prince Seityalibii with 30 thousand warriors were sent to chase the grand prince. And they followed him and did not manage to chase him, but finally found him and thus returned back to Edigu.

Meanwhile, Edigu stopped near Moscow, in the village of Kolomenskoe, and sent his ambassadors Prince Bulat and Prince Yerikliberdi to Tver, to Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver ordering him to immediately arrive in Moscow with his whole army, main guns, cushions, automatic arrow-shooters and all hail-damage equipment, desiring to break and conquer Moscow. But Prince Ivan did not want to do that and betray the cross-kissing oath and long-lasting peace and love for the grand prince, but instead he planned the following: he would march from Tver without a large army, but with a few troops

and reach Klin, and from there—turn back to Tver. And with this canning move he would neither make Edigu angry, nor would he betray the grand prince and would not face any of them. The action was smart. Meanwhile, Moscow sank in sadness—the people locked inside of the city, and burned the city's posad and surroundings themselves.

Among those who locked themselves in the city were Prince Volodimer Andreevich, Prince Andrey Dmitrievich and his brother Prince Peter and Prince Ivan Yurievich and many boyars and bishops with them, and the whole clergy and citizens who gathered behind the city's solid walls. All of them were blanketed with sorrow, as they awaited help from nowhere but God. So they prayed to the Holy Lord and His Holy Mother, begging for help to all Christian kin....The Omnibenevolent and all-merciful God heard these people's prayers and grief and did not neglect their lamentations, but had mercy upon them with all His benevolence and thus saved them from the godless people of Ismail.

That time, Edigu came to Moscow wanting to spend winter here and desiring to conquer the city.

At the same time, some prince in the Horde gained support from some allies when all the Horde was exhausted, since the army had marched against Ruthenia and only a few regiments were left by the khan's side...and this prince attacked the khan, but the move was groundless, as his guide obstructed him and did not bring him to the khan, instead, he offered a bargain, besides, it was already misty outside. Thus, the prince did not obtain the desired outcome, but spurred unrest in the Horde and returned. Meanwhile, Khan Bulat was terrified, and soon he sent messengers to Ruthenia ordering Edigu to return to the Horde as soon as possible, as the khan feared an rebellion.

When Edigu heard of this, he started to think on how to retreat from Moscow as a winner and began demanding a ransom. The city's citizens, princes and boyars, however, did not know that Edigu had been called upon to return, and obeyed and paid him 3,000 rubles. Having taken the ransom, Edigu left Moscow to get back to the Horde, after waiting near the city for 3 weeks. He had neither stormed, nor even approached the city, but stood in the village of Kolomenskoe the whole time... When he was ready to depart, he released his army to go before him with all the captives, while he himself departed on the 20th day. The departed Tatars bore so many goods and led so many captured people that their number exceeded a thousand. It was a sorrowful scene, as one Tatar led up to 40 Christians with multiple goods. A great number of people were cut, some died of frost, others died because of thirst and hunger. Fathers and mothers wept seeing their children beaten and killed, while children suffered because of separation from their families. No merciful men were found. Neither helping, nor compassionate people were found among them. And a great weeping erupted throughout the whole Russian land: Christians cried and screamed without any consolation, and the whole land was captured starting from Ryazan and finishing with Galich and Beloozero.'

Tr, pp. 468–470

'In the year of 6917 [1409]...In that summer Anfal marched towards Bulgar by the Kama and Volga rivers with 100 nasads [flat-bottomed boats] sailing down the Kama and 100 and 50 nasads down the Volga. But the Tatars defeated them on the Kama, while Anfal was captured and brought to the Horde, as the Volga nasads did not manage to arrive on time.'

MC, p. 239

'In the year of 6920 [1412] Grand Prince Vasily Dmitrievich went to the Horde to Khan Zelin-Saltan, son of Tokhtamysh.'

S1C, p. 534

'In the year of 6930 [1422]...In that summer...August...In that same month, on the 31st day, Khan Barak defeated Khudaidat Khan and in autumn came with his army to the city of Odoev, but retreated from the city without conquering it, although he did evil, and disappeared with captives in the field. However, Prince Yury Romanovich Odoevsky and Grigory of Mtsensk caught him, beat him and released the captured people.'

MC, p. 245

'In the year of 6939 [1431]...Grand Prince Vasily sent Fyodor Davydovich Pestry with an army against Bulgar. He conquered it and captured all its territory.'

<...> In the same year grand Prince Vasily and Prince Yury Dmitrievich. His uncle wanted to become the grand prince and intended to depart to the Horde, to Khan Mahmet, on the holyday of the Assumption of the Mother of God. Once the liturgy was over, the grand prince departed to the Horde on the same day <...>

In the year 6940 [1432] on the 8 of September Prince Yury Dmitrievich went to celebrate the holiday of the Nativity of the Virgin... and headed towards the Horde to receive the title of grand prince.

Once he arrived to the Horde, the Muscovite daruga Minbulat took him to his ulus. The grand prince received much honour from him, while Prince Yury received only shame and much pain.

But the Grand Prince of the Horde Shirin Tegin was kind towards Yury, and he took him away from Minbulat and promised Yury to give him the grand principality. And Shirin Tegin together with Yury went to spend the winter in the Crimea, while the Grand Prince stayed at Minbulat's. At that time, the boyar Ivan Dmitrievich who accompanied Grand Prince Vasily Vasilievich, decided to make obeisance to the Horde's princes—Aldar and Minbulat. He said the following: 'Is this, dear sirs, your appeal to the Tsar and your loyal word about our ruler, the Grand Prince, that the Tsar must not turn back on Tegin's word in the face of all of you, but wants according to his word to give the grand principality to Prince Yury. What will happen then? Prince Yury will be the Grand Prince of Moscow, while his blood brother Švitrigaila will rule in Lithuania and Tegin will be the master of the Golden Horde without asking you'. These words hurt their hearts like an arrow. And so they went to the khan with bows, making obeisance to support Grand Prince Vasily and managed to incline the khan to their side. And the khan said the following: 'If Tegin mentions that he wants to enthrone Yury, I will give the order to kill him.'

When spring came, Tegin returned from the Crimea back to the Horde wanting to give Yury the grand principality. A Tatarian named Usein, who was the khan's chamberlain, and Tegin's nephew told him the khan's order and the princes' plans—that if he expressed the desire to make Yury the grand prince, he would be killed. After hearing that, Tegin did not dare to say a word about Yury.

Meanwhile, the khan ordered his princes to judge the Russian ones and there were many debates between them: they intended to defend his right for the grand principality on the rights of his father and grandfather, while Prince Yury Dmitrievich attracted chroniclers, their copies and the last will of his father, grand prince Dmitry, to prove his rights. And then the Boyar Ivan Dmitrievich said the following to the khan and his princes: 'Dear sovereign, our Tsar, let me, a slave of the grand prince, say a word. Our ruler, Grand Prince Vasily, desires to prove his right for the grand principality in your ulus, given to him by your charter, and here is this charter, lying in front of you. While our lord, Prince Yury Dmitrievich, wants to become the grand prince by the will charter of his father—not by your permission and charter, while you are free to enthrone anyone in your ulus, according to your own will. And our ruler Grand Prince Vasily Dmitrievich had given the right for the grand principality to his son, Vasily Vasilievich by your will—the chainless khan. And he has been ruling as the grand prince already for many years, as you yourself know very well.' The Khan gave the grand principality to Prince Vasily Vasilievich and ordered Prince Yury, his uncle, to lead the horse Vasily rode. But the grand prince did not want to dishonour his uncle this way, while Shirin Tegin stood in front of the khan wanting to refuse him, because there was a message that Tsar Kich-Akhmet marched against Makhmet. The khan became scared of it and provided Yury with a patrimony in Dmitrov, giving him all necessary powers.

And the khan let them go to their patrimonies, and the grand prince arrived in Moscow on the day of St. Peter, and Prince Yury headed to Zvenigorod and from there—to Dmitrov.'

MC, pp. 248–249

This material was prepared by Iskander Izmaylov

No. 2

From the work of Ahmad ibn Arabshah

Abu Muhammad Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Abd Allah ibn Ibrahim, better known as ibn Arabshah, was born in Damask in 791/1388. He was captured and brought to Samarkand when he was a teenager where he studied the Persian and Mongolian languages. He visited the lands of Khitai, Khwarezm, Sarai, Astrakhan, Crimea and Adrianople. Having returned back home, he soon moved to Cairo where he died in Rajab 854 AH / August 1450. He compiled 'Ajaib al-makdur fi akhbar Timur' [The Wonders of Predestination in Timur's destinies] —a work written in rhymed prose.

The source and notes are quoted from the edition: Tizengauzen V.G. Sbornik materialov, otnosyashixsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy'. (V. Tiesenhausen. Collection of Materials Relating to the Golden Horde History.) Volume I—St. Petersburg, 1884.—Pp. 455–474; The History of Kazakhstan in Arabic Sources. Volume I. Collection of Materials Relating to the Golden Horde History. Extracts from works collected by V. Tiesenhausen. Revised and expanded edition.—Almaty, 2005. Pp. 329–349.

'About his [Timur's] return from Diyarbakır and Iraq and about his campaign to the Kipchak steppes; the description of tsars and their possessions and explanation of settlements and their ways'... He [Timur] headed to Dasht-i Kipchak, striving to be fast and instant. It [Dasht-i Kipchak] is a vast kingdom embracing terrific steppes; its sultan is Tokhtamysh—the one who in the war with Timur was like a banner for rebellious sultans: for he was the first who stood against him with hostility and, confronting him in Turkestan's steppes, he fought him, but was defeated, as it has been said earlier, by Sayyid of Barak. The Dasht land is called Dasht-Kipchak and Dasht-Berke. In the Persian language '*dash*' means 'steppe', while '*Berke*' is a suffix name in the genitive case. He [Berke] was the first sultan who adopted Islam and unfolded the banner of the Islamic religion in the country, while [before him] they [the Kipchaks] were only polytheists and idolaters who knew neither Islam, nor al-huda. Some of them still worship idols. And here he [Timur] departed along the Derbent road controlled by Sheikh Ibrahim, the sultan of Shirvan's possessions... Another reason for his [Timur's] campaign against these possessions, although it was not necessary, lied in the following: emir Idiku was one of Tokhtamysh's main emirs on the left side, [one] of the aldermen who were elected during the times of troubles for their exclusion from people of good sense and advice. His tribe was named Kungrat. There were [different] tribes and tongues among the Turks, just as among the Arabs. When he noticed a change in the ruler's attitude towards him, Idiku started fearing for himself, because Tokhtamysh was of a fierce temper. Thus he [Idiku], being afraid that a misfortune could suddenly seize him, was constantly wary of him and always ready to escape if he considered it necessary. He started to observe and watch him, to take care of him and flatter him, but during one night of revelry, when stars of cups span in spheres of pleasure and the sultan of wine already controlled the captive of the mind, Tokhtamysh said the following to Idiku while the fire of his common sense was sometimes ignited and sometimes extinguished: 'A day will [come] for me and for you [when] trouble will throw you into poverty, and you will have to fasten after feasts of life, and the eye of your existence will be filled with a dream caused by death.' Idiku attempted to evade the talk and started to joke saying: 'I hope to God that our lord chagan will not be in rage with his innocent slave and allow the tree which he seeded himself to vanish, or will break the foundation [of the building] he erected himself.' Then he [Idiku] expressed outward humility, obedience, poverty and belittling, but, convinced of the reality of what he had suspected, he began to refine his mind on account of salvation and to use his intuition and sharpness, realising that if he ignored this case or delayed it to wait a little, the sultan will deal with [him]. He quickly slipped between the retinue and servants and left the place in a great anxiety, as if he was to accomplish an ordered matter. He headed to Tokhtamysh's stables in a strong unremitting excitement and rushed to tack up a harnessed horse, bred and swift-footed, which stood already ready in case of anything. And he said to one of his servants whom he trusted and believed he would not break his secret: 'If anyone wants to contact me, he will find me at Timur's; do not divulge this secret until you make sure I have passed through the deserts.' Then he left him and went away; his departure was disclosed only when he was already [far] and being a horse, gradually managed to overcome the longest distances, thanks to the mercies of the road. But neither his traces nor the dust [he had raised] were noticed. He arrived to Timur, kissed his hands, accounted the whole story explaining what had happened and said: 'You rush to far lands and to wild and desolate areas, because of which you expose yourself to dangers. You cross ridges of deserts and sort Books of Travels, while your treasure is cold and lies in front of your eyes; you will gain it easily and

comfortably, in a manner pleasant and convenient for you. Why should you hesitate and rest? Why would you procrastinate and delay it? Rise up with a strong determination, and I am a bail for you that [there is] no fortress which would detain you and there is no obstacle which would stop you; and there is no warrior [with a sword] who would drive you out; there is no guard who would bar your way; there is no enemy who would stand against you and there is no commander who would fight you. Only rabble and rascals are there. Their wealth will be theft and their treasures will come on their own feet!' He [Idiku] did not cease to incite him [Timur] to it, spur and entangle him by all means... When Timur with a great rapidity prepared to conquer Dasht-Berke. This area was exclusively Tatar, abundant in different animals and Turkic tribes, surrounded along [all] sides and cultivated in [all] directions, vast in size, with healthy water and air. Its people are men [in the complete sense of this word] and its warriors are [excellent] archers. Judging by their language, they are the most eloquent Turks, by their lifestyle—the most righteous, by their faces—the most beautiful, by their beauty—the most perfect. Their women are suns, their men are full moons, their tsars are [great] minds, their boyars are [heroic] bosoms. There are neither lies, nor deceit among them, neither do they have cunning nor slyness between them. Their custom is to ride on carts with determination, without a trace of fear. They have few cities, and the transition [from one encampment to another] takes a long time. The border of the Dasht land in the South is the Qulzum [Caspian] Sea—angry and capricious, as well as the Egyptian Sea which turned to them from the Sultanate of Rûm. These two seas almost collide, if not for the Circassian mountains which form an 'impenetrable boundary' between them². In the East there are confines of possessions of Khwarezm, Otrar, Sygnak and other lands and countries in the direction of Turkestan and the Dzhēt lands, up to the Chinese borders belonging to the possessions of the Mongol and Khitai people. In the North, there are Ibir and Sibir, deserts and steppes and sands [heaped] as mountains. And how huge the steppe is, where birds and animals wander! It is similar to the mercy of aldermen of [our] time: the edge which cannot be reached and the limit cannot be achieved. In the West—there are the peripheries of the Russian and Bulgarian lands, as well as possessions of Christians-evildoers; these outskirts are adjoined by the Rûm possessions [lying] close to the lands controlled by Ibn Osman. When caravans come from Khwarezm they go with their carts in calmness, without any fear or threat, to the [very] Crimea, while this passage [requires] nearly three months. The width of this passage is a sea of sand, seven seas long in which even a leader would not be able to find the right way and along which even the bravest and wittiest man would not dare to go. Caravans neither brought goods with themselves, nor did they have food for horses. There was no guide leading them. It was because of the multiplicity of [local] peoples and abundance of safety, food and drinks among the people [inhabiting these areas]. They traveled precisely from one tribe to another and halted only at the place of those who [themselves] offered shelter. It is them who are described in the verse³: 'All of them inhabit both sides of the Okaz, while their children use the hollo 'ar'ar' when they call upon each other to play games. Today, none of these tribes or peoples live in those areas from Khwarezm to the Crimea. There is not any other society besides ghazals and camels. The capital of Dasht is Sarai. This city is of an Islamic style, and is a miraculous fortress. Its description will be provided [below]. Sultan Berke—may Allah have mercy upon him!—after adopting Islam built it [Sarai], chose it as the capital of [his] kingdom and loved it. He prompted the peoples of Dasht to join the commandment and pasture of Islam and therefore it [Dasht] became a place [for the gathering] of different goods and benefits, so the former name of 'Kipchak' was supplied by [another] name, 'Berke'⁴. Our maula and sayyid Khoja Isam ad-Din, son of our deceased mullah and sayyid Khoja Abd al-Maliq, one of the sons of the famous sheikh Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī⁵—may Allah have mercy upon him—who returned from glorious Hejaz in 814 [25 April 1411–12 April 1412], and in our time, i.e. in 840 [16 July 1436–4 July 1437] became a ruler in Samarkand, recited to me this [following] verse in Astrakhan, one of Dasht's cities, having suffered various troubles along his way: 'I used to hear that a blessing lives in the steppe named after its sultan Berke [i.e. the steppe of blessing or benefit]. I allowed my female camel to stop at one of its outskirts [of the steppe], but did not find any blessing there...'.

When Berke Khan was granted the honourary clothes of Islam and hoisted banners in the lands of Dasht in honour of the Hanafi confession, he invited scholars from all lands and sheikhs from all around so that they taught people the statutes of their religion and showed them the path of their monotheism and orthodoxy. He presented them [in exchange for their help] rich gifts, and those [scholars] who came [to his call] were granted a [whole] sea of gifts. He provided patronage to science and scholars, respected the laws of Holy Allah and the statutes of the prophets. At that time, our mullah

Qutb al-Din, scholar al-Razi⁶, sheikh Sa'ad al-Din at-Taftazani⁷, sayyid Jalal ad-Din, the interpreter of 'Khadjibey'⁸ and other Hanafi and Shafi'i celebrities;⁹ and then, after them, our mullah Hafiz ad-Din al-Bazzazi¹⁰ and our mullah Ahmad al-Hujandi¹¹—may Allah have mercy upon them!—visited him and later they visited Öz Beg and Jani Beg Khan. With the assistance of these sayyids, Sarai turned into a concentration of the sciences and a mine of blessings and shortly accumulated [such a] kind and sound population of scientists and celebrities, philologists and craftsmen as well as other prominent people, that could not be found either in the crowded areas of Egypt, nor in its villages. 63 years [passed] between the construction of Sarai and the destruction of those areas. It was one of the greatest cities as concern [its] position and the most inhabited according to the number of people living there. They say that a slave escaped from one alderman and, after getting settled in a place located far from the [big] road, the slave set up a shop there and traded to earn salt. This scoundrel lived like this for nearly a decade and his master [never] met him there, never came across him or saw him, due to the size of it [the city] and a large number of its citizens. It [lies] on the bank of the river detached from the River Itil in respect to which chroniclers and travelers (?) agree that there is not [a single] fresh, flowing or growing river which is bigger than it. It flows from Russian land and does not produce any other benefit besides the fact that it pleases souls. It empties into the Qulzum [Caspian] Sea, as the Jaikhun and other Ajam rivers, although the Qulzum Sea is closed and surrounded by several Persian possessions: Gilan, Mazandaran, Astrabad and Shirvan. The name of Sarai's river is the Singila, and it can be crossed only by [large] boats; neither a pedestrian, nor a knight may enter the river [i.e. it cannot be crossed by wading]. What a great number of arms ramify from this long and wide river, and each is bigger than the Euphrates and the Nile!

How this flood [Timur's raid] occurred and wiped out the Dasht peoples after Tokhtamysh was defeated¹². Timur arrived in this area [Dasht-Kipchak] with innumerable troops, no, with stormy seas, with bearers of flying arrows and cutting swords and biting spears, with strangling lions and attacking tigers, with all kinds of chasers imposing their revenge on their adversary, guarding their goods and neighbours, their home and shelter, their booty and kin, rushing into the depths of the sea of war and standing against its waves and streams [of the sea]. Then Tokhtamysh sent for his aldermen and heads of his peoples, for the citizens of his sandy steppes and the inhabitants of his suburbs, for the heads of his family and leaders [original: molar teeth] of the right and left flanks, calling upon them and inviting them to stand against the foe and fight. They arrived dragging the cloth of obedience behind them and rushing [to him] from all heights, and they gathered according to tribes and kins, a horse and on foot, armed with swords and arrows, impending and upcoming, repelling and striking with sharp sword and spear. These people are excellent marksmen; their flingers and archers do not commit mistakes and shoot better than the Soali¹³. When they pull the string, they fall into the core and when they find the one they need, they reach their target, be it sitting still or flying. Then he [Tokhtamysh] marched out and braced for the battle and contest with troops that looked like sand because of their multiplicity and like mountains, because of their enormity.

Of the discord which erupted in the army of Tokhtamysh in the course of the battle¹⁴. When both armies stood against one another and entered the battle, Tokhtamysh's right wing commander stepped forth and demanded that he [Tokhtamysh] deliver one emir against whom the commander harboured a grudge and asked [Tokhtamysh's] permission to kill him [this emir]. He [Tokhtamysh] told him: 'Yes, your desire will be respected and your request will be fulfilled. But you see what has happened and occurred to people, so leave us in peace until we achieve what we want; [then] I will deliver your debtor and give you your rival and you will unleash the fury of your wrath upon him and satisfy your demands.' But he replied: 'No, [I need him] now. And if I do not have him, I will give you neither my obedience, nor my subordination!' He [Tokhtamysh] objected: 'We [are] in a deep grief which concerns [us] more than your desire and are in a dark situation which saddens [us] more than your trouble, so be patient and do not be in a hurry, calm down and do not be afraid, as no one can miss what [he] is to gain and nothing will be left which one has a right to. Therefore, do not make a blind man seek shelter at a sheer cliff and do not be one of those who worship Allah for lucre; [now] you are in the night of unhappiness which is already gone and in the day of prosperity which is already breaking. So stay where you are and attack your foes, press them and do not surrender, and accomplish what you are ordered to.' But this emir [did not listen and] marched with a huge crowd; all the traitors and apostates followed him, as well as the whole tribe whose name is Aktau. He departed, heading towards the Rûm possessions, arrived in Adrianople's lands with his people and settled here. Because of this, Tokhtamysh's army disintegrated and the arrows of his desire did not strike the target they had been shot at. Not seeing the possibility to elude the battle and evade the clash, he encouraged his spirit and his army, threw his arrogance and

carelessness away, put stalwarts in front of their troops, arranged the cavalry and infantry, strengthened the center and the flanks and placed arrows and swords in the proper positions. As for Timur's army, he skipped such preparations, because he felt the environment and his position were clear, and the words of victory and power were drawn on the forehead of his banners. Then both armies clashed, attacked each other, mixed and became ignited with the fire of war. Enemy faced enemy, their necks stretched to strike with swords and their chests straightened up to throw spears; their faces darkened and were covered with dust; fighting wolves bared their teeth and howled; angry tigers hardened and straightened up [to pounce] ; hordes of lions grappled and their hair stood on end; their skins got covered with the feathers of arrows and trembled; commanders had their heads low in the mihrab of the battle [as if they were bowing] to pray and spread out [on earth] ; dust whirled and ashes rose up; everyone sank in the sea of blood—both noble and birthless people; in the darkness of dust, the fly of arrows became a brilliant shining of missiles shot at devilish commanders, and in the clouds of ashes the sparkle of swords turned into a bright radiance over kings and sultans. The horses of death did not cease to rush and spin, while the lions of the detachments did not stop to rush and attack [their enemies] ; dust from the hooves sailed up into the air and blood from the swords flowed along the steppe, so that there became six lands and eight heavens, just as the seas. This battle and destruction lasted for nearly three days; then the retreat of Tokhtamysh's army, which showed the rear, raised dust; his troops dispersed and retreated, while Timur's hordes spread throughout Dasht's possessions and became accommodated [in them]. He conquered its tribes and the first and the last ones obeyed [him]. He seized all movable properties and shared them and he seized all immovables and took them with himself, gathering [everything] conquered and gave out treasures, allowed his people to rob and capture, produced deaths and violence, eliminated their tribes, changed their rules and brought [with himself] seized money, captives and property. His forward troops reached Azov, he destroyed Sarai, Saray-Jük, Hajji Tarkhan [Astrakhan] and [all] these areas. During the reign of this king, Idiku's positions consolidated. Then he moved to Samarkand,¹⁵ accompanied by Idiku wanting the latter to follow him.

What Idiku arranged and how he deceived Timur and outsmarted him¹⁶. Idiku sent a messenger to his kinsmen and neighbours and to tribes of the left flank, as all of them belonged to the circle of his allies and friends, behind Timur's back [to tell them] to leave their places and nomadised away from their native lands, heading to the very centre and where the lands [provide] difficult communication and multiple threats; so that they, if possible, did not halt at one and the same encampment for two days and so that they [most assuredly] did it this way, otherwise Timur, upon chasing them, would disperse and destroy them. They listened to Idiku and did as he had advised and went without stopping. After finding out that his troop left and his people slipped from Timur, Idiku told him: 'Our lord emir, I have a great number of kinsmen and family members; they [constitute] my muscles and my hands, and my well-being is tied to the intactness of the means of their subsistence. But they are not safe after this case occurred to me, and they are offended and oppressed by Tokhtamysh; I do not doubt that he will perish and eliminate all of them. While I am protected against him by the mercy of your grace, he will unleash the fury of his character on the members of my family and kin; because I drew up the thread of these clashes and threw him into the narrows of trouble and rags of defeat. Anyways, my soul is not calm since they live all together in one place with him and can my life be pleasant when my friends are his neighbours? If [your] bright mind allows to send a messenger to those places, to [these] multiple tribes, so that by your monarchical edict and the supreme order their thoughts inclined and the hearts of their tribes and kins sweetened, so that you order them to nomadise away and improve their position, we will all [live] under the fame-worthy shade in the gardens of prosperity, fruitful and covered with leaves¹⁷. We will release ourselves from the smooth steppe of this Dasht,¹⁸ ending the present troubles and will spend the rest [of time] in the gardens at the foot of which the rivers flow. But the highest thing is the supreme mind and the first prerogative for slaves is to follow what he orders.' Then Timur told him: 'You are his [people's] palm and their frayed column¹⁹ and, despite your rank, you [yourself] have walked all over these roads.' He [Idiku] objected: 'All people are your slaves who follow your desire, and they are your servants; if you consider anyone to be worthy of a matter you order him to do, this labour would be easy for him.' He [Timur] told: 'No. You were the first to initiate this matter, so be its bail; because the one ruling the city does not require [an alien] decision.' He [Idiku] replied: 'Provide me with one of the emirs; let he be my guardian against them²⁰, with the monarch's edicts regarding what the supreme mind decides.' He [Timur] agreed with him and fulfilled his desire and gave him the one he wanted. After finishing their necessary matters, they both departed to the places they were look-

ing for. Upon Idiku's departure from Timur, the latter wanted to fix his omission, because he realised that Idiku had flattered him and deceived his mind. He sent a messenger to him [demanding] that he return to solve a problem which had just come up and participate in a meeting which was expected to take place, but once the messenger reached him [Idiku] and told him why he had been sent, he [Idiku] told him and the emir accompanying him, prohibiting them from following him: 'Fix your problems and come back to your lord, kiss his hands and tell him that here our communication is terminated and [further on] I have nothing to do with him, because I fear Allah.' They could not treat him rudely, as in such a critical situation they could only be kind. Therefore they said farewell to him, turned back and left without stopping. When Timur heard about this, he became sad and confused, concerned and anxious, erupted with great anger at him and repented when the time of repentance had [already] passed. Out of spite at him, he almost killed [himself] and drank of the cup [told of in the Quran] : 'A day [will come] [when] the unjust one shall bite his hands'²¹. But he was not overcome by a desire to end him and did not feel a the desire to march against him, although he returned to his possessions, and then to Samarkand, leaving him [in peace]. This is how his dealings with Dasht-Berke finished. People then said: no one has ever cheated or outsmarted Timur and no one has ever led him astray or made him error in word or deed, except for the above-mentioned Idiku and [from my point of view] I will provide my own story which will not include the qadi, Wali al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Khaldun al-Maliki, who will be described below²².

Of the battles and fights in the northern countries between Tokhtamysh and Idiku before their dealings and the positions of each of them had changed²³. When Timur departed with what he had gained and, upon arrival in his territories, consolidated himself there, and while Idiku joined his supporters and was happy to meet his fellows and favourites, the latter began to reconnoiter Tokhtamysh's affairs, and was wary and careful of him, but armed himself and braced for repelling him, unable to see what he had ripped and fix what he had broken. Moreover, he could not adopt the rank of sultan, because Timur would [immediately] name himself likewise after conquering [all] the kingdoms. Then he [Idiku] appointed a sultan on his behalf and enthroned [a special] khan in the capital, and invited commanders of the left wing and the leaders of its tribes to greet him. They obeyed his call and came to him, because they were stronger than the others and safe from the evil deeds of the Chagataians and their injustice. Thanks to this move, his sultan became stronger and his khan got enriched with [whole] caravans of hordes; his rights in the capital consolidated and the pillars [of his power] rose up. As for Tokhtamysh, when his fear faded away and his brain [again] adopted the common sense, and when his adversary was gone and his calmness prevailed, he gathered his troops and called upon his people to aid him and this they did. The blows did not stop in anticipation of the battle between him [Tokhtamysh] and Idiku and, the eyes of peace, as eyelids of the destiny who pretended to be blind, did not cease to close in order to establish peace between them. It came to the point that they fought for 15 times between themselves, [moreover], one could be the first to win the battle and the next time—the other one celebrated victory. The affairs of Dasht's tribes worsened and deteriorated and, due to the small number of shelters and fortresses, were subject to division and discord. All the more so, two lions attacked them and two troubles pressured them. A bulk of them went with Timur whom they now obeyed and whose captives they became. A part separated from them, which can neither be counted nor calculated, and which can be defined neither as a divan [a chamber], nor a defter [a list]. They headed towards the Rûm and Russian people and, due to their unfortunate fate and vicissitudes of life, found themselves between Christians, polytheists and captured Muslims, in the same way as it had happened with Ghassanid Jabala²⁴. The name of this troop is Kara Bogdan. For these reasons, Dasht's citizens who used to live in abundance, came to impoverishment and ruin, dissociation and depopulation, poverty and complete perversion. It reached the point that if someone passed through it [Dasht] without a guide or a leader, he, due to the region's desolation, would surely die whilst travelling. In the summer, winds blow the sands away and hide and sweep the traveler's road, while in the winter, snow accumulates upon it and covers it in such a way that its land (Dasht's land) is desolate and its dwellings are non-inhabited, its halts and waterings are abandoned and its paths are possibly harmful and inaccessible. The fifteenth battle ended not in Idiku's favour: he was defeated and dispersed, put to rout and expelled. And he, together with 500 of his close people, were absorbed by a sand sea which no one knows. Tokhtamysh became the single ruler of the empire and Dasht-Berke became purified for him. But at the same time, he awaited news about Idiku and how life was treating him, and he desired to gather information that he died in his sands. Thus, nearly a half a year passed like this. His traces flicked out of sight and no gossip was pronounced by people's tongues, however, Idiku was well familiar with these sandy hills and paps and was [one] of those who used to cross the surface of these

unfertile and wild steppes on his own feet. He went, awaiting and watching, thinking and reflecting on the sense of the verse I had mentioned: 'Monitor the environment and look for a convenient occasion; use the time when it comes and link your patience to the common sense; this way, a leaf of a mulberry tree turns into silk.'

After making sure that Tokhtamysh gave up looking for him and was confident that he was torn by 'the lion of deaths', he [Idiku] began nosing about him, monitoring and looking for his traces, as well as watching until the [gathered] information convinced him that he [Tokhtamysh] stayed alone without the army in the countryside. Then he, mounting the horse's wings, bundled up in the dark of the approaching night, got off on a night's ride and changed a dream into a wake, climbing up the heights as water bubbles do and going down the paps as dew does, until he [finally] reached him, unaware of anything, and attacked him as unavoidable fate. He [Tokhtamysh] awoke only when troubles encircled him and the lions of deaths seized him and the snakes of spears and echidnas bit him. For [some] time, he avoided them and swirled around them; then he fell dead. It was the sixteenth time he participated in battles and this clash marked the separation [from life]. The reign of Dasht was conferred upon Idiku, and the nearest and remotest, and the biggest and smallest were all subject to his orders. Tokhtamysh's sons drifted away in [different] directions. Jalal ad-Din and Karim Birdi [went off] to Russia, while Kubal²⁵ and the rest of the brothers, to Sygnak²⁶...

Then Idiku with [multiple] troops rose, like sands, from the Northern edge and, confident and cautious, marched towards Khwarezm's possessions which were ruled by the vicegerent [of Timur] named Musika²⁷. When the latter heard the Tatars were approaching, he was scared for his life and escaped, taking his people and allies with him. It happened after the raid of the Rûm Tatars²⁸, who left for Argun Shah [Timur's commander] and passed across the Jaikhun River, which was frozen at that time. Argun Shah returned to his residence, and Idiku arrived in Khwarezm and conquered it²⁹. [From there], he headed with his cavalry to Bukhara, pillaged its surroundings but then again returned to Khwarezm, because Chagatai was already burning with the fire [of discord] and committed evil. In Khwarezm and its suburbs, he appointed a man named Anka on his behalf³⁰...

Human affairs were arranged in accordance with Idiku's edicts. He appointed anyone he wanted as sultans and dethroned them once he desired it; if he ordered, no one could object him. If he drew a line, [no one] could cross it. Among those appointed by him were Qutlugh Timur Khan and his brother Shadi Beg Khan, then Fulad Khan, Qutlugh Timur's son, then his brother, Timur Khan. In his [Timur Khan's] time, things deteriorated; he did not hand his helm of state to [the emir] Idiku saying: 'He has neither glory, nor honour; I am the forefront stag, [i.e. the head] whom everyone obeys, how can I be subject [to another] ; I am a bull [a leader] whom people follow, so how can I follow anyone?' A discord erupted between them, a hidden hypocrisy appeared from the side of ill-wishes, and troubles and misfortunes, wars and acts of hostility followed. At the same time, when the mists of internecine feuds were crescent and the stars of troubles mixed, suddenly one of the brilliant descendants of Tokhtamysh rose in his full grandeur [original: 'in his full moon'] of Jalal's power, marching out of Russian lands³¹. This event occurred during the year of 814 [25 April 1411–12 April 1412]. Cases aggravated, disasters became complicated and Idiku's significance weakened. Timur [khan] was killed³² and feuds and discords continued between the kings of Kipchak's territories until [at last] a wounded Idiku drowned. He was taken out of the Saykhun River, near Saray-Jük, and abandoned to the whims of fate, may Holy Allah have mercy upon him! Amazing tales and stories are recounted about him, along with marvelous wonders [fables] : arrows of misfortunes [shot] at his enemies would [always] hit the spot, his thoughts [were] schemes, [his] battles—traps. At the basis of his [state] ruling, good and poor coins [were circulated], the analysis of which will outline [the real] target [of his aspirations], out of what [he] already achieved³³. He was swarthy, of an average height, strongly-built, courageous, ugly in appearance, of high intelligence, generous, with a pleasant smile, of a nimble acumen and wit, loved dignified people and people of science. He contacted and became friends with pious people and fakirs, had conversations [played jokes] with them using the most tender expressions and facetious hints, fasted and rose up at nights [to pray], adhered to the grounds of the Sharia making the Quran and sunnahs, along with wisemen's aphorisms, the intermediaries between him and Holy Allah. He had nearly 20 sons, each of whom was a sovereign king having [his own] special appanage, troops and allies. He ruled all Dasht affairs for about 20 years. The days of his [reign] were a light spot on the brow of centuries and the nights of his rule were a bright stripe on the face of the times³⁴. <...>

Notes

¹ Ed. Manger, I, pp. 348–382. Kalkut. edition pp. 107–118.

² See the Quran LV, 20.

³ The ancient poet An-Nabigha az-Zubyani [See: Journ. Asiat. 1868, Sept. p. 275, and Fleischer, Sitz.-Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1865, p. 283].

⁴ In the original, this phrase represents an untranslatable wordplay, because in Arabic the Turkic name 'Berke' or 'Baraka' means 'blessing' or 'benefit'.

⁵ Died in 593 AH [24 November 1196–12 November 1197]. See: Hadji Khalifa VII, p. 1059, No. 2257.

⁶ Better known under the name of al-Tarkhani, who died in 776 AH [1374–1376]. See: Hadji Khalifa, VII, p. 1134, No. 5043. In the work by al-Jannabi [see chapter XXVI below] which almost completely provides the fragment from Ibn Arabshah's work. Here 'al-Razi' is also added أيمل قوحين i.e. 'scholarly Muhtar, son of Mahmud, az-Zahidi'. The following is said about him: 'In 668 AH [18 December 1259–5 December 1260], Muhtar, son of Mahmud, son of Muhammad, az-Zahidi, al-Karmini [in Hadji Khalifa, VII, p. 1187, No. 6988: al-Gazmini], Najm ad Din Abu-r-Rija who wrote a wonderful interpretation of 'Muhtasar' written by al-Kuduri [Hadji Khalifa V, 452]. He is [also] the author of a book on laws, the book 'Imams' Viaticum' [Hadji Khalifa III, 526], books 'Selection of Basic Rules' [Hadji Khalifa V, 382] and a 'Collection of regulations and basic edicts' [Hadji Khalifa II, 580]. He [also] created a missive which he called 'Nasyrian' and devoted to Berke Khan [Hadji Khalifa III, 448 and VI, 290]. He read the Quran at Yusuf Sakaki's, a Khwarezm scholar who was interested in Arabic science, the author of 'The Key' [Hadji Khalifa VI, 15], who was born in the early hours of Wednesday, 3 Jumada al-awwal 555 AH [i.e. on 11 May 1160] and died in 626 [30 November 1228–19 November 1229]. For other works which Hadji Khalifa attributes to the same Muhtar see: Lexic. bibliogr. III, 11, 400, 445, 452. IV, 106, 399, 453, 572. V, 130.

⁷ Died in 791 [1389] See: Hadji Khalifa, VII, p. 1202, No. 7560.

⁸ No works in Hadji Khalifa's bibliography are mentioned under this name. In the opinion of the deceased S. de Sacy, it should be a famous grammatical treatise *الكافية في النحو* [Hadji Khalifa V, 6] which Khadjibey named 'after its author', Ibn Khajib. In this case, the interpreter of 'Khajibey' should be Jalal ad-Din Ahmad al-Gojdivani [Khajji Khalifa V, 8], as academician Fren has already suggested, who in his exemplar of Ibn Arabshah's Manjer edition [I, p. 381] he made the following postscript: *جلال الدين احمد بن علي بن محمود العجدواني* 'fuit discipulus tou Husam Signaky, qui ipse adhuc a. 676 studiis vacabat [v. me ad Cast. voc. جلال].

⁹ Among the scholars who lived in Sarai at that time, there was also sheikh Ibn Najam about whom al-Aini [see chapter XXV] says the following [manuscript from the Asian Museum No. 524, d, IV, fol. 450, r.] : '...Sheikh imam Abd ar-Rahim, son of Abd ar-Rahman, son of Nasr, al-Mausili, known under the name of Ibn Najam, died in Jaruhia on the 2nd of Rabi' al-thani 730 AH [23 January 1330] and was buried on the 'Graves of Sufies' in Damascus. He was born in 652 AH [21 February 1254–9 February 1255] in Mosul, left his Motherland during childhood, traveled around [different] lands and lived [at first] in Baghdad, where he was involved in science for some time, then settled in the city of Sarai, in the kingdom of Öz Beg Khan. He arrived in Damascus in 724 [1324] and [there] began to teach at [the school] az-Zahiriye-al-Baraniye, after which he also joined the faculty of [the school] al-Jaruhie and management of priory al-Kasr. He was a sheikh-faqih and a doctor. May Allah have mercy upon him!' In another fragment [IV, fol. 547, v] the same al-Aini speaks about the deceased Ala ad-Din Ahmad who died in 790 [1388], and was the son of Muhammad Sairami, who was a teacher at the Cairo school az-Zahirie-al-Barkukie, i.e. تبريز و قرم و صرخى و خوارزم و بلاد وافتى فى بلاد خوارزم و صرخى و قرم و تبريز. The same time marks the life of Kamal ad-Din at-Turkmani or at-Terkali who in 755 AH in the city of Gölüstan wrote a commentary on the astronomical work by al-Chagmini [Hadji Khalifa II, 601, VI, 113, VII, 952].

¹⁰ Died in 827 [5 Dec. 1423–22 Nov. 1424] See: Hadji Khalifa VII, p. 1078, No. 2947.

¹¹ Possibly Ahmad, son of qadi Burhan ad-Din Mahmud, son of Asad, al-Khojandi, the author of the work *ملخص فى الفتاوى* [Hadji Khalifa VI, 112].

¹² Ed. Manger, I, pp. 384–387; Kalkut. edition p. ١١٨-١١٩.

¹³ The Soali or Benu-Soal constituted a part of the large Southern Arabic tribe of Tayyits, notable for their horsemanship and marksmanship.

¹⁴ Manjer edition I, pp. 388–397; Kalkut. edition pp. 119–122.

¹⁵ Another fragment [Manjer edition I, p. 424; Kalkut. edition p. ١٣٠] states that Timur 'could not stay in Persia because of [a great number] of Dasht people accompanying him, and he therefore headed to Samarkand where he shook out his wineskins and emptied his sacks of Dasht goods with which he had filled them.'

¹⁶ Manjer edition I, pp. 398–407; Kalkut. edition p. ١٢٢–١٢٥.

¹⁷ In his exemplar of the Manjer edition, Fren added the following remark made by S. de Sasy: وریف duplici sensu accipi potest, 1° ut sit فَعِيل a rad. ورف [multo virore splenduit planta] et tunc erit وريق على معطوفى aut 2° ut sit ريف [solum culturae idoneum], tunc erit روض على معطوف منه.

¹⁸ 'Et evademus ab hoc Deschto cujus planities est laevis, i.e. omnibus vegetabilibus caret. S.de Sacy [ibid].

¹⁹ A saying describing the position of a significant and powerful person.

²⁰ It is vivid in the addition to Fren's exemplar that de Sasy instead of وزراء read وزارا 'adjumentum vel munimen.'

²¹ The Quran, surah XXV, 27.

²² See: Manjer edition II, p. 186; Kalkut. edition, p. 669. Compare also: Journ. Asiat. 1844, I, pp. 350–352.

²³ Manjer edition, I, pp. 408–422; Kalkut. edition, pp. 125–130.

²⁴ I.e. with Ghassanid king Jabalah, son of al-Aiham. For more details about him see: D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Vol. II, p. 116.

²⁵ Read: Kubyak.—Fraehn [l.l.] : lege كوياك Küjak.

²⁶ In order to adhere to the chronological order, I considered it useful to insert firstly Ibn Arabshah's story about Idiku's campaign against Khwarezm [Manjer edition II, pp. 608–611; Kalk. edition pp. 375–379] and then insert the ending of this chapter.

²⁷ Or Musaka, who by Timur's order restored the city of Khwarezm. See: Hist. de Timour-Bec II, 4.

²⁸ These Rûm Tatars or Kara Tatars whom Timur resettled to Mawarannahr in 806 AH, are described here: Quatremère, Not. et Extr. XIII, 77–79.

²⁹ In Rajab 808 (23 December 1405–21 January 1406). See: Not. et Extr. XIII, 226.

³⁰ Here ends the insert mentioned in Notes 2.

³¹ I.e. Jalal ad-Din is known in Russian chronicles under the name of Zeleni-Saltan.

³² Fren added the following: 'Censeo legendum و قتل' et occisus est Timur [scil. a Dschelal-ud-dino; cf. Schildberger]. The correctness of this amendment is obvious, because Idiku was not killed, but drowned, as Ibn Arabshah himself has told below.

³³ S. de Sasy translated the last phrase in the following way: 'nuinmi parati boni et nummi monetae pravae, de quibus si inquirere voluerimus, id alienum fuerit a scopo quem nobis proposuimus.' Fren suggested this translation: 'pecuniae probae aequae ac adulterinae, quarum disquisitio superabat omnem quem inde petere licet fructum', but added a question-mark to it.

³⁴ Ibn Arabshah's account of Idiku are almost completely reproduced in Al-Maqrizi's biographical dictionary الفريدة العنقود, a part of which is contained in the manuscript stored at the Ducal library in Gotha [see: Pertsch, Die arab. Hdschr. III, 353, No. 1771, fol. 149, r.—150, v.]. For himself, Al-Maqrizi added the following remark: وهو الذى منع الططر من بيع اولادهم فلذلك قل جلبهم الى الشام و مصر 'he [Idiku] was the one who prohibited the Tatars from selling their children, which was the reason why their import into Syria and Egypt was decreased.'

The same remark finishes the article about Idiku placed in the biographical dictionary of Essa Khavi [manuscript of the Leiden Library No. 871 = 369, b., s. v. ايدكو], which represents a short extraction from Ibn Arabshah's work. However, Idiku's death is wrongly dated to 814 AH which Ibn Arabshah marks as the year of birth of Tokhtamysh's son, Jalal ad-Din. But after coming across an account of Idiku's death in 822 in other sources, Essa Khavi supposed that it must have been another person, to whom he dedicated a special title اذكى, the following note:

اذكى بكسر الدال المهملة وفتحها صاحب مملكة الدشت مات قتيلًا في سنة ٢٢ (٨) و استقر بعده محمد خان ذرية جنكز خان, i.e. 'Idiki or Ideki, the king of the Dasht state, met a violent death in (8)22. After him, Muhammad Khan from the kin of Chinggis Khan was enthroned.'

No. 3

Letters and yarliqs of the Golden Horde's khans

A. The Letter from Khan Toktamys̄h to the Polish King Jagailo

Information about the source and notes are cited using the following edition: Sultanov T.I. Pis'ma zolotoordy'nskix xanov. (T. Sultanov. Letters of the Golden Horde's khans.) // Tyurkologicheskij sbornik. 1975.—Moscow, 1978.— Pp. 234–251.

The original is written using the Uighur script in the so-called Chagatai language on two sheets of coated paper, one of which was 39.6 cm long and the other—41.8 cm long. The width of both of them was 19.8 cm. Both sheets have a sign of a bull's head. The letter's text was written with ink on the obverse side of each sheet. In total, the document contained 25 lines, 13 of them on the first sheet and 12 on the second. The first line [*Toqtamiš sözüm*] and the first word of the sixth line of the first sheet [*bizgä*], just as the beginning of the first [=the 14th] [*Tänri bizni jarliyp*] and the sixth [=the 18th] line [*bizgä*] of the second sheet are written with gold. The next three lines (3–5), after mentioning of the addressee's name, are shifted 'down' [to the left]. At the beginning of the letter, on the right side, near the third, fourth and fifth lines we can see a golden impress of a rectangular seal of 6x6 cm consisting of two squares, one inside of the other, with a text written in the Arabic language in the Kufic script. The text in the inner square reads: 'Just Sultan Tokhtamys̄h'; and in the external: 'In the name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful! There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is His messenger. May Allah bless him and greet him!'. Written in the year of the Rooster, 8 Rajab 795/20 May 1393.

The letter was discovered in 1834 by K. Obolensky in the main archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs among papers which 'not so long ago were stored in the Crown Archives of Krakow and kept by the Polish historian Narushevich². The analysis and interpretation of this document were carried out at different levels of participation by influential Russian and foreign Eastern studies specialists [Kh. Fren, V. Grigoriev, O. Kovalevsky, A. Kazem-Bek, I. Berezin, D. Banzarov, J. Hammer-Purgstall, etc.]. There are several versions of a translation of the letter into the Russian language which were fulfilled by different scholars [O. Kovalevsky—1835, A. Kazem-Bek—1837, I. Berezin—1850, V. Radlov—1888], the most accurate and frequently quoted of which are the translations by V. Radlov³ and by I. Berezin⁴ with historical-philological commentaries. In 1927, A. Samoilovich published an article in which he 'without an aim to produce a complete revision of the edition and translation' of the letter made several particular amendments to the translation fulfilled by I. Berezin and V. Radlov⁵.

In the original, the place of creation of the letter is denoted by the expression: ordu dan-da ärür-da which O. Kovalevsky, A. Kazem-Bek and I. Berezin translated as 'when the Horde was on the Don'⁶. In the Russian translation of the 14th century and the letter's translation into Polish [the 17th century] the location is named as 'the Don estuary'⁷. V. Tiesenhausen and V. Radlov preferred to translate *dan-da* as 'on the Tana',⁸ meaning under the Tana, a city near the Don's estuary [Azov]⁹. A. Kurat puts a question-mark near the word 'Tana'¹⁰. However, the interpretation offered by V. Tiesenhausen and adopted by V. Radlov and V. Bartold¹¹ seems to be convincing. In the known cases when the document was indeed compiled on the river bank the text contained the words *qīnarīnda* [Timur-Qutlugh's yarliq] or *jaqasīnda* [the letter of Ulugh Muhammad and Mahmud Khan] which are absent in the letter of Tokhtamys̄h Khan.

The original of Tokhtamys̄h Khan's letter was stored for a long time in the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow. In 1921 it was transferred to Poland and is currently stored in the Central Archive of Warsaw. Besides the reproduction of the facsimile¹² there is also a published edition of the text¹³ in the scientific literature, as well as several publications of the letter's text in Arabic siglas¹⁴, Mongolian siglas¹⁵ and the Latin alphabet¹⁶.

The letter was used in works on the Golden Horde's history¹⁷, in anthologies¹⁸ and grammars of the Turkic languages¹⁹, as well as in research devoted to documents of the epistolary character²⁰ and in some works on literature²¹.

Notes

¹ I. Berezin. Khan yarliqs. 1. The yarliq of the Golden Horde's khan Tokhtamysh to the Polish king Yagailo. 1392–1393. Published by M. Obolensky. Kazan, 1850, p. 12.

² Ibid., p. 5.

³ V. Radlov. Yarliqs of Tokhtamysh and Temir Qutlugh. Notes of the Eastern Branch of the Russian Archaeological Society. Vol. 3. 1889, pp. 1–17.

⁴ I. Berezin. Khan yarliqs. 1, pp. 49–70.

⁵ A. Samoilovich. Several amendments to the edition and translation of Tokhtamysh Khan's yarliqs // 'Izvestiya Tavricheskogo obshchestva istorii, arxeologii i etnografii.' Vol. 1, Simferopol, 1927 [in the reprint, pp. 1–4]. Ch. Valikhanov's commentaries to I. Berezin's translation can be found here: Ch. Valikhanov. Collected works in five volumes. Vol. 1. A-A, 1961, pp. 121–135.

⁶ See: I. Berezin. Khan yarliqs. 1, p. 30, 38, 51.

⁷ See ibid, pp. 22, 26. Reedition of the letter's Russian text: E. Karsky. Western Russian yarliq of the Golden Horde's Khan Tokhtamysh to the Polish king Yagailo 1392–1393. E. Karsky. Works on Belorussian and other Slavic languages. Leningrad, 1962, pp. 443–444.

⁸ V. Radlov. Yarliqs of Tokhtamysh and Temir Qutlugh, p. 17.

⁹ About the city of Tana–Azak–Azov, see: V. Bartold. Azak // Sochineniya. Vol. 3. Moscow, 1965, p. 313.

¹⁰ A.N.Kurat. Topkapi Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler. Istanbul, 1940, c. 147 [hereafter: A.N.Kurat. Yarlık ve bitikler].

¹¹ V. Bartold. Tokhtamysh // Sochineniya. Vol. 5. Moscow, 1968, p. 566.

¹² I. Berezin. Khan yarliqs. 1, p. 12.

¹³ I. Berezin. The Turkish Chrestomathy. Vol. 1, Kazan, 1857, pp. 10–11; V. Radlov. Yarliqs of Tokhtamysh and Temir Qutlugh, pp. 4–5.

¹⁴ I. Berezin. Khan yarliqs. 1, p. 16, 49–50; ibid. the Turkish Chrestomathy. Vol. 1, pp. 11–12; Ch. Valikhanov. Collected works Vol. 1, pp. 132–133.

¹⁵ I. Berezin. Khan yarliqs. 1, pp. 47–48.

¹⁶ A.N.Kurat. Yarlık ve bitikler, p. 147.

¹⁷ I. Berezin. Khan yarliqs. 3. The internal organisation of the Golden Horde [according to khan yarliqs]. St. Petersburg, 1850, p. 8; ibid. Essay on the inner organisation of the Ulus of Jochi. St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 44, 54; V. Bartold. Edigu's Father // Essay, Vol. 2, Part 1, Moscow, 1963, pp. 801–802; ibid. Twelve Lectures on the History of the Turkish Peoples of Central Asia. // Sochineniya, Vol. 5, p. 122, 448, 566; B. Grekov, A. Yakubovsky. The Golden Horde and Its Fall. Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, p. 103, 153–154; M. Safargaliev. The Collapse of the Golden Horde. Saransk, 1960, p. 15, 150–151, 155, 160; G. Fedorov-Davydov. The Social Order of the Golden Horde. MSU publishing house, 1973, pp. 115–116, 118–119, 142; J. Hammer-Purgstall. Geschichte der Goldenen Horde in Kiptschak, das ist: der Mongolen in Russland. Pesth, 1840, pp. 355–356; B. Spuler. Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland. 1223–1502. Lpz., 1943, pp. 131–132, 309–310.

¹⁸ I. Berezin. A Turkish Anthology. Vol. 1, pp. 10–12.

¹⁹ A. Shcherbak. A Grammar of the Old Uzbek Language. Moscow-Leningrad, 1962, pp. 50–51.

²⁰ A. Samoilovich. Neskol'ko popravok k yarly'ku Timur-Kutluga. (Several amendments to the yarliq of Timur-Qutlugh.) [Dedicated to the memory of V. Grigoryev] // "Izvestiya Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk." Issue 6. Vol. 12. No. 11, Petrograd, 1918, pp. 1110–1112; I. Klyukin. O chyom pisal il'-xan Argun Filippu Krasivomu v 1289. (What Ilkhan Argun wrote to Philip IV the Fair in 1289.) Vladivostok, 1925, p. 2; S. Zakirov. Diplomaticheske otnosheniya Zolotoj Ordy' s Egiptom (XIII-XIV vv.). (Diplomatic Relations between the Golden Horde and Egypt [13–14th centuries].) Moscow, 1966, pp. 126, 135–137, 139, 142; A. Grigoryev. 'Vyshnyaya troica' v yarly'ke zolotoordynskogo khana. ('The Heavenly Trinity' in the yarliq of the Golden Horde's Khan.), p. 194; A.N.Kurat. Yarlık ve bitikler, p. 3, 7, 10, 13, 15, 40, 129.

²¹ [A. Pozdneev]. Lectures on the history of Mongolian literature read by full professor of St. Petersburg University A. Pozdneev in the 1895/96 academic year. Recorded and issued by student Kh. Kristi. St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 50, 145, 146; A. Aziz, A. Rakhim. Tatar ädäbiyati tarikhı. Djilt 1. Kazan, 1923, pp. 59–74.'

The foreword and the source are cited in the following publication: V. Radlov. Yarly'ki Tokhtamy'sha i Temir-Kutluga (Yarliqs of Tokhtamysh and Temir Qutlugh) // Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arxeologicheskogo obshchestva. 1888. Vol. 3.—St. Petersburg., 1889.— Pp. 1–17.

'Tokhtamysh's yarliq to Yagailo was published and translated by I. Berezin, while Temir-Qutlugh's yarliq was translated by Hammer, Berezin and Vambéry. Their translations are so faithful that a new translation cannot provide any previously unknown important historical facts. Despite this, I consider it useful to provide these yarliqs with a transcription and a corrected translation. <...>

The yarliq of Khan Tokhtamysh

TRANSLATION

I am Tokhtamysh, I said to
Jagiello.

In order to publicise about how *We* had enthroned on the great place, We first of all sent envoys, headed by Qutlugh Buga and Hasan, and at the same time you sent to *Us* your petitioners. Three years ago some oglans, headed by Beg Pulad and Khojamuddin, and Beys, headed by Begish, Turduchak-Berdi and Dawood, sent a man called Edigü to Temür in order to give him an invitation in secret. He accepted this invitation and in line with their malicious intent, sent them a message. *We* realised this (only) when he reached the borders of (our) people, got together, and when *We* were about to start the battle, those evil people wavered at the very beginning, thus leading to confusion among the people. It all happened in this way. But God was merciful and punished the oglans and Beys, headed by Beg Pulad, Khojamuddin, Begish, Turduchak-Berdi and Dawood, who were hostile to us.

In order to publicise these matters we are now sending out envoys headed by *Hasan* and *Tuula Hodzha*. Now there is another matter. You shall collect tributes from the peoples subject to *Us* and hand them over to those envoys who will come to you, let your merchant groups travel as before; it will be better for the condition of our great people.

We have issued this yarliq with a golden stamp on it. In the year of the chicken, according to the calendar in 795, on the 8th day of the Month of Rajab, when the Orda was in Tana, we wrote (this)'.

B. Tarkhan yarliqs of Tokhtamysh and Temür Qutlugh

The forewords and translations of the yarliqs are quoted from the publication: Tarxanny'e yarly'ki Toxtamy'sha, Timur-Kutluka i Saadet-Gireya s vvedeniem, perepis'yu i primechaniyami, izdanny'e I. Bereziny'm, professorom Kazanskogo universiteta. (Tarkhan yarliqs of Tokhtamysh, Temür Qutlugh and Saadet Girei with an introduction, revision and commentary, published by I. Berezin, professor in the University of Kazan.)—Kazan, 1851.—Pp. 1–15.

I. YARLIQ OF TEMÜR QUTLUGH

The original of this yarliq was taken from Constantinople by an official of the Austrian embassy A. von Raab to the famous orientalist Hammer, who printed it with a transcription in Arabic letters and a translation in the VI volume of *Fundgruben des Orients* (pp. 359–362). The original yarliq, of which a lithographed picture on four pages is included in Mr Hammer's article, was written in the Old Turkic language (Uighur dialect) with Uighur letters: the handwriting of this yarliq is quite beautiful and differs from the yarliq of Tokhtamysh, addressed to Jagiello, by the greater studied elegance and calligraphic patterns: one can say that the handwriting of the yarliq of Temür Qutlugh relates to the handwriting of the latter as decorated shorthand relates to longhand. For the same reason the handwriting of the yarliq of Temür Qutlugh does not match with yarliqs of Argun and Öljeitü. When Mr Hammer was printing these yarliqs, he said nothing about the appearance or shape of the original: we can assume that it was written on an elongated sheet, just like other yarliqs, that is it has the seals of Temür Qutlugh and finally, that the heading and all the expressions: *We*, *Us* etc. are written in gold letters, as was common for the khan's yarliqs. Apart from that, the first line should stand higher than the others.

It is well known that Temür Qutlugh was the Khan of the Golden Horde, acceding to the throne in 800–1397. The *yarliq* that he offered relates to the Tarkhan *yarliqs*, that is the holder of the *yarliq*, Muhammed, whose ancestors were Tarkhans, approved to hold this title with their children, for which the present charter is given to him, (see detailed explanation of the *Tarkhan* in 'The internal structure of the Golden Horde,' which I published. The tarkhan *yarliqs* usually list the duties from which those persons appointed as tarkhans are exempt: the listing is not the same in all *yarliqs*, but because history does not show us that there were tarkhans of different degrees, we can assume that they were all of equal merit, and were equally exempt from all the duties of a citizen.

TRANSLATION

The word of Temür Qutlugh.

For the right flank and the left flank's Oglans, tumens' Beys, headed by Edigü, to the thousandth, hundred, tenth, internal settlements, ecclesiastical judges, ecclesiastical jurists, elders, ascetics, secretaries of the chambers, customs officials, weigh-men, architects, dorozhniks, bukauls, watchmen, post-men, kormovshhiks, falconers, leopard-hunter, boatmen, bridge-men, who are at the market.

In accordance with the custom of true tarkhanship, since the time of the long-deceased Sain Khan the *yarliq* was handed over from one to another until it passed on to the current holder Muhammad; it was granted to his father Haji Bayram Hoja by our elder brother, Khan; and since he asked to be told whether he had been approved as Tarkhan, and his request being well-founded, we solemnly pronounced that Muhammad have the rank of Tarkhan conferred upon him by us. From that time in the Crimean-Qırq Yer Region, in the vicinity of the settlement called Sudagk, after the manner of a lawful obligation since ancient times from the well-known privilege with the privilege of Undinch for approved Tarkhans, to his lands and waters,—the sons of Muhammad, Ilk Haji Muhammad and

Mahmud shall be free tarkhans—of these lands and waters, vineyards and gardens, baths and mills, possessed places, earlier being freed and remaining so, farmers and sharers, or whomsoever shall not be subject to coercion or abuse; their belongings shall not be touched or taken without reason; cereal tamga from agricultural crops, granary and barnyard ground bread, tributes imposed on subjects, tributes called poll tax, arrears, departure levies shall not be collected; during travel, arrival, entry and departure in Crimea and Kaffa while buying and selling whatsoever tamga and weight levies shall not be collected; guards shall not be recruited for the Tarkhans mountain road; their cattle shall not be taken to the carts; soldiers shall not be put into a station; food and lodging shall not be demanded; they shall be protected and preserved from any worry, anxiety and trouble: being in silence in the morning and evening at the sacred times they shall pray and call for blessings on us and our posterity. Saying that, we gave the golden, red-sealed *yarliq*. Written in the year 800, in the year of Bars, on the sixth day of the month of Shaban, while being in Mujuran on the Dnieper River bank.

II. YARLIQ OF TOKHTAMYSH

This *yarliq* initially belonged to some Crimean owner; from Crimea it was presented as a document stating the right of ownership it was presented to Prince Mikhail Semyonovich Vorontsov, who at that time was the Novorossiysk and Bessarabian Governor-General. Later it was published by the Odessa Society for History and Antiquities from the copy made by A. Borzenkov, in a lithograph of the original size by Tromonin, rendered with Arabic characters and translated by the first Tatar translator of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Yartsov, with a short introduction and some comments by G. Grigoryev.

This is a tarkhan *yarliq* of Tokhtamysh: it was offered by Tokhtamysh to a certain Haji Bey in confirmation of the privileges granted by Pulad Timur to the Sutkul tribe. The form of this *yarliq* is similar to the previous one, but it mentions some ranks which were omitted in the first one, and there are some differences in the listing of privileges, which can easily be seen by comparing both *yarliqs*.

The original is written in Arabic characters with a beautiful and figured script, either *jali* or *divani*: the first two lines, the name of Pulad Timur and a phrase, are written with golden letters; the red seal of Tokhtamysh, twice as big as the seal on the charter for Jagiello, is impressed twice.—The language of this *yarliq* is Old Turkic (Uighur dialect).

TRANSLATION

I commit myself to God and trust in His grace and mercy!

The word of Tokhtamysh.

To the leaders of the Crimean Region, headed by Qutlugh Buga, to the Beys, ecclesiastical judges, ecclesiastical jurists, arch-priests, elders, secretaries of the chambers, customs officials, weigh-men, bukauls, zastavshchiks [watchmen], craftsmen of whatever kind, and to all.

Since Timur Pulad ordered thus: 'we granted the owner of this yarliq Hajji Bey and all his people (on a yearly basis, they have all been paying whatever expenses were demanded, with extra charges to the state treasury). Henceforth do not impose a poll tax on the Sutkul, do not demand yam and feed; do not demand grain grubs for the barns; regional authorities do not interfere with any subject of Sutkul in the Crimea, outside, at stopping sites; you shall all absolutely support Hajji Bey in order to exempt them from the required expenses, provide protection and assistance, help in preparing the tarkhan yarliq with a paiza, then those who collect the poll tax shall avoid causing trouble or offence Hajji Bey. However, if you, Hajji Bey, saying: "I am thus granted", start harassing the miserable poor, no good shall come to you either. Saying that, they gave him the red sealed yarliq for holding. The Orda was located on the Don River, on the Ur-tube, in the steppes. Written in the year of the monkey, year 94, the month of Zul-Kaada, 24'.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 4

**Johann Schiltberger. 'Travels in Europe, Asia
and Africa, 1394–1427.'**

Johann Schiltberger was born in Munich (1380—not before 1438). He was involved in the crusade of the Hungarian King Sigismund against the Turks in 1396, and was captured for the first time in the battle of Nicopolis. He spent long years serving at the court of Sultan Bayezid I. In 1402 Schiltberger was captured by troops of Tamerlane in the battle of Angora and remained a prisoner until 1427. 'During the 30 years of his captivity, Johann Schiltberger, together with his owners, visited many countries of Europe, Asia and Africa: Hungary, Bulgaria, Wallachia, Moldavia, Ukraine, Turkey, Byzantium, Egypt, Palestine, Jordan, Iran, Khorasan, Central Asia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Dagestan, Circassia and many other regions of the Northern Caucasus, Crimea, Astrakhan district and Siberia' [Schiltberger, 1984, p. 4].

Returning home after long years of wandering, the illiterate Bavarian soldier Johann Schiltberger wrote narratives of his travels, which, in the words of Z. Bunyatov, 'sometimes seem fantastic and exaggerated and require a critical approach' [Ibid].

The source and comments are quoted from the publication: Iogann Shil'tberger. Puteshestvie po Evrope, Azii i Afrike s 1394 po 1427 god. (Johann Schiltberger. Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, 1394–1427.) / translated from the Old German by F. Brun; edited and with comments by Z. Bunyatov, an academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic.—Baku: 'Elm', 1984.—Pp. 33–82.

'25. About the king's son

Abu Bakr held the son of the king of Great Tatary¹. The prince was offered the chance to return home to take up the throne. With the consent of Abu Bakr he headed there accompanied by 600 riders, including me and my four comrades. <...>

From here the king's son went to Great Tatary, to a nobleman called Edigü², who had sent him the offer to return and take up the throne. At that time Edigü was preparing for a campaign to the country called Siberia.

I must say that there is a dignitary in Great Tatary who appoints and overthrows kings who are entirely dependent on him. At that time this high position was held by Edigü.

The Tatar rulers also have a habit of migrating in winter and summer with their wives, children and herds. At the place where the king stops 100 000 yurts must be pitched.

The aforementioned king's son, Chakra, accompanied Edigü to Siberia. They travelled for two months before arriving in that country where the mountains extend for a 32-day walk. According to the stories of local people, this mountain range is adjacent to a desert which reaches to the edge of the world, and where people cannot live because of the wild animals and snakes which dwell in it. The mountains are inhabited by separate families of savages who have no permanent dwellings. Their bodies, apart from their faces and hands, are covered with hair and they, like other animals, wander the mountains, feeding on herbs and anything else they can lay their hands on.

The Vicegerent of this district sent to Edigü a man and a woman from these savages, who had been caught in the mountains, which are also inhabited by horses, no bigger than donkeys in size. The country abounds with different kinds of animals which are not seen in Germany and which I can't even name. There are also donkey-size dogs, which are harnessed to carts and sleds and also used for transportation of luggage. I also want to note that the local people worship Christ, like the three kings who came to Bethlehem³, where they saw him in a cradle, offering him gifts. That is why in their temples one may come across pictures of Christ, depicted how the three kings had seen him, and they pray in front of these images.

The followers of this doctrine are called ugin⁴; there are many of them in Tatary.

There is also a custom in this country, in accordance with which if an unmarried man dies, he is dressed in his best clothes and placed into a coffin covered with a canopy. After that young people come,

dressed in festive costumes, and carry the deceased to the grave accompanied by musicians, who play and sing carols. They are followed by parents and relatives of the deceased, who, on the contrary, weep and lament.

After the burial, food and beverages are put around the grave and eaten by young people and musicians, who have fun and enjoy themselves. However, the parents and their friends sit apart and continue their lamentations.

Finally, they are all taken home and that is the end of the ceremony, which is to represent the celebration of the wedding of the deceased, if he had not died.

Only millet is sown in this country, and they do not eat bread at all. I saw all this with my own eyes, when I was with the king's son, Chakra, mentioned above.

26. How the rulers were changed

Following the conquest of Siberia, Edigü and Chakra invaded Bulgaria⁵, which they also conquered. They then returned home.

Around the same time a man called Shadi Beg Khan was the king of Tataria (the word 'khan' in Tatar means 'king'). When he got to know that Edigü was approaching, he fled and perished⁶ in a clash with people who were sent by Edigü to pursue him. Edigü then enthroned a king called Pulad, who reigned for a year and a half and was later⁷ expelled by another [pretender] called Jalal ad-Din, who was overthrown by Pulad's brother, Timur⁸. However, the latter reigned for no more than 14 months and died in a battle with the returned Jalal ad-Din. The latter, having reigned for 14 months, was killed in a war with his brother Kepek, who, however, should have given up the throne to another brother, Kerim-Berdi. Following a reign of five months, the latter had to hand over the throne to his brother Jabar. He was also expelled by Edigü⁹ and my lord Chakra, who was enthroned as it had been promised by Edigü.

However, after nine months they had to fight with a new pretender to the throne called Muhammad. Chakra had to flee to the country called Desht-i Kipchak, and Muhammad ascended the throne¹⁰.

Muhammad, who had been ousted by Barak, regathered his forces and expelled him in turn. However, he himself was later expelled by Devlet-Berdi, who after a reign of three days was forced to hand over the throne to Barak. The latter then died in a battle with my lord Muhammad, who had once again taken the throne. My lord Chakra, who wanted to oust Muhammad, died in a fight with him. <...>

35. About Red (Golden) Tataria

I have also been to Golden Tataria¹¹, where of grain crops the people only sow millet. In fact, they do not eat bread and do not drink wine, which they replace by milk from horses and camels. They eat the meat of these animals.

It should be noted that in this country the king and noblemen migrate in summer and winter together with their wives, children and herds, carrying with them all other goods and wandering along this completely flat country from one pasture to another. It should also be noted that when the king is elected they put him on a white felt and lift him up three times. Then they carry him around the tent, sit him on the throne and give him a golden sword, after which he has to swear an oath in accordance with their rules.

It is worth mentioning that they, like all pagans, sit on the ground when they want to eat or drink. No other people among pagans are as brave as the inhabitants of Golden Tataria, who could withstand so much hardship in campaigns and travels as they do. I have seen them suffering from shortage of food, and they let the blood [of horses], collected it, cooked it and ate it. In the same way, when they need to take to the road in a hurry, they take a piece of meat and cut it into thin strips, which they put under the saddle. They firstly salt the meat and eat it when are hungry, imagining that they had cooked a good meal, because the meat dries out from the horse's warmth and being under the saddle, it becomes soft because of the ride, during which its juices flow. They use this method when they have no time to cook food any other way. They also have a custom of offering horse milk to the king in a golden dish when he wakes up in the morning, and he drinks this milk on an empty stomach.

36. Countries subject to Tataria, which I have visited

Khwarezm is the first of this group of countries, with its capital city of Urgench, located [on an island] on the great river Itil¹². Then the country Beshtamak, very mountainous, with its capital Julad¹³. In the same place there is the great city of Astrakhan in a good country, and the city of Sarai¹⁴—the residence of the Tatar king. There is also the city of Bolgar¹⁵, rich with animals of different kinds, and the cities of Sibir¹⁶ and Azak, called by Christians Tana¹⁷. It lies on the banks of the Don river, teeming with fish, which is exported on big ships and galleys to Venice, Genoa and the islands of the Archipelago.

The next is the country called Kipchak, with its capital Solkat¹⁸. Different kinds of grain are harvested here. [In this country] there is the city of Caffa, located on the shore of the Black Sea¹⁹ and surrounded by two walls. The inner city has six thousand houses, inhabited by Italians, Greeks and Armenians. It is one of the main Black Sea cities with up to 11,000 houses on the external line and inhabited by Christians: Latin, Greek, Armenian and Syriac. In the city, there are the residences of three bishops: Roman, Greek and Armenian. The city is also inhabited by many pagans, who have their own temple.

Four cities depend on Kaffa, and they are located on the coastline. There are two types of Jews who have two synagogues in the city and four thousand houses in the suburbs.

The next is the city of Kirker²⁰, located in a nice region called Gotfiya²¹, but pagans call it Tat. It is inhabited by Greek Christians and it produces good wine. It was in this country, located on the Black Sea coast, near the city of Sarukerman²² that St. Clement drowned. There is also the country (land) of the Circassians²³, also on the Black Sea coast, inhabited by Christians, professing the Greek faith. However, they are evil people and sell to pagans their own children, and children whom they steal from others. They are also engaged in robbery and speak a special language. They have a custom to put those who are killed by lightning into a coffin which is then suspended from a high tree. Then neighbours come, bringing food and beverages and start dancing and having fun, slaughter sheep and oxen and distribute the main part of the meat to the poor. They do this for three days and repeat it every year until the bodies decay entirely, imagining that the person who was struck by lightning must be a saint²⁴.

The next is the kingdom of Russia, which pays tribute to the Tatar king. It should be noted that there are three generations between the Golden Tatars: Kaitaks²⁵, Jamboluks²⁶ and Mongols²⁷. Their country extends for a three-month long walk, representing a valley which has neither forest, nor stones, and is covered only with grass and reeds.

All of these lands constitute part of Golden Tataria and I have been to all of them. <...>

Notes

¹ This refers to the Golden Horde prince Chakra, (1414–?) from the clan of Urus, son of Orda. Great Tataria meant the White Horde, or the Eastern Kipchak.

² This is the famous Edigü murza, who for many years concentrated in his hands the actual power in the White Horde. He was killed in 1416.

³ Bethlehem is a Palestinian city, to the west of the Dead Sea. Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem in the reign of King Herod the Great (37 BC).

⁴ According to F. Brun, Ugins were 'followers of Lamaism, that is, a type of Buddhism which was introduced from Tibet to Mongolia by Chinggis Khan'.

⁵ Bulgaria (Bolgaria) is a region in the Middle Volga River basin.

⁶ Shadi Beg Khan, son of Qutlugh bug, grandson of Urus Khan, in 1407 tried to free himself of the influence of Edigü, but was defeated and fled to Astrakhan, and then further to Shamakhi. Edigü demanded that Shirvanshah Sheikh Ibrahim release Shadi Beg, but Shirvanshah refused him. Shadi Beg died in Shamakhi in 1408.

⁷ Pulad Khan (Khan Bulat Sultan in Russian chronicles) was a son of Shadi Beg. He died in 1410.

⁸ Following the death of Pulad Khan, Timur Khan, the son of Timur Qutlugh, the grandson of Timur Malik and the great-grandson of Urus Khan, became the ruler. In order to secure control over Timur Khan, Edigü married him to one of his daughters. However, after several months Timur Khan confronted his father-in-law, and in 1411 the defeated Edigü fled to Khwarezm. However, Timur Khan did not reign for long and was overthrown by the son of Tokhtamysh, Jalal ad-Din.

⁹ All of these palace coups took place before 1419, when Edigü was killed by the son of Tokhtamysh, Kadir Berdi.

¹⁰ Coins with the name of Chakra were minted up until 1414 and from 1419 in the regions of Afyonkarahisar or Antilya (the Mediterranean coast).

¹¹ The lands of 'Golden Tataria' (the Eastern Horde) stretched from the Urals to Syr Darya and the Black Sea.

¹² Khwarezm (Khwarezm) is a region between the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya. Urgandz (Urgench) was the capital of Khwarezm. In this case, the Itil means the Amu Darya.

¹³ About Julad, see: fn. 109. It was not possible to locate 'the country of Beshtamak (Bestan)'. There is a possibility of identification with the mountain Beshtau (Bestak, Bestau, Beshdag, Beshtag).

¹⁴ According to Evlia Çelebi (Book of Travels, second edition, p. 136), the city of Sarai 'was a big settlement on the banks of the Great Volga River, at a distance of two days' walk to the north from the Caspian Sea coast. This city of Sarai is built so that it has a jetty on the Volga River bank. It goes around the city from the north and west, and then flows downwards to the south'.

¹⁵ About the city of Bulgar (Bolgar) and Bulgaria, see: fn. 113.

¹⁶ In this context, Sibir is inappropriate. Schiltberger could have confused Sibir with the Sabirs, who inhabited the Caspian-Azov intermarium (see M. Artamonov. History of the Khazars, p. 69–78 and the map on p. 72).

¹⁷ Tana came down to us through Arab and Persian sources under the name of Azak. The city was a trading centre of the Venetian and Genoese Republics on the left bank of the Don River, at its mouth. It handled a huge trade turnover. It was destroyed by Tamerlane in 1395, but was soon restored by the Venetians.

¹⁸ Solkat (Solkhat) is the present-day Old Crimea. Up to the mid-15th century it was the administrative and commercial centre of the Crimean steppes. [See also: Evlia Çelebi. Ibid., p. 100, 162, 231].

¹⁹ Kaffa (Kafa) is the present-day Feodosia.

²⁰ F. Brun Kirker (Kirkier) identifies it with Chufut-Kale (Crimea).

²¹ Gotfiya is Tavrida. At one time Goths inhabited the area between Kaffa and Balaklava (Chembulak).

²² Sarukerman is Kherson. [Compare: William of Rubruck. Travels, p. 88, 89: 'Kherson, where Saint Clement was martyred' and 'Kherson, the city of Clement'].

²³ At one time the Circassians inhabited the nor-west spurs of the Caucasus, on both sides of the Kuban River, along the Black Sea coast.

²⁴ Compare: Apollonios Rhodios (3rd century BC). Argonautica, XII, p. 200–209: 'When they left the ship, they saw many trees with thin leaves and dead bodies, tied with ropes to the tops. The Colchians still consider cremation of dead bodies as a grave sin. They neither burn the dead, nor erect memorials on the graves. They wrap bodies in raw hide and suspend them from the trees away from the city' (Apollonios Rhodios. Argonautica. Translated by A. Urushadze, Tbilisi, 1975, p. 122).

²⁵ Kaitaks (kaitags) are a small ethnic group of Dargins who live in Dagestan and speak the Kaitak dialect of the Dargin language. Kaitaks live in sou-eastern Dagestan.

²⁶ Jambuluk is the Jambuluk or Evboluk Orda of Nogays, who wandered in the Elbe River basin up until 17th century. Then the Nogays moved to the western coast of the Sea of Azov.

²⁷ In this case, by Mongols Schiltberger meant Kalmyks, whose language belongs to the Mongolic languages.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 5

Giosafat Barbaro about the Tatars

Giosafat Barbaro was born into a noble Venetian family. In 1436 as the ambassador of the Republic of Venice and a merchant he arrived in Tana (present-day Azov), which at that time belonged to the Genoans and was a storage area for Chinese and Indian goods. Barbaro had lived in Crimea for 16 years, travelled around it by land and by sea, and so he had had a good opportunity to collect very detailed and important information about the Tatars. In the last two chapters of his work, he describes Russia and the lands of the Tatars to the east and south of Russia. In 1471 under an order from the Republic he travelled to Persia to Uzun Hasan, in order to help him with the military reserves and give advice in the

war against the Turks. As he states himself, when he returned home in 1479, after eight years, that is in 1487, he described both of his travels, so he was able to mention in them the conquest of Kazan and Novgorod by the Russians. Barbaro died in 1494 in Venice.

The source and comments are quoted from the publication: *Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii. K istorii italo-russkix svyazej v XV v.* (Barbaro and Contarini about Russia. To the history of Italian-Russian connections in 15th century.) / Introductory articles, text preparation, translation and comments by E. Skrizhinskaya.—Leningrad, 1971.—Pp. 136–187.

'GIOSAFAT BARBARO

Journey to Tana

<...> So, I am going to divide my narration into two parts. In the first one I will describe the journey to Tana, while the second one will be devoted to the journey to Persia. However, in neither of them will I say anything, with very rare exceptions, about the difficulties, the dangers or inconveniences which I was compelled to deal with.

Section 4. In 1436 I started my journey to Tana, where year after year I had stayed for sixteen years. I travelled around those regions, both by sea and by land, assiduously and with curiosity.

Section 5. The Tartary plain¹ has the following borders if one stands in the middle thereof: the River Ledil² to the East; Poland to the West and Nor-west; Russia to the North; with its territory stretching all the way up to the Maggiore Sea³, the regions of Alania, Cumania, Gazaria⁴ in the South, and all the latter countries bordering the Tabacche sea⁵. So, the plain lies within those said boundaries.

Section 6. For you to better understand me, I will start the story moving along the Maggiore Sea, partly along the coast, partly along the lands deep inland, up to the river Eliche⁶ which is located behind Caffa⁷, around forty miles away. Crossing the river, you are heading to Monkastro⁸. There is the most famous River Danube. I won't tell anything about the lands further the way, because they are already well known. <...>

Section 13. The Islamic faith became commonplace among the Tatars 150 years ago. However, earlier only a few of them were Muslims, while in fact everyone could freely adhere to the faith they liked. For this reason, there were people who worshipped wooden or rag idols and carried them on their carts. Coercive adoption of the Islamic faith relates to the period of Edigü⁹, the commander of the Tatar khan, who was called Sidahamet Khan¹⁰. Edigü was the father of Navruz; we will talk about him now.

Section 14. In 1438 the steppes of Tatar were ruled by the Ulu-Mohameth Khan¹¹, which means emperor the great Mohammed. He ruled for many years. When he and his Orda, that is his people¹², were in the steppes which lie in the direction of Russia, and his military commander was Navruz¹³, the son of Edigü, with whom Tatar adopted the Islamic faith, a disagreement arose between Navruz and his emperor. For this reason, Navruz separated from the emperor and left with those troops who wanted to go with him [Navruz]. He headed to the Ledil river, where a certain Kezimahmet was¹⁴, which means the small Mohammed, originating from a clan of the Tatar emperors. They combined both their intentions and military forces and decided to mount a joint attack against the Ulu-Mohameth.

Section 15. Passing by Astrakhan they reached the Taman steppes¹⁵; then, rounding Circassia they headed towards the Don River¹⁶ and the gulf of the Tabacche sea¹⁷; both the sea and the river were covered with ice. Because there were many people and a considerable number of animals, they had to move on a broad front, so that those moving in front would not destroy all the straw and other food, required for those coming behind. For this reason, one of the main detachments of this tribe with herds reached the place called Palastra¹⁸, while the other one approached the Don River at the place called Bozagaz; this word means "a gray tree". The distance between these places is 120 miles; that was the distance over which these moving people extended, though not all of these places were convenient for passing through.

Section 16. We received news of their [the Tatars] coming to Tana four months in advance. But a month before the appearance of the Tsarevich [Chezimameth], certain sentry patrols began coming towards Tana¹⁹: three or four young men on horseback, each of them with a spare horse in hand.

Those who visited Tana were invited to the consul; they received a warm welcome and were offered gifts. To the question where they were going, and what they intended to do, they replied that they were all young, and they were travelling just for pleasure. It proved impossible to force them to say anything else. They stayed no longer than one to two hours and then departed. The same thing was repeated everyday, with the only exception that each time their numbers increased. When the Tsarevich was approaching Tana at a distance of five to six days' journey, they began appearing in groups of twenty five to fifty men, fully armed; when he approached the city even closer, there were already hundreds of them.

Section 17. Finally, the Tsarevich²⁰ arrived and encamped at the distance of a bow-shot to Tana, in the old mosque. The consul immediately decided to send him gifts and sent a novenna for him, one for his mother, and a third one for Navruz, his military commander. A novenna is a gift that consists of nine different items, for example, silk fabric, scarlet cloth and other things, totalling nine: that is a custom in these parts when making gifts to rulers.

It happened that it was I who was supposed to go with the gifts: we brought him bread, mead, buza, or beer, and other things to a total of nine. When we entered the mosque, we found the Tsarevich reclining on a carpet and leaning against Navruz, his military commander. The Tsarevich was twenty two years old, while Navruz was twenty five.

After offering him all the gifts, I entrusted the city and the population [to his protection], saying that it is under his rule. He responded to me very politely, but then, looking at us, began to laugh and clap his hands, saying: 'Look, what is that city like where only three eyes account for three people!' That was true: Buran Taia-petra²¹, our interpreter, had only one eye; the consular verger Dzuan, a Greek, also had just one eye; and the person who was carrying the mead was also one-eyed.

After receiving permission from the Tsarevich to withdraw, we returned to the city.

Section 18. If somebody came to this place, he might consider it not very reasonable that the aforementioned sentry brigades travel in groups of four, ten, twenty and thirty people across these plains, staying at a distance of ten, sixteen, or even twenty-day journey from their people; and he might ask what they eat. I will respond that each of these [riders], when he leaves his people, takes with him a small bag made of goat skin full of millet flour, kneaded into dough with a small amount of honey. They always carry with them several wooden bowls. If they do not have enough game, which is in abundance in these steppes, and they are very good at hunting, mainly using the bow, then they use this flour to make a kind of drink²² with a small amount of water; and they get manage with that.

When I asked one of them, what they eat in the steppes, he immediately asked me a question: 'Is there anyone who died because he did not eat?', in the meaning: 'I just need to have an amount sufficient to maintain life, I don't worry about anything else'. They are content with herbs, roots and everything else available, as long as they have salt. If they do not have salt, their mouths become covered with sores and they fester; some of them even die because of this illness, and they also have diarrhoea.

Section 19. But let us return to where we left off. Following the departure of the Tsarevich, people with herds began to arrive. Horse herds, consisting of sixty, one hundred, two hundred horses were the first; then appeared camels and oxen, followed by herds of small ruminants²³. This continued for six days, when throughout the entire day, to the extent the eye could see, the steppe from all sides was full of people and animals: some passed by, others arrived. However, these were only the main detachments; thus, you can easily imagine the number of [people and animals] in the middle of the [troops].

All that time we were standing on the walls²⁴ (we kept the doors closed) and closer to the evening we became tired of watching. The cross section of the plain, occupied by masses of these people, was equal to 120 miles; it all seemed like a kind of Paganian.

This is a Greek word, which I learned first in Morea²⁵, while hunting with a prince. He brought one hundred villeins; each of them was holding a club. They were distributed at a distance of ten steps from each other and moved forwards, hitting the ground with their clubs and shouting out some words to make the animals come out from the forest. Hunters, some on horseback, some on foot, with birds and dogs, were standing where they wanted. At a convenient moment they threw the birds [into the air] and turned the dogs loose. <...>

§ 22. These people use countless numbers of two-wheeled carts, higher than ours. On top, they are reed matted, some of them covered with felt, others covered with woollen cloth, if they belong to

noblemen. On some of them houses are placed, which they build as follows: they take a wooden hoop, one-and-a-half paces in diameter, install on it several semi-hoops, crossing at the centre; the gaps are reed matted, covered with either felt, or woollen cloth, depending on their wealth. When they want to stop to make camp, they take these houses from the carts and live in them²⁶. <...>

Section 25. Justice is carried out throughout their camp, at any place at all, and without any preparation. This is how they do it.

When someone starts a quarrel with another, and both of them use abusive words (however, it is not quite the way it is with us, without being particularly offensive), then both, or if there were more people, then all of them, get up and go to the road, which they like more, and say to the first comer, if he is a man of dignity: 'Lord, judge us, because we have fallen out'. The man stops immediately and listens to what they say, and then takes a decision, as he thinks it right, without making any records, and nobody judges his decision later. In such cases, a crowd of people comes, and he, speaking out his decision, says: 'You will be the witnesses!' Such courts are continuously held across the camp, if a quarrel happens during a campaign, they follow the same procedure, asking the first-comer to be the judge and forcing him to judge.

Section 26. Once in the Orda²⁷, I saw an overturned wooden bowl on the ground. I came closer, picked the bowl up and found cooked millet under it. I asked one of the Tatars what was it. He said that it was placed by 'hibuth peres', that is by pagans. I asked: 'Are there pagans among these people?' He replied: 'Ho, ho! There are many of them, but they hide'²⁸.

Section 27. I will start with the number of these people and tell you [about it] tentatively, for it is impossible to count them, giving the [figure] neither bigger, nor smaller, than I think. I am sure and firmly stick to the number of three hundred thousand people in the entire Orda, when it is gathered together. I made this note, because one part of the Orda²⁹ belonged to the Ulu-Mohameth, as I mentioned before.

Section 28. Military people are extremely brave and courageous, to the point that some of them, especially possessing outstanding qualities, are called 'talubagater', meaning the mad brave³⁰. This nickname was born among the people, just as we have 'wise' or 'beautiful', whence it is said—a certain Peter, nicknamed 'Sage', or Pavel, nicknamed 'Handsome'. These bogatyrs have one advantage: everything they do, even if to a certain extent it goes beyond the bounds of common sense, is considered right, because as far as it is done out of courage, everybody thinks that bogatyrs are just doing their job. Among them there are many of those who do not care about their life, are not afraid of danger, but rush forward and without thought beat their enemies, so that even those who are timid are inspired by that and turn into men of courage. I find their nickname very appropriate, because I can't imagine a brave man who was not mad. For, in your opinion, isn't it madness when one man dares to fight against four?

Is it not madness when someone with one knife is ready to fight against many, the more so when they are armed with swords?

Section 29. In this regard, I will relate something which happened when I was in Tana. Once while I was standing on the square, the Tatars came to the city and said that a mile away from there, around one hundred Circassian horsemen were hiding in a grove and planning to carry out a raid on the city, as was their custom. I was sitting in a fletcher's shop; there was also a Tatar merchant who had come there with wormseed³¹. When he got to know about the Circassians, he stood up and said: 'What if we go and capture them? How many riders are there?' I told him: 'One hundred'.—'That's good', he said, 'there are five of us, how many horsemen can you find?' 'Forty', I replied. Then he said: 'The Circassians are not men, but women. Let's go and capture them!' Hearing all this, I went to look for the messer Francesco and explained to him everything I had been told, and he, laughing, asked me if I was brave enough to go there. I said that I was.

So we mounted our horses, ordered our people to get there by water and by noon we descended on the Circassians. They were standing in the shadows, some of them were sleeping, but, unfortunately, it happened that a little bit before we reached them, our trumpeter made his call. Because of that many of them managed to flee; still, we got 40 people dead and captured. But the beauty of this case refers to what was said about the 'mad braves'. The Tatar man who suggested that we go and capture

the Circassians was not content with the spoils, but started out alone to pursue the escapees, even though we were shouting: 'You won't come back, you will never come back!' He returned almost an hour later, joined us and complained saying: 'O woe unto me, I could not catch any of them!'—and he was grievously distressed. You decide how mad he was,—because if only four Circassians had turned against him, they would have chopped him into pieces. More than that, when we reproached him, he just made a joke out of it.

Section 30. The sentry brigades (whom I described above) who had approached Tana earlier than the rest of the troops, always moved before it in eight different directions to discover any possible dangers from all sides, staying many days away from it and acting in accordance with its needs.

As soon as the ruler stopped, they immediately set up bazaars³², leaving broad roads. If it happens in winter, then the greatest mud is formed from the numerous animal feet; if it happens in summer, then the greatest dust is produced. As soon as they set up the bazaars, they arrange their fireplaces, fry and boil meat and prepare their food from milk, butter, and cheese. They always have game, especially deer.

In this army, there are many artisans, such as clothiers, blacksmiths, armourers, and others, and there are all the necessary crafts.

If you asked me: 'That means they wander just like gypsies then?'³³—I would give a negative answer, because apart from the fact that their camps are not surrounded by walls, we see them as the largest and most beautiful cities³⁴. In this connection [I will tell you the following] : once when I was in Tana, where there was a beautiful tower above the gates, a Tatar merchant was standing next to me and looking at the tower; I asked him: 'Don't you think this is a remarkable thing?' But he looked at me, chuckled and said: 'Bah! Towers are built by those who are afraid!' I think that he was right.

Section 31. In speaking of merchant men, so now I return to my subject, namely the Tatar army. I will say that there are always merchants with it³⁵; some carry their wares in via diverse ways, though others solely pass through the Orda with the intention of travelling to other countries.

Section 32. Tatars are excellent hunters with falcons, and they have many gyrfalcons; they catch birds on burdock³⁶ (we don't use it), they hunt deer and other big game. They carry gyrfalcons on one fist, and they hold a stick in the other hand; because these birds are twice as big as eagles, when they get tired, they put the stick under their arms. Sometimes a flock of geese sweeps over their army; then people from the camp shoot twisted arrows thick as a finger, with no feathers. The arrows fly straight, then turn and fly across the path of the birds, catching the bird and crushing its neck, or legs, or wings. Sometimes it seems as if the air is full of geese; from the people's shouts they are stunned, frightened and fall to the ground. <...>

§ 34. What can I tell about the great, even countless, variety of animals in the Orda³⁷? Will anyone believe me? It is up to you, but I will dare to say how many of them are there.

Let me start with the horses. There are horse-traders among these people; they take horses from the Orda to various places. There were four thousand head³⁸ of horses in one caravan, which arrived in Persia before I left it. Don't be surprised: indeed, if you wanted to buy two thousand horses in one day in the Orda, you would find them there, because, like cattle, there are herds of horses. Usually, a man goes to the herd and says to the seller that he would like to get one hundred such horses. He has a club with a lasso attached to the upper end of it, and he is so good at his job that as soon as the customer tells him, 'catch me this horse or catch that one', he puts a noose onto the horse's head, drags it from the herd and puts aside. In this way he catches the amount and type of horses required by the customer. While travelling, I have seen merchants chasing so many horses that they occupied the area of the entire steppes.

But this is what is surprising: the country does not produce thoroughbred horses; they are shortish, with a large belly and they don't eat oats. When they are taken to Persia, the biggest advantage which can be recognized is that they eat oats, because if they did not eat it, they would not be able to stand fatigue in case of need.

The second type of animal which these people have is the large, wonderful oxen, there are so many of them that there would be enough of them even for the Italian slaughterhouses. They are taken to Poland, part of them is sent through Wallachia to Transylvania; moreover to Germany, and from there they are taken to Italy. In those regions [the steppes] oxen are used to carry luggage and packs when required.

The third type of animal that these people breed is the tall shaggy Bactrian camel. They are taken to Persia and sold for 25 ducats each. The eastern camels are dromedary and small in size; they are sold for ten ducats each.

The fourth type of animal that these people breed is the huge sheep on long legs, with long wool and with such tails that some weigh up to twelve pounds. I had seen similar sheep which were dragging a wheel behind them. Fat from their tails is used by [Tatars] in food; they use it instead of oil, and it does not thicken in the mouth.

Section 35. I don't know who, apart from an eyewitness, could have explained about what I am going to tell you now³⁹. Because you could ask: 'So many people, what do they eat, when they are journeying for days on end? How do they get the bread they eat? Where do they get it from?' I, as someone who had seen it all, will answer you.

Around the new moon in February a call is issued across the entire horde that anyone who wants to sow should prepare everything necessary, because the sowing will take place at the new moon in March in such-and-such a place, and everyone will set out on such-and-such a day. Afterwards, those who plan to sow themselves or who want to charge somebody with this duty, load their carts with seeds, take the animals they need and, together with their wives and children or with a part of the family, set out for the appointed place, which is as a rule a two-day journey from where the horde was camped at the moment the call to sow was made. They plough and sow and live there until they finish everything that they wanted to do. Then they return to the horde.

The khan treats his horde as a mother treats her children on a walk: keeping an eye on them. That's why he rides around these sowing places now here, now there, never going [away from his people] farther than a four-day journey. This continues until the corn ripens. When it ripens, he does not go there with his horde, but sends there only those who had sowed and those who are willing to buy the wheat. They go with their carts, oxen and camels and the other things they need, as they do in their village.

The earth there is fertile and brings a fiftyfold yield of wheat, which is as high as Paduan wheat, and a hundredfold yield of millet. Sometimes the harvest is so abundant that they leave it in the steppe.

Section 36. Let me tell now about the following. One of the sons of Ulu-Mohameth was here; he reigned for several years and was always afraid that one of his cousins from the other side of the river Ledil would come and take a part of his people⁴⁰, which was usually leaving for sowing and therefore was in particular danger. For eleven consecutive years he prohibited sowing, and during that time they only ate meat, milk and similar things; there still was a little bit of flour and millet at the market, but at an expensive price. When I asked them how they were getting along, they just chuckled in response, saying that they have meat. However, the aforementioned [tsarevich] was still expelled by his cousin.

Finally, Ulu-Mohameth (of whom we have spoken above)—after Khezi Mohameth arrived in his lands—seeing that he would be unable to resist him, left the horde and fled with his children and others. Khezi Mohameth declared himself the khan of that entire people⁴¹.

Section 37. He arrived at the Don River in June, and it took him two days to cross the river with his entire people, carts, cattle and all his property. It is amazing to believe it, but it is even more amazing to watch it! They crossed the river without any noise, and with such confidence as if they were walking on the ground. They cross the river in the following way: leaders send their people in front and order them to build rafts out of dry forest, which is in abundance along the rivers. Then they order them to make bunches out of reeds, which are put under rafts and carts. That's how they cross the river, horses swim, dragging these rafts and carts, and naked people help the horses⁴².

A month later [after I saw the crossing] I headed down the river to the fishing place and saw so many abandoned rafts and fascines floating downstream, that we hardly managed to get through them. Apart from that, I was amazed by the countless number of rafts and fascines left on the banks in these places. When we arrived at the fishing place, we found that it was damaged even more than I had described before. <...>

Section 46. The steppe on 'Kaffa island' is subject to the Tatars⁴³. Their ruler is Ulubi⁴⁴, the son of Aziharey. There are many Tatars, and in case of need, they could supply from three to four thousand horsemen. They have two settlements, surrounded by walls, but they are not fortresses. One of them is

Solkhat⁴⁵, which they call Inkremin, which means 'fortress', and the other one—Kerkiarde⁴⁶, which in their dialect means 'forty settlements'.

Section 47. However, I would just like to tell you about the loss of Kaffa, precisely what I learned of it from one Antony da Guasco, a Genoese, who was present there and fled by sea to Georgia, and from there into Persia, at the same time that I happened to be there⁴⁷. Now listen to how it was that this city fell into Turkish hands.

At that time, the ruler there, namely in the steppes, was a Tatar man called Eminakbi⁴⁸. On a yearly basis he collected a certain tribute from the people of Kaffa, which was common in those regions. Once some disagreement arose between him and the Kaffa people, and the consul of Kaffa, a Genoese, decided to address them to the khan⁴⁹ in order to invite to the throne one of the relatives of Eminakbi. With his assistance and support of his followers the consul intended to expel Eminakbi. For this reason he sent a ship from Kaffa to Tana⁵⁰. An envoy of the consul was on that ship, who headed to the Orda, where the khan was based. As soon as they found there a relative of Eminakbi, called Mengli Giray, the envoy received permission and took him to Kaffa via Tana. When Eminakbi learned that, he tried to make peace with the Kaffa people by a treaty, under which they were supposed to return Mengli Giray. But the Kaffa people did not agree to this treaty; then Eminakbi, fearing for his business, sent an envoy to Ottomanno, promising him (if he sent his fleet to lay siege to Kaffa from the sea) that he would lay siege to the city from the land so as to hand over Kaffa to him, which he wanted to conquer.

Ottomanno, who was also desirous of this, sent his fleet and in a short time took the town; Mengli Giray was captured and sent to Ottomanno, who kept him in prison for many years.

Section 48. But Eminakbi began to regret handing over the town to Ottomanno, since the Turks did not treat him well, and stopped allowing the import of goods into the town. Thus, they began to experience a great shortage of bread and meat, as if the city were under the siege. Then they reminded Ottomanno that if he would send Mengli Giray to Kaffa and keep him there under house arrest, then there would be plenty of food in the city, because the local population loved Mengli Giray very much. Ottomanno realized that this was a good suggestion, and sent Mengli Giray [to Kaffa]. As soon as it became known that he had returned, the city became prosperous again, because the urban population also liked Mengli Giray. He wasn't kept under tight guard and could go anywhere within the city limits. That was when they would organize archery competitions.

Here competitions were held in the following way. A silver bowl was tied with a thin rope that was attached to a horizontal wooden beam mounted on two wooden pillars, (similar to a gallows). Archers competing for the prize had arrows⁵¹, the iron tip of which was crescent shaped with very sharp edges. Riders with bows would gallop past this gallows and, having barely passed it, would turn back and shoot at the rope, even though their horse might be still charging in the other direction: the one who pierced the rope and dropped the bowl would win the prize.

So once during these games, Mengli Giray, taking advantage of the situation, made a deal with one hundred Tatar riders to hide in a valley close to the city. Pretending that he too wanted to compete in the archery competition, he galloped off and hid among his compatriots. Gradually, as the population of the 'island' realized what had happened, many of them followed after Mengli Giray. Together with them he headed to Solkhat, six miles away from Kaffa, and conquered it⁵². Mengli Giray killed Eminakbi and became their ruler.

Section 49. The next year he decided to go to Astrakhan, which was a sixteen-day journey from Kaffa. At that time it was ruled by Mordassa khan⁵³, who, together with his troops, was on the Ledil River. Mengli Giray attacked him, captured him and his people, the majority of which were sent to 'Kaffa island'. But Mengli Giray decided to spend the winter on the banks of the aforementioned river. A few-days journey from there was another Tatar ruler who, when he learned that Mengli Giray had decided to winter in the area, and that the river was already frozen, fell upon him and his troops. He defeated Mengli Giray and released Mordassa khan, whom Mengli Giray had been holding prisoner. Having been dealt a crushing blow, Mengli Giray and his frustrated army returned to Kaffa.

The following spring, Mordassa khan with his army went directly to Kaffa, where they attacked him, raiding and damaging inner sections of the 'island'. But, because he lacked the troops to take the city, he

was forced to turn back. Still, as I was told⁵⁴, he is putting an army together once again and intends to return to the 'island' and expel Mengli Giray.

Section 50. While all of this may be true, it nevertheless served as a basis for rumors spread by those who either don't understand why these two leaders were fighting amongst each other, or can't comprehend the difference between the great Khan and Mordassa khan. Upon hearing that Mordassa khan was gathering together a new army to return to the 'island', they start gossiping and spreading the news that the Great Khan is marching on Kapha instead of Ottomanno, and is preparing to go all the way to Moncastro, Valachia and Hungary, to any place where Ottomanno would be likely to go⁵⁵. This is all lies, even though it is based on information contained in letters from Constantinople. <...>

Section 53. The Edil is a affluent and extremely wide river; it flows into the Baku [Caspian] Sea⁵⁶, which is approximately twenty five miles from Astrakhan. The river, like the sea, contains an enormous amount of fish; a lot of salt is mined from this sea.

Moving upstream, one can sail almost all the way to Moscow on this river: from there it is only a three-day journey⁵⁷. Every year people from Moscow sail to Astrakhan for salt⁵⁸.

There are many islands and forests along the river [Edil] ; some islands are up to thirty miles in circumference. One can even find lindens in these forests are so huge that you can make a hollowed-out boat from just one of them that can carry eight to ten horses⁵⁹ and the same number of people. <...>

Section 59. I have no more to say of the Tatars, except that those who have remained pagans still worship idols that they carry with them on their carts. And there are those among them who worship daily the first animal they meet when they leave their houses for the day. <...>

Comment¹ on the text and translation by Barbaro

¹ La pianura is a plain, or, more fittingly, a steppe. Barbaro uses this word often when referring to the South Russian steppe territories; sometimes it is used with a meaning similar to the word 'campagna'. Thus, both 'pianura' and 'campagna' in texts relating to the Northern Black Sea region should be understood to mean 'flat terrain' or 'steppe'.

² Ledil, Edil-Itil or Edil is a well-known medieval name for the Volga River that is derived from its Turkic name. The nomadic Khazar, Pecheneg, Cuman and Tatar tribes used this name in reference to the Volga River. Western European and Eastern writers—geographers and travelers—were responsible for the promulgation of this name given to the largest river in Europe.

³ Mare Maggiore, mar Mazor or mare Maius was the name given to the Black Sea by the Italians. This name was used on Italian maps and in all written sources from the 13–15th centuries. The name mar Mazor can be found among the pages of the works of Barbaro and Contarini.

⁴ Alania, Cumania, Gazaria are three regions that apparently lacked clearly defined boundaries and were located around the Azov ('Zabak') Sea: Alania was adjacent to its eastern coast, stretching further along the Northern Caucasus; Cumania was adjacent to the northern coast (marked as Chumania on the map of Benincasa, dated 1474); Gazaria, according to the name that was established later (by the 13–14th century), was located in Tavrika, mainly in its eastern, non-Gothic part. Referring to these three regions with their original ethnic names, Barbaro concludes his narration about the rough borders of Tataria; moreover, speaking of the North (Russia) and the West (Poland), he does indeed mention regions that were beyond the reaches of Tatar settlements and nomadic camps; but speaking about the East and the South, he names places that indeed could have been within the settlement area of the Tatars.

⁵ Mar delle Zabache is the Zabak Sea, the present-day Azov Sea. It is possible that the word Zabache conceals within it the name of a fish called 'chabak', a word still used in the Lower Don Region to refer to a bream. It is widely known that the Azov Sea and mouths of the rivers flowing into it are rich in various types of fish (valuable species of fish such as the sturgeon, starry sturgeon, white sturgeon, perch, bream, common carp and sabrefish). According to Barbaro's notes, he and other Venetian merchants had fisheries on the Don River—le peschiere. Notably, the eastern authors called the Tana (in the 14–15th centuries) by the name of 'Azak'. This is where the Azov Sea (or 'Ozach' in 'The Journey' by Ignaty Smolnyanin) gets its name: 'we passed through the mouth [that is, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the Kerch Strait] of the Ozach Sea and went out onto the Maggiore [that is, the Black] Sea' (Ignaty Smolnyanin, p. 5). Sometimes the Azov Sea was referred

¹ Text of notes is significantly reduced.—*Editor's note*.

to as the Frankish Sea. This term was used by the Persian writer Abd al-Razzaq Samarqandi (1413–1482): 'They (the tsareviches and emirs of Timur) devastated and plundered this region (the Circassian ulus) up to the shores of the Frankish Sea, the so-called Azak' (Tiesenhausen, II. p. 181, note 1).

⁶ 'Elice' refers to the Dnieper River. This is clearly explained in the work of Contarini: 'There is a river in Kiev (Chio), which is called Danambre (Danapr, Dnieper) in the local language and Leresse in our language; it flows near the city and empties into the Maggiore Sea' (Contarini, p. 68 v).

⁷ Capha or Kaffa was the largest Italian colony in the Northern Black Sea region. The city of Kaffa, the predecessor of the present-day Theodosia, belonged to the Genoese from the 1260s until 1475, when it was conquered by the Turks. In Genoese Kaffa's final years of existence, there was a Venetian consul there, in addition to the Genoese one. The Genoese paid tribute to the Tatars, who had granted them Caffa.

⁸ Moncastro was the Italian name of a fortress located at the mouth of the Dniester River. Constantine Porphyrogenetos had called this fortress 'Ἀσπροπον', which was the translation of the local Pecheneg name (see: Const. Porph. De adm. imp., cap. 37), but the name Asprokastron ('White Fortress') can also be found in the the copies of the bishops, hence the present-day name of Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy. In the 15th century Moncastro was the starting point for travelers arriving to the Black Sea from the Caucasian coast (on the way from Georgia, Persia) and heading to Poland, Germany, Italy. The Via de Moncastro, was preferred over the road through Kaffa (Via de Caffa), particularly on the way from the East, because by passing through Moncastro up the Dniester, it was possible to bypass the difficult passage through the Tatar steppes in order to reach the Dnieper and Kiev (see: Cornet, Le guerre, doc. 18, a. 1471, Oct. 25, p. 31).

⁹ Edigu was the sovereign ruler of the Golden Horde from 1397–1419.

¹⁰ 'Sidehameth can' was Barbaro's mis-transcription of the name of the Tatar Shadi Beg Khan. This transcription was closer to the name of Sayyid-Ahmed (1433–1465), but the period of reign extended beyond the lifetime of Edigu, who died in 1419. Shadi Beg was one of the 'dummy' khans during the reign of Edigu from 1400–1407.

¹¹ Ulugh Muhammad (Tsar Mahmut in Russian chronicles) was the first khan of the Golden Horde following the death of Edigu.

¹² Barbaro correctly notes that 'Orda' meant 'people' or 'population' (lordo zoe populo). What Russians called the Golden Horde was being called the Blue Horde or the Ulus of Jochi by eastern writers. 'Ulus' referred to the population that was subject to the khan or the representative of Chinggis Khan's clan (see: Yakubovsky. The Golden Horde, p. 35). The word 'ulus', equivalent to the word 'Orda', was sometimes used in the chronicles (The Moscow code, p. 249).

¹³ Nauruz, the son of Edigu, was a noyan (or emir) of Ulugh Muhammad Khan, the commander-in-chief (capitano); Barbaro correctly noted that he held the same high position as his father—'capitano della gente'. However, the power of Nauruz was much weaker than the almost unlimited power of his father during the reign of the impotent Chinggisids. Yet the son too aspired to power, much like his undoubtedly more talented father, and for this reason he left Ulugh Muhammad in 1438 (Barbaro correctly dates this event to 1438, the last year of Ulugh Muhammad khan in the Golden Horde) and with a part of the troops that followed his lead, moved over to one (uno) Chinggisid Kichik Mehmed (Chezimehameth), who was little known at that time.

¹⁴ Kichik Mehmed (1435–1465) was a khan of the Golden Horde and the rival of his predecessor, Ulugh Muhammad Khan.

¹⁵ Barbaro tells of a road from the Lower Volga region to the Lower Don region that he knew well. In this case, the army of Kichik Mehmed passed by Astrakhan and headed further to the west along the Taman steppes (de campagne de Tumen), rounding Circassia. It should be noted that here the Tumen can mean only Taman, and clearly has no connection to Tyumen in the Irtysh River basin.

¹⁶ Barbaro gives a descriptive account of the Don River: 'the river of Tana' (fiume della Tana). Eastern writers often referred to the ancient Tanais as 'Tan' (which later became 'Don').

¹⁷ The gulf (colpho, golfo) of the Zabak Sea is the present-day Gulf of Taganrog.

¹⁸ Palastra is a settlement on the northern bank of Azov Sea that was marked on the portolans (for instance, on Benincasa's portolan, dated 1474) near the Gulf of Berdyansk.

¹⁹ The sentries who were sent ahead by the Tatar military commanders to scout the paths before the main army accessed them were called 'karauls' or 'khabargiri'.

²⁰ Barbaro was delegated by the Venetian consul to offer gifts to Kichik Mehmed, who had come with his Orda, to his mother and his noyan Shuruz, and saw that the young khan already occupied a dominant position in the Lower Volga region. However, in his records, Barbaro does not refer to him as 'emperor', as Western Europeans called the Golden Horde khans, but applies to him the generic term 'seigneur'. It is possible that

Kichik Mehmed and Ulugh Muhammad were still competing with each other, or that at that period of time another contender for the khanate in the Golden Horde, Sayyid Ahmed—according to some information, the son of Tokhtamysh—had temporarily gained the lead.

²¹ It is not clear in what sense the word 'taiapietra' is used here; either it refers to a sculptor (or simply a stonemason) or a well-known surname in 14th and 15-century Venice. Considering the position of the translator (turzimano) and the people named alongside him—the verger of the consul (bastoniero) and his porter—Buran was a stonemason (taiapietra).

²² Barbaro described the way in which Tatars prepared flour soup during campaigns, especially the scouting horse detachments, which separated from the main army that moved across the steppes with large strings of carts. This description is supported by an account of the Persian author Abd al-Razzaq al-Samarqandi (1413–1482) [Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde, 1941, p. 192].

²³ Compare: Tana, Section 34, about the trade of horses, cattle, camels and fat-rumped sheep.

²⁴ The walls of Tana, on which the observers of the Tatar Orda's arrival to the city stood (and which were the fortifications of the last period of existence the independent city) were constructed after 1395, when Tamerlane destroyed Tana (Azak). <...>

²⁵ Barbaro came to know Morea when he was a provveditore in Albania and was organising resistance to the Turks in 1465. Barbaro recalled one of his memories of this country in writing about how moving masses of Tatars and their herds would drive huge numbers of partridges and bustards towards the city. This resembled a hunt with an organised raid that he had seen on the land of one of the Morean princes.

²⁶ A similar description of Tatar 'houses', tents covered with felt or cloth, is also given by Barbaro in the second part of his work 'Journey to Persia' (Persia, p. 56 g; Rimusio, II, p. 109 g), alongside a reference to his own description in the first part of the 'Journey to Tana'. The nomads' covered wagons or tents, their 'houses' on carts, were described even in ancient times.

²⁷ Above, Barbaro used the term 'Orda' (lordo) in its main meaning of ulus, population or people, but here it is used to mean of land, nomad territory or ulus territory, which usually was expressed with the Turkic term 'yurt'. See note No. 40.

²⁸ The story of the adoption of Islam in the Golden Horde can be divided into three stages: the reign of Berke Khan, the reign of Öz Beg Khan and the reign of Edigu. However, the Tatar/nomad masses did not give up paganism (shamanism), which is reflected in the answer that Barbaro received to his question about the presence of pagans (idolatri) among the Tatars.

²⁹ Barbaro, who knew the details of the complicated political relations in the Golden Horde, which was plagued by constant internecine feuds and rivalry between representatives of Chinggis Khan's clan, was correct in stating that Ulugh Muhammad (Ulu-Makhumet) Khan (1419–1424; 1427–1438), ruled over only part of the entire Golden Horde.

³⁰ Bagater or bahadur is a Mongol title from the 13–15th centuries, granted to those who exhibited military merit and fearless valour. Bahadur means knight, brave one, slasher, brave slayer or brave-heart.

³¹ Semencina is a name for wormseed, an antihelminthic widely used in the Middle Ages, which was brought as a commodity to all major cities of Levant and Western Europe from the steppes of the Black Sea and Azov Sea region. Semencina was extracted not from seeds, but from inflorescences of wormseed that contained santonin. Pegolotti often related this commodity ('santonico' or 'seme de vermini') to other spices—not to those which were called 'spezierie minute' (smaller and more valuable), but to the 'spezierie grosse'—coarse, large spices, such as soap, alum, wax, sugar, animal and vegetable oil, etc. (Pegolotti, p. 293–297). <...>

³² When the Tatar army (the Orda along with the headquarters of the khan, or the tsarevich, or the noyan) stopped to make camp, it always erected markets, 'bazaars' where they sold both necessary items (food, household items, weaponry, etc.) the spoils of war. Barbaro, who had been many times to the Tatar camps, accurately and vividly describes the mobile bazars, making reference to several artisans (artesiani) that were selling their goods: clothing and cloth, items made out of metal, military equipment, etc. Apart from the temporary bazars of the nomadic army, Barbaro also mentioned artisan shops in Tana; for instance, he recalls that he was once sitting in a shop, where the owner (maestro) was making and selling arrows that were very valuable for use on the steppe (freze—Section 29).

³³ The question quoted by the author demonstrates that (in Tana?) 'cingan' (Ramusio, II, p. 95: zingani) was a widely understood and accepted term for vagrants, people who had no home or property. It is also clear that this word was not used (in the city of Tana) for the surrounding steppe-dwelling nomads. A reference to

the Romani in a written source from the 15th century is considered to be one of the earliest mentions of this tribe (compare to Thomas, p. 18).

³⁴ Barbaro describes his impressions of the Tatar army camp: it occupied so much territory that it resembled a huge city. Ibn Battuta, who had visited Desht-i Kipchak a hundred years before Barbaro did, had the same impressions. Ibn Battuta writes about the Orda approaching a camping place: 'We saw a large city moving together with its residents; and there were mosques in it, and bazaars, and kitchen smoke whirling up through the air' (Tiesenhausen, I, p. 289). Particularly noteworthy is Barbaro's exceptionally detailed and exhaustive description based on his observations during a campaign led by Uzun Hasan. Uzun Hasan marched from his camp on the steppe towards the city of Shiraz, which his son had captured after hearing rumours of his father's death. Uzun Hasan's army, his headquarters, his entourage, members of his family, servants and maids all moved on the city; behind them was a great number of people accompanying the army—men, women, children and babies (et in cuna)—on horsebacks or in wagons; the army was also followed by numerous craftspeople and merchants. Finally, a throng of animals also flocked behind them; some of them were beasts of burden, others were ceremonial animals adorned in expensive harnesses (son menati per pompa). Herds of big- and small-horned animals were driven. Hunting animals and birds were also transported (leopards, dogs, falcons, kites and others). Barbaro rode all over the camp with his servant and counted (using beans!) both people and animals in groups of fifty. In his story he reported all the numbers from this enumeration (Persia, p. 40 v–43 r).

³⁵ A valuable remark by Barbaro. At Tatar camping grounds (and, of course, cities), one could always find merchants, who travelled to different regions of Desht-i Kipchak along different paths (per diverse vie), bringing with them their goods (robbe) that they had acquired from everywhere. It has been established that trade along various centuries-old routes was safer under the Tatars than under the Polovtisans, and caravans of merchants moves along them freely, despite always being armed.

³⁶ Camaleone is a type of weed with thorny, clingy fruit, similar to burdock. The expression 'uccellare a camaleoni' seems to refer to the practice of catching small birds using these clingy fruits, whose thorns stick to feathers and prevent birds from flying away. Barbaro points out that this method of catching birds was unknown in Italy.

³⁷ Barbaro uses the question about the innumerability (innumerabil multitudine) of the animals (horses, big- and small-horned livestock) on the steppe that belonged to the Tatars of the Great Horde to impress on the Italian reader for the idea of huge herds and flocks from the vast ranges of Desht-i Kipchak that were unthinkable in Italy.

³⁸ The mass sale of horses by Tartaria to Persia was described in Barbaro's 'Journey to Persia' (Persia, p. 42 v), where he repeats that the herds (le mandre) that were driven from the Black Sea and Volga steppes amounted to 4,000–5,000 horses. These horses were not the most beautiful specimens; they were undersized, cost 4–5 ducat each, and were used as beasts of burden. The movement of horses being sold is mentioned in a chronicle as well: the Tatars drove their massive herds not only to the south, but also to the Russian north.

³⁹ Barbaro records a rather aspect feature of economic life in the Golden Horde: Tatar agriculture. This report is considered to be unique; all other existing information on agriculture in the Horde has to do with the land's native farming population, similar to that of Bulgar or Crimea. Before launching into his story, the author rightly begins with a kind of introduction, which assumes readers will be surprised: on the one hand, where do the nomads get their bread from? On the other hand, how in the world could nomads cultivate land? Regarding the former, the answer is simple: often, or rather, almost always, many roaming Tatar groups went without bread. Contarini, who observed everyday life of the Golden Horde almost at the same time as Barbaro, writes unambiguously, albeit in less detail, that the fare of the Tatars consisted exclusively of meat and milk, never other food (ne niun altro alimento hanno); 'they don't know what bread is, except for the few merchants who have visited Russia' (Contarini, p. 93 r). In contrast to this, Barbaro tells of a systematic sowing that took place in March after riding to a place selected by the khan; they headed to these fields with their wives and children, gathered the animals needed for work and brought seed. After ploughing and sowing, everybody returned to the Orda. When the corn was ripe, the khan sent his landowners to the fields again; corn buyers also gathered there (quelli che han seminato e quelli che voleno comprar li formenti, con carri, boi e camelli). The harvest was sometimes so abundant that part of it was left on the steppe.

⁴⁰ Quarrels among minor khans occurred constantly. This phrase indicates that the leaders aimed not so much at defending their yurt, the territory they roamed, as their ulus, the people they led, their part of the Orda (parte del popolo). <...>

⁴¹ Küçük Mehmed came to power in 1435.

⁴² The Dnieper was crossed in the same way by Contarini alongside his travel companions and the Lithuanian ambassador, who was travelling to the Orda with them. Having left Kiev, they reached Cherkassy (Cercas) and on May 15th 1474 sailed over the Dnieper (Danambre) on rafts (Contarini, p. 69 r–69 v); compare to Contarini's crossing of the Volga (p. 95 v, 96 v-r.) <...>

⁴³ This paragraph shows the exact way in which the lands of Taurica were distributed when Barbaro was writing about it, that is, around the middle of the 15th century (it had been the same in the 14th century). In the mountainous western part of the peninsula there was a state called Theodoro, which Barbaro said nothing about, though he did write about Goths and their language. The steppe part belonged to the Tatars and was at first governed by the vassals of the Golden Horde (in Italian documents—'domini', 'signori'), and in the middle of the 15th century by Crimean Khans from the House of Giray. The rulers used the town of Solkhat as a centre, while Giray chose the town of Qırq Yer (compare to notes 112 and 113 below). Coastal towns held by the Genoese, with Kaffa as a centre, were independent, but the government (consul and his administration) paid tribute (tributum) to the steppe Tatars (see note 21).

⁴⁴ This name for the Crimean Khan cannot not be clarified using the sources. He might have been one of the ten sons of Hajji Giray (d. 1466).

⁴⁵ Solkhat or Solkhat, present-day Stary Krym (Eski Qırım), was located 25 kilometers to the west of Feodosia and at roughly the same distance due north from Sudak. Solkhat was (in the 14th to the first half of the 15th century) the centre of the Crimean steppe lands.

⁴⁶ Cherchiarde, or, more correctly, Qırq Yer (Qyrk-jer in Spuler's transcription), 'Kyrkor' in Russian manuscripts, is identified with Chufut-Kale in western Crimea, not far from Bakhchysaray. Crimean Tatar rulers possessed two towns in their steppe lands—Solkhat and Qırq Yer. When the Crimean Khanate had emerged, it was Qırq Yer that received the role of the capital city.

⁴⁷ Barbaro's description of the loss or the perdition of Kaffa (la perdita de Capha) conquered by the Turks in June 1475 (Tana, Sections 47–48) can be considered reliable, as the story of Kaffa's fall was told to him by a recent eyewitness who had fled for his life from Kaffa, where the Turks had slaughtered all the Christians. The person from Kaffa or its vicinity, who belonged to the house of Guasco, well-esteemed among the Crimean Genoese, reached Persia by sea and through Georgia. In Persia he was hosted in Barbaro's house in Tabriz, which was mentioned in Barbaro's 'Journey to Persia' (Persia, p. 63 r).

⁴⁸ Eminachbi (Eminek-Bey or Beg), the ruler of the Crimean steppe, was descended from Tatar nobility and was a relative of a Chinggissid, Hajji Giray's son and Mengli Giray. He may have been his brother, as the first to seize the power after Haci Giray's death (1466) is considered to be his son, Nur Devlet, who as early as 1468 was banished by his brother, Mengli Giray.

^{49a} At that time (not long before the fall of Kaffa in the summer of 1475) the khan of the Great Horde was Ahmed (1465/1481).

⁵⁰ In terms of its geographic location, Tana was the closest city to the Great Horde's territory (in the steppes near Azov and the Lower Volga Region), which is why the Genoese that dealt with the Tatars sent their ships to Tana in order to reach from there the khan's headquarters (in el lordy) afterwards.

⁵¹ Barbaro's work tells us about three types of arrows: 1) arrows used with bows, the most widespread weapon among the Tatars (Tana, Section 29); 2) arrows used for killing geese in flight (Section 32); these arrows were short and crooked, with no fletching; after being launched they changed their direction (se voltano); 3) arrows for archery competitions; they had a metal crescent at the end used to cut the rope to which a silver cup was attached (Section 48). Giovanni da Pian del Carpine too observed that the Tatars had various kinds of arrows. He writes that, in addition to battle arrows, there existed arrows 'for birds, for beasts, and for unarmed people' (Ioh. de Plano Carpini, p. 689).

⁵² Here Ramusio made a lengthy digression, which suggests that there was a special manuscript from which he obtained this information. After the word 'prese', he typed (Ramusio, II, p. 97 r), 'There was an increase in the number of people ready to submit to him, and then he went to Qırq Yer (Cherchiarde) and captured it' (Crescendo poi il pololo a sua ubidienza ando a Cherchiarde e quella similmente prese). It is clear that Mengli Giray's influence had increased, and he captured both of Tatar Crimea's most significant cities—Solkhat and Qırq Yer (Chufut-Kale near Bakhchysaray). Compare to note 113. Contarini calls the town 'Chercher' (see note 19 for Contarini).

⁵³ Mordassa or Murteza, Murtaza, Khan Ahmed's son; Murtaza was a khan of the Golden Horde, co-ruling alongside his two brothers Sheikh Ahmed and Seyyid Ahmed. These co-ruler brothers were at enmity with

each other and the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray (see for example: Mosk. svod, p. 332). Barbaro notes that during one of their feuds, Mengli Giray was fighting Murtaza on the banks of the Volga near Astrakhan and took him as a prisoner; there soon appeared 'another khan' (un altro signor, pur tartaro)—apparently, one of the co-ruling brothers (this is how Spuler calls Sheikh Ahmed; see Spuler, S. 188–189)—and freed Murtaza. This event was recorded in Barbaro's work by chance, but there were many similar occurrences during the period of the Great Horde's dissolution, which came after the death of its last more or less powerful ruler, Khan Ahmed.

⁵⁴ Even after having returned to Venice, Barbaro still took an interest in the state of affairs in the Great Horde (during the 1480s) and noted that the information he recorded had been conveyed to him by someone—'fi me ditto...'; Ramusio corrects, 'mi fu ditto...' (Ramusio, II, p. 97 r).

⁵⁵ Barbaro's words imply that one of the three brothers—Khan Ahmed's sons—was the 'Great Khan' ('gran can'; formerly called 'Emperor')—in other words, that had more power than his co-rulers. Sheikh Ahmed (1481–1502) was the 'Great Khan' (see: Spuler, S. 454), while Sayid Ahmed and Murtaza were co-rulers.

⁵⁶ The Sea of Baku (mar de Bachu) is another name for the Caspian Sea. This is one of numerous examples of a sea being named after a large city located on its coast—for example, the Sea of Kaffa, the Sea of Surozh, the Sea of Istanbul (the Black Sea), etc. Pegolotti refers the Caspian Sea not as the Sea of Baku, but the Sea of Sarai (mare del Sara; Pegolotti, p. 380). Contarini, who had to sail across the Caspian Sea from Derbent to Astrakhan, calls it the Sea of Baku (Contarini, p. 89), adding that it is also called the Caspian Sea (il mare di Bachan cioe mare Caspio).

⁵⁷ Three days to reach Moscow (from Astrakhan?) must be a mistake. This period of time—three days—is echoed in the 1543 Aldo edition (p. 20 v) and by Ramusio in the 1559 edition (Ramusio, II, p. 97 v).

⁵⁸ Here Ramusio adds (Ramusio, II, p. 97 v), 'This is an easy route (la via facile) because the Moscow River flows into another river called Oka (Occa), which descends into the Erdil River'. This addition is absent in the 1543 edition.

⁵⁹ The author means 8–10 horses instead of 18.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

IV. Sources on the Culture of the Ulus of Jochi

No. 1

Birch bark manuscript of the Golden Horde time

Introduction and source are quoted from the following publication: N. Poppe, Golden Horde manuscript on birch bark // *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*. 1941.— No. 2.— p. 81–134.

In 1930, kolkhozniks busy digging a pit for silage found a birch bark box in the soil on the left bank of the Volga, almost directly opposite Uvek, near the village of Ternovki (Podgornoe) on the territory of the Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. It contained a small manuscript written on birch bark. The kolkhozniks handed the manuscript over to the republican museum in the city of Engels; it was then sent to an exhibition at the State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. A bone quill and a bronze pot with ink residue were found along with the manuscript.

An archaeological investigation of the site of this discovery conducted afterwards unearthed the remnants of a Golden Horde settlement located a few kilometres away from another such settlement. It was also established that the manuscript, the pot (which was quite clearly an inkpot) and the quill were extracted from a burial site that dates to the 14th century, but could, according to archaeological evidence, be dated to the 15th century. This burial site is that of a commoner, not a wealthy person or a member of the nobility.

Based on the fact that the manuscript was written in the Uighur script, State Hermitage workers recognised a priori that it had belonged to the Uighurs; however, Turkologists who examined the manuscript found Uighur words only in some passages; the bulk of the intact part of the manuscript was found to be not Uighur. N. Poppe established that a large part of it contained Mongolian text, the other passages were acknowledged to be Uighur based on the few remaining legible words. <...>

The manuscript consists of 25 passages, 19 of which have text on both the front and on the back, and the remaining 6 are covered in writing only on one side. The Mongolian text contains only 6 passages; the remaining fragments form the Uighur part of the manuscript... The Mongolian portion of the manuscript is the best-preserved and includes several perfectly intact pages. The size of the pages varies from 85 x 95 mm to 85 x 100 mm, which indicates that the initial format of the manuscript was 85 x 95 (100) mm. <...>

The manuscript is of great interest from several perspectives, including the palaeographic, linguistic, historico-literary and culturo-literary points of view, as it is one of the many examples of Mongol writing in its ancient period of development that is available to us today.

First of all, let us dwell upon the issue of the dating of the manuscript. The manuscript does not contain any dates; however, it can be dated quite precisely, as mentioned above. The 11th passage of the manuscript, one of the passages in Uighur, contains several clearly preserved signs of the Mongol square script. <...>

These signs are of even greater importance to us in that they make it possible to date the manuscript quite precisely. <...>

Therefore, the manuscript dates to the period between 1269 and 1368. It can also be stated with some certainty that the manuscript belongs not to the beginning of this period, but to the first quarter of the 14th century. We know that the spread of square writing was a very slow process, and despite repeated imperial edicts, it took on weakly and for a long time remained the domain of a handful of several institutions. Thus, the manuscript should be dated to the beginning of the 14th century. <...>

First of all, this is so far the only available Mongol-Uighur manuscript that includes annotations in square script. The size of the passages, the size of the letters and similarities in handwriting make it possible to conclude that this is a Mongol-Uighur manuscript, and not the passages of two separate manuscripts, one Mongol and one Uighur. All in all, it is not particularly important whether these passages belong to the same manuscript or not. Much more important is the fact that its various sheets were all

written by the same person and that all of the fragments were found at the same burial site along with the inkpot and the quill. This record of Mongolian writing is one of the westernmost such findings. <...>

Manuscripts such as this one that contained only poems could be distributed only among people who knew Mongolian. Therefore, this finding is proof that there were people who knew the Mongolian script and used Mongolian written language not only for clerical interactions, but also in daily life on the territory of the Golden Horde at the beginning of the 14th century. This is proven by the very fact this handwritten poetry book was found: even if it was not written at the site, somebody must have been reading it. It is still possible that the manuscript was written at the site, as it was discovered along with the inkpot and the quill. And the fact that it was written on birch bark can be seen as evidence that this manuscript was in the possession of a modest man, possibly a scribe, not a wealthy person such as a commander or a clerk. This could explain why the manuscript is written in two languages; it is difficult to imagine that a common soldier would have known two languages—Mongol and Uighur—and three writing systems—Mongol square script and the Uighur script—but it is reasonable to except that a scribe could have possessed such knowledge. One can assume that the manuscript was placed at the burial site as an example of the deceased man's writing along with his equipment. Kipchaks called such scribes *baqši*, and the word *baqši*, which can be found written in square script in the manuscript, could be attributed to this scribe as well. Thus, this manuscript is valuable evidence of the fact that Mongolian elements of the Golden Horde continued to use Mongolian writing up to the beginning of the 14th century. Therefore, one can conclude that the Mongols, who generally had trouble transitioning to a settled lifestyle in the Golden Horde, continued to preserve their language, despite al-Omari's assertion to the contrary, at least during the first quarter of the 14th century. The manuscript is also one of the few pieces of evidence that the Mongols used birch bark as a writing material. <...>

One can presume that the manuscript was written at the same site where the manuscript was found by a scribe who came from one of the easternmost regions or a local man who learned square writing in the East. <...>

The manuscript is of great significance in the historico-literary sense as well. It should be mentioned, first of all, that the manuscript contains the first work of fiction written in Uighur alphabet symbols. It is known that the first records of Mongolian writing—the Chinggis Stone, the Ilkhan charters, etc., which belong partially to the 13th and partially to the beginning of the 14th century—are not literary works in the full meaning of the term, as they are texts written on stone, diplomatic messages, documents, etc. We only have information about one literary work during the first half of the 14th century that was written in the Uighur alphabet: a poem by Mohammed ibn Omar ibn Hasan ibn Mahmud Abdulgaffar al-Samarqandi written in 724 AH in the four languages that were widespread in Iran at the time, including Mongolian. 724 AH is equivalent to AD 1324.

Thus, the poem by al-Samarqandi dates approximately to the same time as the present manuscript, but it remained unpublished, and as a result, our manuscript is the first published literary work in Mongolian that was written in the first quarter or third of the 14th century and is either contemporary to the poem by al-Samarqandi or even older. <...>

Its content consists primarily of a dialogue between a mother and her son. <...>

The contents of this poetic text and its general tone are not typical of 13–14-century Mongolian aristocratic poetry. Based on this fact, we can conclude that we are dealing not with a piece of literature written by a member of the ruling class of the Mongolian military-feudal empire, but by a commoner—an example of ancient Mongolian folk lyric poetry, the earliest example we have so far discovered. <...>

Translation

The beginning is missing.

'When you reach the [[kind-hearted]] ruler with resolve,
fall before the spar!

Why should you be bitter
about falling before the spar?
[to the kind-hearted] glorious ruler
.....you will be taken, my child!"

.....
.....
.....
[['A man]] [will take] you, my [child] !

When you reach the caring ruler with resolve,
fall before the [gates] !

Why look around and stare because you fell
Before [the gates] ?'

'By the ruler who watched over
you, you will be taken and accepted, my child!
When you reach [[with resolve]] the godlike
ruler,

fall [before the] doorstep!

[[Why.....and.....
for that reason]] [did you fall before the doorstep] ?

[[To the godlike ruler
you will be.....taken and accepted, my child!"]]

Why stay and.....?
Coming and.....to the remorseful ruler you will be
taken, my child!

Oh, the worthy and glorious falcon!"

At least one page is missing.

'When you arrive, full of hope, to.....
why grow upset before the door?
To the cursed man you [will go], [my child] !'

[When you reach.....]
[.....] and the glorious [ruler],
[why] grow upset [before.....] ?
To the slaves you will go in dismay, my child!
Oh,.....and the beautiful hawk!

When you draw closer,
fall before the blade!
Why be cunning
about falling before the blade?"

'A fugitive, you will be taken into the service, my child,
by the glorious ruler delivered by fate!'
The golden nightingale, her child,
Started singing a song in response
To his mother, his sweet mother,
Mother, My sweet mother!

.....wife.....
.....your.....
.....

.....
Said: 'I will see you again!' and departed.

It is likely that one page is missing.

'I am departing!
Oh my mother, sweet mother!
The grass on the field grew greener,
Close friends began to take their leave.
I shall go back to my welcoming motherland!

.....
My mother, sweet mother!
.....became.....
reached.....
I will retire to the country in which I will live!

Mother, my sweet mother
[Started] singing a song in response:
'The hairs on your.....
I will make [.....golden] and she said
'Do not be attacked by the evil spirit and.....!
Walk [ascend], my child!
The hairs on your breast
I will make golden!', she said.

'Do not be afflicted by grief and misery!
Take off, fly away, my child!
The hairs on your breast
I will cover with gold!', she said.
'Do not expose yourself to [miseries] and evil spirits, my child!
The hair on your [head I will turn into] grains of gold!', she said.

.....
.....
'When you [[in fear]] reach the
[[kind-hearted]] and [glorious] ruler,
why grow upset before a wooden cart?
To the one who wants not.....you will reach out your hands in dismay,
my child!
Your palms.....

One page is missing.

'I will feed you from ails (?)!
I will make.....and golden as a basket (?)'.
During his ascension
he sang

to his Mother, his sweet mother:
'The grass on the mountain becomes like a field,
the brothers start to take off.
I will travel back to my motherland, where I live,
so that I can be there!'

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 2

Khorezmi. 'Muhabbat-Name'

Introduction and source quoted from the following edition: Khwarezmi. *Mukhabbat-Name* / Publication, transcription, translation and research by E. Nadzhip. — Moscow, 1961.—p. 7–105.

'*Mukhabbat-Name* is one of the works that prove the existence of 13–15th century Turkic fiction and a literary language in the Golden Horde, and in Ak Horde territory in particular.

The author's name is unknown to us: Khwarezmi is his pen name. This pen name is mentioned in the *Latafat-Name* by Khojandi, a 15-century imitation of the *Mukhabbat-Name*, which was written in Middle Asia. At the end of Sa'di's *Gulistan*, which was translated in the 15th century by Saif Sarai at a Kipchak trading post in Egypt, there is a ghazal written by Khwarezmi. Perhaps, our poet and this Khwarezmi are the same person. A copy of the *Nakhdzhu-l-faradis*, which was written during the same period by an inhabitant of the Golden Horde, was re-written by a certain Khwarezmi sometime before the author's death. We know that poets were often paid to rewrite the works of others. Thus, it is possible that this Khwarezmi is the author of the *Mukhabbat-Name*. <...>

We have no other information about Mohammed-Hoja-bek. It is known that Janibek, son of Öz Beg Khan, whose name Khwarezmi connects to that of Mohammed-Hoja-bek, ruled the Golden Horde from 1342 to 1357. The poet says that he created his work on the banks of the Syr Darya. We know that the lower Syr Darya and the cultural center of Sygnak were the most inhabited parts of the Ak Horde (the White Horde), an autonomous region within the territory of the Golden Horde during this period. Thus, the *Mukhabbat-Name*—this remarkable 14-century literary work—was written in one of the cultural centers of the time, where 200 years previously the mystic poet Ahmad Yassawi wrote his *hikmats* in a language close to that used in the *Mukhabbat-Name*.

Two copies of The *Mukhabbat-Name* by Khwarezmi exist at the present time. One of them was written in Arabic and dates to the 16th century. The other copy written in Uighur is older, more damaged and incomplete. Both manuscripts are kept in London. The variant in Arabic, which can be found in the British museum under Add. 7914¹, dates to 914 Hijrah, that is, to AD 1508/1509. The manuscript is in good condition. It was first studied by A. Samoylovich². Certain letters and ghazals from this copy were published as transcriptions in anthologies, in textbooks on Uzbek literature, and in the 'Anthology of Uzbek Poetry'³. The variant in Uighur is part of a large manuscript preserved in the British museum under Or. 8193. This collection of works was mentioned by academician V. Bartold in 1924⁴. It contains various religious and poetic works and was compiled in March–April of 1432 by bakshi Bakyr Mansur for Mir Jelaladdin, who was supreme commander under Shahrukh in Herat in 1407–1444. The Uighur variant of the *Mukhabbat-Name* covers pages 158b–177a in this collection. V. Bartold mentions that the *Mukhabbat-Name* is a fairly early poetic piece written in the Golden Horde.

The Uighur variant of this work was studied by A. Scherbak⁵. In 1957 in Naples the first part of the study by T. Gandzheya was published in the university 'Annali'⁶. It includes a transcription of the Uighur variant with a critical apparatus and a facsimile.

The variant in Arabic writing consists of 47 pages, or 948 poetic lines, or 474 beits. One beit (364) is repeated twice.

The piece consists of eleven letters from a man in love to his beloved. <...>

¹ Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the turkish manuscripts in the British Museum*, [London], 1888, p. 290.

² Samoylovich, p. 1–23 (The publisher did not specify the title of the source used by A. Samoylovich.—*Editor's note*).

³ 'Adabiyet hrestomatijasi', Tashkent, 1951, p. 95–98; 'Uzbek poezijasining antologijasi', Tashkent, 1948, p. 97–98.

⁴ [Bartold, 1924, p. 57–58].

⁵ A. Scherbak, *Oguz nāme. Muhabbat-nāme. The records of old Uzbek and Uighur writing systems*. Moscow, 1959.

⁶ Tourkhan Gandjei, *Il «Muhabbat-nāma» di Hōrazmī («Annali»*, Napoli, 1957, vol. VII), pp. 135–106.

With the name of the great God on my lips
 I created *Muhabbat-name*.
 Two bright pearls he gave to the world,
 Provided man with the riches of love.
 As the book of fates [decrees] he coloured the night,
 He made the word the basis of the world.
 Seven spheres of the majestic gold portico
 Created the Almighty in six days.
 He made the swan in the air to be the kite's nourishment.
 He made a drop of water look like a full moon.
 He gifted hair stretching to the ground to the one
 Ruby-coloured cheek, to whom he bestowed a birthmark.
 He created a hyacinth growing in the black earth
 And set a rose among the thorns.
 He turns a hard stone into a precious diamond,
 And a reed into a sugar cane.
 His might created the rivers on the earth,
 And put a sparkling pearl into a shell.
 He created the pure rose for the nourishment of the bee,
 He called the morning Zephyr to be the servant of the lawn.
 The wind and clouds rumble and sweep
 And rain down where he commands.
 He gives the tiny gnat a large knife,
 By which he takes out Nimrod's brain.
 He turned the wind into Solomon's fast horse,
 The wind, the ruler of the world.
 He gave a staff to Moses to tend sheep,
 He appointed Josef sultan in Egypt.
 He made Jacob a friend of suffering
 And saved the son of Aazar in a fire.
 He turned the sun into a crown on the head of Jesus,
 And took to heaven Muhammad Mustafa.
 Muhammad became the shah of prophets,
 His love deserved him the love of Allah.
 Muhammad begot love,
 And this love made me insane.
 Oh, Allah, cast a look at the poet Khwārizmī,
 Do not make the love in his heart smaller!

HE TELLS OF HIS FIRST MEETING

That evening, when the festive moon arose,
 Muhammad-Hoja-bek, the ruler of the state,
 Commanded, and a tent was put up on a hill,

Glasses were brought and the feast began.
 After tuning the saz to the melody of *khusayni*
 The singer started this ghazal.

GHAZAL

How beautiful you are, oh, proud cypress,
 The rose is amazed by (the beauty of) your face.
 Whenever I see a young tree whose head is carried high,
 Thinking of your slender waist, I'm kissing its trunk.
 Your face is like the sun, the pearls in your ears
 are like those of Venus;
 It seems that Venus has become the love of the Sun.
 The tender bloom on your face that a musky curl hides,
 Is like a parrot's nestling held in the falcon's claws.
 Every ruby and sapphire look so much like your lips,
 But not every finger ring has [this] miracle.
 As long as you can, keep flirting with us,
 For it is so nice to see your charming friend coquette.
 A Hindu throwing a lasso is not as black or crafty as your curls,
 Your eye is like a fast Turkish archer.
 You are a sultan on the throne of the kingdom of beauty,
 Sometimes sacrificing your time for us, miserable people.
 When does a flower garden happen to be without a nightingale,
 And the beautiful faces of beauties without curious glances?
 How pleasant [will be] the day when Khwārizmī again
 Makes his eyes dust [under] your feet.

HE SAYS WHAT HAPPENED

He smiled and said:
 'Bring us a gift worthy of us.
 There are many pearls in the sea of your heart,
 There are many of your books in Farsi in the world.
 You surpassed many in the lyrical verse,
 You won the world by your sugar-like tongue.
 I want you to write in our tongue
 A book this winter at my place.
 The short-lived days will sweep by like a wind,
 Let us leave a gift from us in this world'.

I agreed, kissed the ground and said: 'O, shah,
It is happiness for me to be at your door.
I shall labour with all my might,
And glorify your good name the world over.
Drink your wine before dawn today
And listen to this Ghazal that I have just composed'.

GHAZAL

I saw in your face, my dear, a festive moon,
Let me be your victim in reward for this.
Even if the sun does not arise,
Your shining face will light the dwelling of a slave.
If Plato falls in love with you,
He will also forget about all his thoughts and intentions.
How many magical birds of the heart
Your sweet words have caught!
Happiness and prosperity made
Clothes of grace for your figure.
If you permit, I like a dawn [that spreads all over the world]
Shall glorify your beauty the world over.
Khawārizmī came to visit you, so take him under your wing,
Like all the shahs protect all those deprived.

MASNAVI

The shah listened to the Ghazal to the end
And granted me a robe and a pair of horses.
Some time passed, and the feast renewed again,
The cups went round, and the wine went to their heads.
And again I found a convenient time
And read aloud this Ghazal in his presence.

GHAZAL

He who created the soul in a human body,
Made you a queen to rule the beautiful.
He created your face to shine like the sun,
And made me astonished like the sky.
The day the Lord created you,
Your beauty became the Qibla for the people.
Over a cypress he hung the full moon,
And on the moon he created a flower bud that blooms.
He made your beauty shine all over the world,
And made me struck by this image.
Have you ever heard of Josef's beauty?
He made you ten times more beautiful!
The generous Lord, striving for perfection,

Created you, oh Moon, impeccable.
How nice it is that the Almighty made a drop of water
A mine containing pearls of love.
Creating the world, he made Khawārizmī destitute,
And he made a sultan out of those on whom he focused his eyes.

* * *

I began the book and want to finish it,
May *Muhabbat-name* reach Syria and Egypt.
At this table I announce to all,
That I shall create *Muhabbat-name* from of ten letters.
And I shall write two chapters in Farsi.
For an atlas robe is becoming for him who knows much.
First I shall glorify the Bek,
And after that I shall start my writings.

PRAISES OF MUHAMMAD-HOJA-BEK

Be praised, you brave lion from the Qongirat tribe,
The greatest of the great from early childhood!
Muhammad-Hoja-bek, the joy of the world,
A spring of happiness, a treasury of bliss.
Before you came the country was a soulless body,
O, you, who is related to Shahanshah Janibek.
Your armies strengthen the faith,
And give a wretched man the treasure of Fari-dan.
You, Shah, reign like King Solomon,
With the Messiah's [resurrecting] breath and Josef's face.
When your horse trots, it outruns the wind,
Your name embraced the world as if it was the sun.
Should Hatem-i Tay who died a thousand years ago come back to life,
He will kiss the earth when he hears your name.
You are a good omen for the country,
Jupiter is a slave to your beauty.
You govern the world with the force of your mind.
In battle blood streams down you whip
Courage and generosity are always with you,
For you are courageous and generous.
Hatim himself would be ashamed of his banquet,

And Rustem would lose in battle to you.
 When your armies encounter enemies,
 Know that your soldiers fly like arrows.
 Your soldier goes into battle as if it was a feast,
 He flings into battle like a hungry wolf goes
 for a sheep.

You are worthy to be called Rustem,
 For your sword cuts the [enemy] army into two
 halves.

If the writer of the sky [Mercury] starts writing
 praises to you,

He will not finish writing one thousandth of his
 praises in a thousand years' time.

No matter how long Mercury, the Scribe,
 and Venus, the musician, will shine in the sky,

May your power shine like the sun,

May the seven heavens bend down like slaves
 at your threshold.

May your humble servant Khwārizmī pray for
 you,

Reward him with your generosity.

I shall weave a satin of praises—

During winter I shall recite spring poems.

Peace, where you feast, is a paradise,

It is always summer [here] with fragrances of
 paradise!

GHAZAL

The cups went around in the garden,
 Drink and enjoy the fragrant wine in the fra-
 grant garden!

The servant of the lawn, the morning Zephyr,
 Poured out the fragrances of roses in the garden.
 They blossomed, but the summer is over, and
 those who were

Josephs of the flower garden, are now in prison.
 The flower petals lie scattered on the ground,
 Like a carnelian lies in a mine.

O, rose of paradise! Come to the clearing,
 Don't hide in the palace today!

Let us drink to the health of our bey,
 Although we are not held in high esteem.
 Muhammad-Hoja-bek, who is like Ali,
 Distinguished in the battlefield.

If suddenly his
 arrow hits an anvil,

Its tip will disappear in it.

O, victorious, when his sword strikes

It makes the enemies bleed!

May the Creator prolong your life for many
 years, my bek!

May it be prosperous.

There is no one like you either in Iraq, or in
 Rum, or in Canaan!

Khwārizmī lost his head, His body froze, his
 soul stood still.

POET'S ADMONITIONS

O, horseman, drink your wine and eat your
 sweets,

After today, live for another one hundred and
 fifty years!

Sip slowly happiness and pleasure,

May the wine obscure your mind.

For this world is so unstable,

And is not eternal for man.

Please be merciful and take care of the people,

Always be cheerful and happy!

Your good name conquered the whole world,

May the Lord protect you from the evil eye!

Your slave, full of affection, prayed for you,

May his prayers be accepted!

I have ended the praise of Muhammad-Ho-
 ja-bek

And began *Muhabbat-name*.

THE END OF THE BOOK

Here I concluded the words of *Muhabbat-name*,
 I wrote all this on the bank of the Syra River.

Although you are Jamshid and Asaf,

Favour *Muhabbat-name* with a glance.

Read this, for it is fatihah. When he looks at
 you,

Let the slave Khwārizmī Ravani rejoice.

This work which came about as [sweet as]
 Egyptian sugar,

Was completed in the year 754.

By the end, the Lord showed His mercy:

Now listen to another interesting story.

A STORY

The year when I went to Damascus,

I travelled far by foot,

With a staff in my hand and shoes in my pock-
 et. No matter where I

found myself, I felt good everywhere.

Some people gave me bread, others gave me
 water,

Like beauties' curls my canoe drifted [in the
 wind].

Placing my trust in God, I crossed the sea, and
 from end to end, I crossed

The whole Rumian kingdom.
Like a dervish, [taking my time], I visited every cave,

Where, as I heard, there lived someone from the Abdal group.

Then I was shown the way to Damascus,

I headed for Damascus through the Byzantine Empire.

I had a fellow traveler who came from a noble family,

Young and virtuous, he was born a sayyid.

Two braids lying on his shoulders Conquered the heavens.

[Sometimes] he wore the coarse clothes of a Dervish,

A Bay

azid cap on his head.

As a dervish, he suffered much because of his voluntary poverty,

Like the sun hidden behind a cloud.

In his presence, bitter water tasted sweet.

King Solomon became the table companion of an ant,

The Phoenix that flew down from the palace of kings,

Became the friend of a sparrow.

We went among flowers, we went among thorns,

Through the groves, in the mountains.

We kept walking this way

, when someone from the caravan

Insulted him on purpose:

‘God have mercy! You are not a sayyid, you are a beggar,

Who claims that he is a descendant of Muhammad’.

There was with us an old man who was a Christian,

Who was going to Jerusalem and to the monastery in Mina.

He ran up, took

that man by the hand and said:

‘In Tartabidan we have a church,

Where there are now three hundred hoofs which belonged to [Christ’s] donkey,

Decorated with rubies and pearls.

People take this in different ways,

For one donkey [can have] only four hoofs but not three hundred.

But they revere them all for the sake of Christ’s donkey.

They worship every one of the [three hundred] hoofs,

Although only one of them [can be] really [the hoof of Christ’s donkey]’

He said [so] and left.

He brought back the lost sheep to the fold.

When the Christian laughed at the Muslims,

That man came to believe in him at once.

He bowed to him and while we were on the journey,

He did him many favours again and again.

You also light a candle in the dark,

And learn Islam from Christians.

Do not embitter the hearts of the sayyids a bit,

Like Khwārizmī, make friends with noble families.

If in poverty you are pleased with very little,

Then you are your own shah and emir.

It is good that your life is cheerful and carefree

And you enjoy your rightful place.

[But] do not build castles in the air, it is in vain,

A gulp of water and a piece of bread is enough for you.

REQUEST

He who will read

this book with love,

Will be the one to get to know the true world.

I want people to pray for

Him who narrated and wrote this book.

FARD

And I beg you, oh, my idol,

Don’t forget the slave, for God’s sake!

Completed [by copying] *Muhabbat-name* by Khwārizmī in year 914’

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 3

‘Shaybani-name’

The preface and source are quoted from the edition: 'The History of the Mongol-Turks' written in the Chagatai dialect with a translation, annotations and supplements published by I. Berezin, Professor at Kazan University, Master of Oriental Literature, Member of the Russian Geographical Society and the Society of Lovers of the Russian Language and Literature, Member of the Asiatic Societies in Paris and Leipzig, Corresponding Member of the Archaeological and Numismatic Society, et cetera.—Kazan, published in the University print shop, 1849.—P. V–XII, XXXIV–XLVIII.

'Studying the Mongol period in Russian history, which is rather instructive for an observant historian, is of great significance for a Russian researcher, all the more so as recent doubts and new data cast a shadow of another kind on this period of our history. To this day, however, no Russian orientalist has devoted his talent to studying Russian–Mongol relations, and as for foreigners, the work '*Geschichte des Goldenen Horde*', presented by Mr. Hammer, has not been found satisfactory for a variety of reasons. Not wishing to be a person who is absolutely alien to Russian History, but at the same time being aware of my weak potentialities and limited means, I am determined to start collecting and publishing stories by Oriental writers about Mongols in the original and in translation, as well as about Turkic and other tribes which inhabited primitive Russia, enriching this knowledge with extracts belonging to Muslim geographers.

To begin with, I offer a short history of the Mongol–Turks. I've published this work based on the only existing manuscript, which belongs to the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences and is numbered 591.* The manuscript was obtained from Mirza A. Kazembek, an honourable teacher of mine, consists of fifty folios of 8° size, and is written in simple but clear half-Shikasta script, probably, by a literate scribe or rather scribes, because starting from folio XXXIX to folio XLII the hand is a little different, and on folio XXXVIII two handwritings are included. This story is prefaced by a didactic work written by the famous Chagatai writer Mir Ali Shira 'Mahbub ul-Qulub' written in 1253 AH in another hand on another type of paper. This history of Mongol–Turks raises a rather difficult question: by whom and when was it written? The content of this history must somehow determine the time when it was written, so here is its content.

The author divides his book into two parts. The first part deals with the brief history of Mongol and Turkic tribes according to the Muslim tradition from the time of Noah until Chinggis Khan's ascension to the imperial throne. <...>

The second part contains incomplete historical evidence about the Khongirad tribe, which was matrilineally related to many Mongol khans. Paying his attention largely to this kinship, the author speaks rather little about other tribes, Chinggis Khan, or of his sons, but more about the Khongirad Beks, and presents the family tree of Abul Khair Khan and his successors, finishing this part by describing seven pious sultans. This part is described more inconsistently than the previous one, but it makes it possible to supplement and correct the genealogy of the Bukharan Khans set forth by Abul Ghazi and Muhammad Yusuf El-Munshi. The genealogy of Abul Khair Khan's successors is traced by the author to the fifth generation, that is until the middle of the 16th century. While describing the kinship of the Khongirad Beks, the author again followed the description of Rashid al-Din, who, according to Mr. Hammer (Wien. Jahrbücher, 1837, B. LXXVII, 21), gives a detailed account of this tribe.

Actually, it is this part that should complete the account, but the author tells the story again, giving a rather detailed account of the internecine strife after Abul Khair Khan's death and the campaigns conducted by Muhammad Shaybani, Abul Khair Khan's grandson; he concludes the story by describing Shaybani Khan's death during the battle with the Shah of Persia Ismail, which happened in 1510 C.E.

* The Library of the University of Kazan holds the list of the manuscript, numbered 101: it is not credible because the anonymous calligrapher who wrote it used the Tatar spelling for Chagatai words and carelessly shortened and omitted some periods.

Here the author gives the title of his book: 'Shaybani-name', the Shaybaniade, but says nothing about himself or the time when this work was created. After this conclusion, we again find the genealogy of Abdul Khair Khan's successors, which is somewhat different from the former in details, but is just as thorough as before.

Thus, finding no reference to the author of Shaybani-name, we can only infer that he lived not later than the first half of the 16th century, and the genealogies he gives make one think that his work was written not earlier than 1510–1530. The manuscript was copied in 1235 AH as the inappropriate indication of the year at the end of the second part makes one think. One shouldn't be surprised that two manuscripts which belong to different times and were written by different scribes are combined. Besides, it was done in such a way that the later manuscript was inserted before the younger one's time of writing shows. This practice is quite common with Muslim scribes. <...>

I publish the text of the only manuscript that I have without any change, but in the footnotes I correct obvious slips of the pen or gaps made by the copyist, and give the uniform Chagatai spelling to the frequently used words, except for proper names, which I did not consider it appropriate to correct in this edition and left as they were both in the original and the translation. However, I thought it to be my right to make corrections both in Shaybaniade and the works of Mongol-Turkic history. I put the missing places in the text or those which I thought unnecessary in square brackets: it is easy to distinguish one from the other when you compare the translation with the original. I did my best to preserve the spelling of the proper names as they were pronounced by the people the names belonged to. Thus, I coordinated, as far as possible, the spelling of the names of the Mongol people and tribes used in our manuscript with the spelling used by the Mongol historian Sagang Sechen, by the way, without making corrections or impossible changes in the former, and in spelling the Turkic names I followed the Chagatai Turkic pronunciation.

I wanted the translation to be not only literal but as unsophisticated as the Turkic original; those who know the Chagatai dialect will see that often there are words which are not found in any lexicon, and so in spite of the story being simple, the translation presented considerable difficulties.

I did my best, as far as possible, to confine myself in the notes to philological, and very seldom, to historical or geographical remarks. In the volumes of the Oriental Library which are to follow, there will be plenty of cases to explain the gray areas in the history of the Mongol-Turkic tribes.

In the supplements, I give a translated description of Transoxiana taken from the Universal Geography written by Hajji Khalifa and from the memoirs about Mongol History, brought to me by our scholar Banzarov, a Mongol and a Candidate of Science at Kazan University. In the conclusion, there is a list of all the Turkic and Russian names mentioned in this edition. <...>

I. Berezin

<...> AN ACCOUNT OF BARTAN BAGHATUR AND HIS CIRCUMSTANCES AND A STORY OF KUTILA KAAH*

Bartan Baghaturs is Chinggis Khan's grandfather and Kutila Kaan is the younger brother of the second after him. In the Mogul tongue, a grandfather is called Ebuge. He took a wife from the Burkut tribe whose name was Siyungil Ko'agjin; he had four sons from this wife. The eldest son's name is Mongedung Kiyat, the second son's name is Negun Taishi, the third son's name is Yesugei Baghaturs, the fourth son's name is Darinai Utchugen. The Kiyat tribes originated from Mongedung Kiyat's clan, he was a very brave man. He was given this name because in the Mogul tongue it means 'a huge stream flowing from a mountain'. Yesugei Baghaturs is Chinggis Khan's father and they come from the Borjigin Kiyat, the meaning of which is 'brown-eyed and and yellow-faced'. The children born of Yesugei Baghaturs are mainly sheep-eyed and yellow-faced; besides, Alan Gua used to say: 'Be aware that by all indications my children will produce famous sovereigns'.

* Notes are omitted.— *Editor's note*

A STORY OF YESUGEI BAGHATUR AND BARTAN BAGHATUR

Yesugei Baghatur is the father of Chinggis Khan. The Moguls call a father Ichege. On his father's death, his uncles and relatives by blood and marriage made him king and ruler. His boldness became known to the uluses. He took as his wife a girl from the Olkhunut tribe who was called Hoelun Ko'agjin, and is also called Hoelun Idjegez. From this wife he had four sons born to him, the eldest son's name was Temüjin; he was called Chinggis Khan when he became a Sovereign.

The second son was Jo'chi Qasar, or Viltuni in the Mogul tongue, which the Sarts (Persians) call a hyena. He was a very fearful and strong man. The historical books write that his shoulders and chest were so broad and his waist was so thin that when he stretched his body ready to sleep, a dog could go under his side; and he was so strong that when he was angry with a man, he would seize him, raise him to the air and crush him, and, as if breaking a young tree, he would break his back and throw him down. He would always be with his elder brother. The third son's name was Hachiun. The name of the fourth was Temüge Utdjigin.

Temüge is the name, and Utdjigin means 'master of the yurt and food'; he is also called Otchi Noyan, though this name made him famous. He took to wife a relative of Chinggis Khan's mother whose name was Sanduk Jin (Sened Ko'agjin) from the Anghunut tribe; because of this he was highly honoured and respected, and Chinggis Khan loved him more than any relations. He was keen on building: wherever he went, he would build suburban gardens, almshouses and palaces. The fifth is Belgutei Noyan, but he was born from another mother, so he wasn't respected very much.

CHINGGIS KHAN'S NARRATION

In the year 549, Yesugei Baghatur, because of the war with a Tatar tribe, took to the field; his wife Hoelun Ike was pregnant with Chinggis Khan. The name of the Tatar tribe's ruler was Temüjin Uge. Having conquered him, Yesugei Baghatur killed him and seized all his property. After that, in the month of Zulgka'ade in the year of the pig, which corresponds to year 549 AH, Chinggis Khan was born of his mother. In his right fist he grasped a blood clot the size of a cup (scoop): taking this as a good omen, they gave him the name Temüjin. He had hardly turned thirteen in the year of the pig when his father died. The Tayichi'ud tribe, who was related to Chinggis Khan's uncle, abandoned them, which led to misfortune. His younger brothers were still small and Hoelun Ikke, Chinggis Khan's mother, was very sad.

A STORY OF CHINGGIS KHAN

Chinggis Khan was left fatherless at 13. The Tayichi'ud tribe made an enemy of him and strife and trouble began. When he was left fatherless at thirteen, from that time on, he saw different troubles for twenty-eight years. The Almighty saved him from all those troubles and misfortunes and gave him an Empire and a Khanate when he was over fifty, which was in the year of the pig. He reigned for 21 years, conquered a large part of the world and, as it was ordained by the Almighty, passed away at the age of 72.<...>

A STORY

Once, in his early youth, overtaken over by passion, he went to abduct a girl from the Tayichi'ud tribe. While he was walking along the road, a big stone was rolling in front of him in the field. Chinggis Khan was amazed: 'nobody is rolling this stone, the wind isn't moving it, besides, the wind isn't strong enough to roll it and bring it to me.' He said this and was surprised and thought that 'this means: do not go this way, but go back!' But Satan seduced him again and did not let him go back: walking (turning his face forward), Chinggis Khan continued on his way. By chance, Torgutai Qarluq, the ruler of the Tayichi'ud tribe, was hunting. Suddenly, Chinggis Khan met him. Having captured Chinggis Khan, he tied him up, put a cangue on him, and sent him to his horde where he was to be watched. An old woman from the Tayichi'ud tribe by the name of Ichege looked after Chinggis Khan, whose neck was injured by the cangue: she put felt to his neck, combed his plaits and shared his grief. It went on like this for nearly three years. Once the Tayichi'uds went hunting. Chinggis Khan took the opportunity and ran away with a cangue on his neck. In that place there was a large lake: when he entered the lake, he sat down to hide. The Tayichi'uds came back from hunting and, having not found him, began looking

for him. Surgan Shire, who belonged to the Sulduz tribe and whose dwelling was near the Tayichi'uds, happened to see Chinggis Khan's cangue and made him a sign: 'put your head in the water'. Chinggis Khan dived and hid his head in the water. The Sulduz Surgan Shire says to the Tayichi'uds: 'you go another way and start searching, and I will start to search and inquire in these parts and places'. The Tayichi'uds said: 'Inquiring, we shall find Chinggis Khan', and split up, going in opposite directions. As soon as dusk fell, Sulduz took Chinggis Khan from the water and brought him to his home, took the cangue off his neck and hid him among the carts. The Tayichi'uds did not find his traces in the places they went to; they came back and, coming upon his tracks, came to Sulduz's dwelling. They stuck their darts into the felt which covered the carts, looking for him. Being predestined, as he was predestined by the Almighty to have great success for himself, the Almighty saved his life and kept him under His protection. The Tayichi'uds didn't find his tracks and he was saved from this trouble. After this, Surgan Shire gave him a dark bay mare, some raw meat, some arrows and a bow, a lasso instead of a horse bridle, a flint, and a water bag.

After he was captured, Chinggis Khan's mother Hoelun Ikke and his wives were in despair and thought that he had been slaughtered. But his fourth son Tului Khan, a four or five year-old boy, playing and jumping said: 'My father is riding a dark bay mare and there is some meat for me tied to the horse's side'. His mother Börte Üjin pulled his ears and beat him with a stick saying: 'Why are you talking nonsense which grieves us? Why are you telling us about your father, which makes us sad? Your father was slaughtered'. But he wouldn't stop speaking and always said the same thing, that Chinggis Khan would come the next day riding a dark bay mare. Chinggis Khan's mother Hoelun Ichige and his wife Börte Üjin, daughter of Dei Noyan of the Khongirad tribe, amazed at the words of so small boy, wondered and took these words as a (good) omen. 'Our omen is good!' Saying so, they did favours and made feasts. God knows the truth!

PART 2

ON THE HIGH BLOOD OF THE KHONGIRAD TRIBE, ON THEIR GIVING STRENGTH TO CHINGGIS KHAN, AND ON THEIR BEING RELATED TO EMPERORS BY MARRIAGE

The Khongirad tribe is descended from the roots of those two men who entered Urgene Oun mountain and had been mentioned before. The chronicles say that the clan of Kiyat and Nokhus multiplied very much and tribes appeared out of the clan. And when the sub-tribes multiplied very much, they decided to leave Urgene Oun mountain as they didn't have enough place to live in. The Khongirad tribe, without calling for a popular counsel, left it quickly before the others, so much that the fire hearths of the other uluses were crushed under their feet; the Moguls believe that because of this the Khongirads often suffer from foot diseases which are called *Nafridz*. Many more tribes branched from the Khongirad tribes, all of them having their own name and nickname. God willing, we shall describe all of them in this treatise. –The 'Historical Accounts' writes that Khongirad is a man who was born on a bed of gold. The Uyghurian lamas wrote a lot and described the greatness and nobility of this Khongirad tribe in the Khatai history, and when they said and wrote 'born on the bed of gold' they expressed everything that is necessary to say about their (the Khongirads') greatness and nobility. Khongirad had these sons: the eldest son's name is Jurluq Mergen, whose tribe is now known under the name of Khongirad. The second son is Quba Shira, who had sons called Ikeres and Olkhunut. The third son is Tusbu Da'u, who also had two sons, Karanut and Tungliyut. From the Yurluk branch, they opposed him, but Chinggis Khan did not seize their appanages and did not enslave them, but made them members of the council and gave them a free hand. They were related to Chinggis Khan.

A STORY OF THE TUSBU DA'U TRIBE

Tusbu Da'u had two sons: one son's name is Qunut and the others is Qongliyut. Qongliyut took his father's wife and had a son from her who was given the name of Meiser Ulyuk. This man also took his father's wife and had a son from her, who was given the name of Gorlos, and the Gorlos tribe is descended from his clan. He took a woman from the Khatai tribe to be his wife, who gave birth to a son who was called Eloign; the Eljigin tribe is descended from his clan.

A STORY OF THE KARANUT TRIBE

The Karanut tribe is descended from Tusbu Da'u's eldest son and this tribe is called by his name.

A STORY OF THE QONGLIYUT TRIBE

Qongliyut had a son whose name was Meiser Ulyuk; in the Mogul tongue they use this word to call a man who is afraid of nothing, though now it is used to call a dead thing in general—'ulyuk'. This Meiser Ulyuk had a habit of being asleep for three days and three nights without waking when he was sleeping. It is said that he was so strong that a tent supporting pole could become a lash in his hand. It is also said that he went to the sea shore to catch seashells, boil them on the fire and eat them. Having caught a lot of seashells, he put them into a sack and went carrying them. On his way, he was overcome by sleep and fell asleep putting the sack under his head as a pillow, and he slept three days and three nights without waking. A bird called Abru laid eggs on his back building herself a nest there. Meiser Ulyuk also took his father's wife and had a son from her who was given the name of Qurlas. All Khongirads and the Ikeres branched from one family line. Ikeres and Qurlas, being related, always fought each other and there was feud and discord between them. Chinggis Khan put Budukh Khan from the Ikeras tribe to flight, and when Chinggis Khan was going to Balja, 3,000 Khongirads and the Qurlas, who were related, went and joined him in Bal Ji-Yun; after that Chinggis Khan went to Bal Ji-Yun and won victories. Otchi Noyan and Dar Kurkan were from this tribe.

A NARRATIVE WITH A STORY AND AN ACCOUNT OF CHINGGIS KHAN'S WIVES,
SONS AND DAUGHTERS

Chinggis Khan had 500 wives and a legion of concubines, of which five wives were taken by Mogul marriage and law. The main one was Dai Noyan's daughter from the Khongirad tribe called Börte Üjin. This Dai Noyan was the elder and Sovereign of the Khongirad tribe. Chinggis Khan had four sons and five daughters from Börte Üjin. The eldest son was Jochi Khan; the Sovereigns and Khans who were in Desht-i Kipchak, Kashgar, Urush, Chaqmaq and on the limits of the Khatai country were descended from his clan. The chronicles mention this and develop that while Chinggis Khan was fighting the Merkit ulus, he was defeated; Börte Üjin got into their hands pregnant with Jochi Khan. The Merkit ulus was ruled by Ong Khan. Börte Üjin was sent to Ong Khan. Ong Khan met her with respect and esteem, doing honours to her, because he used to be friends with Chinggis Khan's father and he called Chinggis Khan his son. Ong Khan's Beki asked him: why don't you take her? His answer was: 'she is my daughter-in-law, and I can't look at her with a treacherous eye and (it is) far from being humane'. After these words, Chinggis Khan found (her); he sent Sartaq Noyan's father who was a Saba from the Jalair tribe to Ong Khan and asked for Börte Üjin. Ong Khan gave him a meal and gave Börte Üjin to him and let them go. On their way, Jochi Khan was born. It was snowing and the road was full of fear, so there was no chance of making a cradle. From flour they made soft dough and kept him (Jochi) in the dough and wrapping him in the edge of a skirt went to Chinggis Khan. As his birth was sudden, he was named Jochi Khan. The second son was Chagatai Khan, who was given an appanage stretching from Kashgar to Turkestan and from Turkestan to the Amu River. The third son is Ögedei Khan, who became Great Khan after his father's death, and all the relatives, great and small, according to Chinggis Khan's will, proclaimed him Sovereign and began to obey him and submit to him. The fourth son was Tolui Khan, whose other names are Ikke (Ege) Noyan and Ulugh Noyan, and Chinggis Khan called him Nuker; he spent most of his time together with his father and in the battlefields he was near his father. In the Mogul tongue Tolui means 'mirror'. Möngke Khan, Kublai Khan, Hulagu Khan and Ariq Böke were his children, and his children were also Temür Khan, Ghazan Khan and Sultan Abu Said Khan, and there were many more Sovereigns from his line and clan. For their courage, perfection and excellence, these four sons of Chinggis Khan were called the four Kolukhs.

A STORY OF TO WHOM CHINGGIS KHAN'S FIVE DAUGHTERS WERE MARRIED

And of the five daughters who were born of this Börte Üjin of the Khongirads and to whom Chinggis Khan married each of them, these are the details. The eldest daughter's name was Üjin Bikke. At first, they thought to marry this daughter to Sengun's son, grandson of Ong Khan, but as it never happened,

she was then married to Begun Butu Qurqan who was from the Ikras tribe. The second daughter was Chichkhan, and she was married to Turalji Qurqan, who was the son of Qutugh Bikke, and Qutugh Bikke was Sovereign of the Oirat tribe. The third daughter, whose name was Tumalun, was married to the son of the Khongirad's Sovereign, Qurqan by name. The name of the fifth daughter was Altalun, who was also called Altalun Khan. She was married to the son of Taiju Qurqan from the Olkhunut tribe, Chadyr Sachan by name. Taiju Qurqan was the youngest brother of Chinggis Khan's mother. Much is said and written about these sons-in-law. In this (short) treatise one can't tell about them, because you can go too far, that is why it is not written.

A STORY OF CHINGGIS KHAN'S SON CALLED HULAGU KHAN

Tavahaz, the chief of the Merkit tribe, had a daughter called Qulan Khanum; this woman gave a birth to a son who was called Hulagu. This Hulagu had four sons: the eldest son's name was Khoja. Hulagu died a young man; on his death he (Chinggis Khan?) gave to his son Khoja 6000 men and his father's position. Khoja had a son called Ordui who also took his father's position and was attached to Kublai Khan. He had a son, Ebugan by name. He united with Qaidu Khan and many royal princes and banded together with the Tagajar Noyan tribe. They wanted to fall away from Kublai Khan, but Kublai Khan learned about this, seized them all and executed them.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE STORY OF HOW A GIRL FROM THE KHONGIRAD TRIBE CALLED SARTAQE ÜJIN, WHO WAS TAKEN BY JOCHI KHAN, GAVE BIRTH TO A SON

Jochi Khan had four main wives and several concubines. His senior wife was a Khongirad girl, Sartaq by name. A son was born by her called Orda. This wife was taken during the reign of Chinggis Khan. This Orda had seven sons: the eldest son was Konchi Bayan. He also took a daughter of Moga Noyan from the Khongirad tribe called Ilgan. Orda also had a wife from the Khongirad tribe called Tobakhana Khanum. Batu was Jochi Khan's second son and he was also called Sain Khan; his mother was from the Khongirad tribe. Batu was Jochi Khan's second son and was known under the name of Sain Khan. His mother Oki Üjin was Alchi Noyan's daughter from the Khongirad tribe. Batu lived a long life after Jochi Khan's death, he was over a hundred years old. He was still alive when Jagatai Khan, Ugedei Khan, and Tului Khan died. All the khan's children and grandchildren gathered at his place and convened a Kurultai, and on his orders began to conquer countries. He had four sons: Sartaq, Toqan, Abugan, and Olaqchi. The second son Toqan took Oljai from the Khongirad tribe to be his wife, and Tudu Mengu Khan's senior wife Arigkaj also came from the Khongirad tribe.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF JOCHI KHAN'S DEMISE

Jochi Khan had died before his father Chinggis Khan's death, which happened like this: when Chinggis Khan went to the Sart areas and reached the Atrar area, he left him (Jochi) to seize them and the Atrar area and ordered: 'we are going to Bukhara, and you come to us and conquer all the cities and fortresses on your way after us'. Jochi, following the order, conquered the cities and fortresses, and joined Chinggis Khan in Samarkand. From Samarkand, Chinggis Khan sent him, giving him his two youngest brothers, with a strong army to conquer the Khwarezmian lands. On their getting to the place, the conquest failed due to his discord with Chagatai Khan: Chinggis Khan ordered that 'he should be the head in this matter and that his brothers shouldn't get out of their elder brother's hand'. When the order was followed, the Khwarezmian country was conquered before ten days were over. After that, Chagatai Khan with Ögedei Khan followed Chinggis Khan and joined him near Termez. Jochi Khan came to the Northern countries and went to Bashggir, to Urush, Cherkes and Desht-i-Qipchaq land. Because he went without the Khan's permission, the Khan was rather upset and said: 'I will have him executed'. Jochi Khan became ill. Chinggis Khan, coming back from the Sart country, went to his own country; Jochi Khan sent birds that had been caught on several camels, saying: 'I am ill, so pardon me that I am not going'. A man from the Manghit tribe walked near Jochi Khan's yurt and, going from one yurt to another, he came to a hill where his (Jochi Khan's) hunting place was. As he (Jochi) was ill, he said to his beks: 'you hunt on this hill'. On seeing this gathering, the Manghit thought that Jochi Khan was hunting himself. When he came to Chinggis Khan, the latter asked him: 'what news of Jochi and his

illness have you got?' (The Manghit) answered: 'I myself know not of his illness, but he was hunting on so-and-so hill'. As soon as Chinggis Khan heard these words, he got angry with him (Jochi), flew into a rage and decided that 'Jochi Khan had revolted and wouldn't obey me, or he has gone mad if he does such things'. (Chinggis Khan) gave an order that first Ögedei Khan and Chagatai Khan go against him: 'I myself will take the field after them'. The army was ready to set out when suddenly there came the news of Jochi Khan's death. The Khan grew rather sad and upset. They were looking for the Manghit who had brought the false news to execute him, but he had escaped and was never found. Some chronicles say that Jochi Khan lived until he was 20 years old and died, but some say that he found death when he was 30–40 years old. God knows!

A story. On his demise, when he had made his will to his children, Chinggis Khan said to his beks: 'he who wants to know the law, the code and science, let him go to Chagatai; he who wants property, war booty and bravery, let him go to Ögedei; he who needs good conduct, prudence, firmness and peace, let him join Tolui'. He didn't say any other words except these and divided his beks among his sons. <...>.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 4

'Codex Cumanicus'

The manuscript of 'Codex Cumanicus' was found in the library of St. Mark in Venice, in the section of rare books. Poet and bibliophile F. Petrarch received it once from a certain Antonius Finale and together with his other books gave it to the Republic of Venice as a gift in 1362.

'Codex Cumanicus' consists of two notebooks numbering 168 pages, which differ very much. The first part, which writing (or copying) dates back to 13 July 1303, is a trilingual Latin-Cumano-Persian dictionary consisting of two parts. The first part contains approximately 1,600 words. They are verbs, nouns, adjectives, pronouns and examples of their conjugation and declension, as well as adverbs. The second part has over 1,100 words which are grouped thematically. The second notebook consists of a Kipchak-German dictionary, which besides separate words, contains separate sentences and reference material in Kipchak grammar. The dictionary is followed by separate texts, which mainly consist of Christian prayers in Latin and their translations into Kipchak. Besides, there are 46 riddles of Kipchak folklore which are listed on both sides of a page. Such renowned scholars, specialists in Turkic philology, as G. Kuun, V. Bang, V. Radlov, Yu. Nemet, S. Malov, A. Chechenob, and Kh. Makhmutov have greatly contributed to the study of these texts. It was due to their work that the texts and riddles were integrated into scientific research.

As for the place, time and purpose of creating this work, and its author, there is a difference of opinion. It is believed to have been created between 1303 (the date is written on the manuscript itself) and 1362 (the period during which F. Petrarch gave it to the library of the Republic of Venice) [Kuryshzhinov, Repin, 1966, pp. 38–39; Chechenov, 1978]. By the hypothesis put forward by the German scholar V. Bang, this dictionary was compiled in the 14th century by the priests of the Franciscan Monastery of St. John in the city of Sarai [Bang, 1913, pp. 244–245]. According to D. Rasovsky, [Rasovsky, 1929, p. 211], it was created in the city of Solhat in the Crimea, where there was an Italian colony.

At that time, the city of Solhat (Eski Qirim) was one of the flourishing cities of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea area, and during the Golden Horde period, it was also the residence of the Golden Horde khan's vicegerent.

M. Safargaliev [Safargaliev, 1960, p. 36] thinks that 'Codex Cumanicus' was compiled in Italy with a strictly practical aim as a manual for Venetian merchants who traded in the Golden Horde and therefore needed knowledge of the languages spoken in that locality.

'Codex' was first published in Paris in 1828 as an incomplete version. Its complete variant was published in 1880 in Budapest by Géza Kuun [Kuun, 1880].

In 1887 V. Radlov published the 'Codex' in German under the title 'The Turkic linguistic materials of the Cuman Codex', in which the materials were transcribed into Cyrillic [Radloff, 1887].

Having carefully studied the specific phonetic features of the Cuman (Cuman, Kipchak) language, V. Radlov conclusively demonstrated its affiliation with western Turkic dialects and connected it with the Mishar dialect of the Tatar language [Radlov, 1884, pp. 52–53].

Many works by turkologists from various countries have been devoted to the comprehensive study of this written source. It is often cited in research written on the history of the Tatar language and literature. The content of the 'Codex Cumanicus' is worthy of special attention from the perspective of the Old Tatar language features it contains. The language of the 'Codex' is described as Tatar in the book itself. For instance, in the part of the written source that sets out the basics of Catholicism, the language of the written source is named as Tatar: 'tatar telgä köneldi' translated into Tatar, 'bitik tilinçä-tatarça' in the literary language—in Tatar [Radloff, 1887, pp. 48, 83].

V. Radlov's point of view is supported by renowned turkologists A. Samoylovich and S. Malov, while Tatar philologists have reinforced this idea, their work providing convincing arguments in favour of this view.

According to H. Muhammetov, an expert on ancient Tatar literature, 'The language of the written source is very close to present-day Tatar. 70% of the 'Cumanicus' consists of words used in ancient Tatar literature. The majority are present in the Tatar language or its dialects today. The same can also be said of the grammatical forms' [Möxämmätov, 1963, 182 b.]. In a comparative study of the vocabulary of the 'Codex Cumanicus' and that of present-day Tatar linguist L. Makhmutova proved, providing specific examples, that 80% of the vocabulary of the 'Codex' has been preserved in present-day Tatar. Not only were there close or full matches regarding individual words, but the similarities of grammatical forms, word order, and sentence construction between this written source and modern Tatar are quite obvious [Makhmutova, 1982, pp. 68–153].

As long ago as 1919, Professor N. Nikolsky proposed a theory regarding the proximity of the Cuman (Cuman, Kipchak) and Kazan-Tatar languages [Nikolsky, 1919].

As is clear from translations, Christian beliefs, and also rhymed psalm verses, the authors of the 'Codex Cumanicus' had a strong command of the Tatar (Kipchak) language¹.

Different graphemes were used to express one and the same sound: [y]—y, ŷ, y, v; [r]—к, г; [ə]—e, i, ä, äi; [x]—к, h, x, [ч]—č, ц, etc. The different ways of writing clearly indicate that at the time a special graphical system for expressing Turkic sounds had not yet been developed. Transcribing the text on the basis of the Cyrillic script, V. Radlov incorrectly transcribed the Latin grapheme ч, č as [ц], not [ч].

Texts²

Einzelnb Satz (79p.).

- 1) Kym maga bersa mendagar beraym, kym maga bermassa mendagar berman, pag. 23.
 - 2) Men saha assow etizerim, pag. 132.
 - 3) It uradir, it ugraiadir, coy mangreydir, syr mungreydir, yilki kyzineydir, taoh çacharadir, böri uluydir, kysi inçkaydir, pag. 134.
 - 4) Emganip, terlep, kinalip andan tamagin beslagil kazan bogday, sazarsen aar kovra biter alabota tigenek dage rata, kukel biter, pag. 134.
 - 5) Sening iazucning allenda men turrumen, p. 139.
 - 6) Bilga cetik kyziler benim sösım esittingler eki iolne ayingler iarle miskin kysiler iacsi bitik bilmesler talaschman sösın esittingler ianirler örtik tamucka tuscherler, iecning tusacne cilnirler anda ylap a'Lssow ioch, neçe çagırsa esitmach ioch, ioch hergis dage kuttilmak ioch, pag. 141.
- 1) Кім мага бәрсә, мән дә агар бәрәім, кім мага бәрмәсә, мин дә агар бәрмән.
 - 2) Ман сага асау әтишәрім.
 - 3) Ит урадір, ит уҗраҗадыр, коі маңраідыр, сір муңраідыр, җылкы кішнәідір, таук цакарадыр, бөрү улуідыр, кіші ынцкаідыр.
 - 4) әмгәніп, тәрләп, кыналып андан тамағыңны бәкләгил! кацан буғдаі цацарсын, ар каура бітәр, алабута тігәнәк бітәр, дағы күкәі бітәр.
 - 5) Сәнің җазык(ың)ның алында мән турумән.

¹The study is conducted on the basis of the text by Radloff W. Das türkische Sprachmaterial des Codex Cumanicus, StP, 1887, Wörterverzeichnis, p. 1-132, Einzelne Sätze, p. 1-79, Vorwort, p. 80-111.

² The order of the presentation of texts is: Latin text, transcription of V. Radlov, translation into Tatar and Russian languages.

6) Bilrä kätik kişilär mänim sözüm äşiniñläp! äki jolny aıryñlar! jarly mişkin kişilär jakшы bitik bilmäslär, talashman sözüm äşitiñiär! janyrlar, örtlü tamukka tüşärlär, jäkniñ tuzakı kılñyrlar, anda asaу jок, näcä cағыrsa äşitmäk jок, jок härgis daғы kutulmak jок.

1) Кем миңа бирсә, мин дә аңа бирим, кем миңа бирмәсә, мин дә аңа бирмәм.

2) Мин сиңа ашау (ризык) бирермен.

3) Эт өрәдер, сыер мөгридер, ат кешнидер, тавык кытаклышдыр, бүре улыйдыр, кеше борчыладыр.

4) Имгәнәп, тирләп, кыйналып, шулай тамагыңны туйдыр. Кайчан бодай чәчәрсен, чүп үләннәре бетәр, алабута, тигәнәк бетәр, тагы күкәл (тигәнәк) бетәр.

5) Синең языгың алдында мин торырман.

6) Белеме китек кешеләр, минем сүземне ишетегез. Ике юлны аерыгыз. Ярлы, мескен кешеләр яхшы (дини) белем белмәсләр, әйткән сүземне ишетегез, янарлар, кисәүле тәмугка төшәrlәр. Анда ашау юк, ничә (күпме) чакырса(ң) ишетмәк юк, ничкайчан тагын котылу юк.

Translation

1. I will recompense anyone who recompenses me but will not recompense someone who does not recompense me.

2. I will give you food.

3. A dog barks, a cow lows, a horse neighs, a chicken clucks, a wolf howls, a person grieves.

4. By working hard, exhausting yourself, you can obtain food. When you sow your field with wheat, then weeds, saltbush, burdock, and thorns will disappear.

5. I am standing over your sin.

6. Hear me, the uninitiated. Learn to distinguish the true way from the false. Hear me, the poor, the unhappy, strangers to the truth, you will burn in hell. There is no food there. No matter how hard you call, nobody will hear you, and there is no way to escape.

De Sto Stephano (83p.)

Bis ockurbis are Steffandan kim cömtösdi tengri uçun dage čöp taglar etti tengrinig buluschmachibile. kaçan cöptan tostdi. sungirassinda tazbile tazlap öldurdiler. kaçan ani tazbile tazlaridi ol aytiridi iochari bachip körugis me korarme kim kök barče açeluptur dage xpc turur ata sening sakolinda kaçan anaytti andan katli ura bazladidar tizin čöcwip iwgunidi. Dagen ayti beym tengeri sen bozatchil alarga bilmesler ne dirler dage ayti beym tengeri benim tini algil. Ol sözne aya da ganin tengeri eline berdi.

Bu kun sekizinçi. ku agirlalik. nečik beymis tengeri are kyz mariandan tochdi. bu gu aytilde aning algisie ate barčidan wstwn. barčidan kwčlu, barčidan tatle, ihc xpc bitik tilinče tararce kutkardači ol kertirir barče elm kutkardači.

De Sancto Stephano.

Біз окурбыз ары Стефан[тогрусын]дан, кім көп төзді тәңрі үңүн, дағы көп таңлар әтті тәңрінің болушмакы билә. Каңан көптән төзді соңрасында таш билән ташлап өрдүрлүләр. Каңан аны таш билән ташлар әди, ол айтыр әди: жокары бакып көрүнүз! мән көрәрмән, кім көк барца ацылыптыр. Дағы Christos туруп, ата, сенің сак колыңда! Каңан аны айтты, анда катты ура башладылар. Тизін цөкүп жүгүндү. Дағын айтты: Бим тәңрим бошаткіл (каңүргии) аларға, билмәсләр нә діләр, дағы айтты: бим тәңрі мәним тынымны алғыл! Ол сөзүнү айтты да, цанын әліна бәрді.

Бу күн сәкізинчи күн, ағырлалык! нәчик бијиміз тәңрі ары кыз Мариамдан тоқты, бүгүн айтылды. Аның алғышлы аты барцадан үстүн[дә], барцадан күңлү, барцадан татлы. Jesus Christos битик тилиңә, татарца куткардачы.

Изге Стефан

Без укырбыз изге Стефан хақында, кем күп түзде тәңре өчен, тагы күп могжизалар эшләде тәңренәң булышыгы белән. Бик озак түзде, ахырда таш белән бәрәп үтерделәр. Кайчан аңа таш белән ташлар иделәр, ул әйтер иде: югары карап күрегез, мин күрәмен, күк йөзе барча ачылган. Тагы Христос торыр, ата, синен сагында. Кайчан аны әйтте, катырак ора башдылар. Тезен чүгеп тезләнде. Тагы әйтте: Биём Тәңре, бушат, кичер аларны, ни дигәннәрен белмәсләр, тагы әйтте: Биём Тәңре, минем тынымны (жанымны) ал! Ул сүзен әйтте дә жанын тәңре кулына бирде.

Бу көн сизгенче көн, олылык. Ничек биебез тәңре изге кыз Мәрәмнән туды, бүген әйтелде. Аның мактаулы исеме барцадан өстен, барцадан көчле, барцадан татлы. Иисус Христос битик теленчә, татарча куткаручы, ул барча галәмне куткаручы.

St Stephen

We read about Saint Stephen, who long suffered for God and also performed many miracles thanks to God. He suffered for a very long time; eventually he was stoned to death. When he was being stoned, he said: 'Look up, I see the sky is open. There is our father, Christ, protecting you.' After he said these words, they began to beat him even harder. He got down on his knees. Again, he said: 'My Lord, forgive them for they do not know what they are saying.' And he added: 'My Lord, take my soul.' As soon as he said these words, he relinquished his spirit to God.

It is the eighth day, we bless you. It was said today how our Saviour was born from Saint Mary of the Immaculate Conception. His blessed name is superior to all; it is the most powerful, the most sweet. In Tartar literary language Jesus Christ is called the Saviour, Saviour of the universe.

91 p.

Atamis kim köctä sen. Algiszle bulsun senig hanlechin. bulsu senig tilemegin nezikkim kocka alley ierda. kundegi ötmackimisni bisga bugun bergil. dage iazuclarmisme bisgä bozzatkil. necik bis bozzatirbis bisgä iaman etchenlergä. dage iecnik sinamakina bisni kuurmagil. bassa barçe iamandan bisni kuthargil Ame.

Sounçlu bolgil maria söwrgamachbile tolu sen. bey tengri senigbile. barçe katunlar arassinda algizlä sen. dage algizle iemiz senig köcsugde ihc ch c Amen.

[Pag. 137] 1 Ave uçmakning kabagi
tirilikning agaçi
jemissing bisgä teyirding
ihne kaçan tuurdug
2 Ave Maria ki bisgä
tuurdug bu gehanda

Атамыз, кім көктә сән, алғышлы болсун сәнің[атың]! қанлықың[kälciñ]! болсун сәнің тіләмің нәңік кім көктә алаі жәрді! күндәгі өтмәкімізні! бізгә, бүгүн бәргі! дағы жазықларымызны бізгә бошаткыл, нәңік біз бошатырбыс бізгә жаман әткәнләргә! дағы жәкнің сынамақына бізні курмағыл! база барца жамандан куткаргыл! Amen.

Сәўнцлү болғыл Maria сәўргәмәк билә толусән, бі тәңрі сәнің билә, барца катынлар арасында алғышлы сән, дағы алғышлы жәміш (sic!) сәнің (урукуһ сәнің) көксүндә[kī] Jesus Christus. Amen.

1 Ave уңмакның қабағы!
тірілікнің ағацы!
жәмішін бізгә тірдің,
Jesus-ны қақан турдун.
2 Ave Maria, кім бізгә
турдун бу цыһанда

Атабыз, күктә син! Мактаулы булсын синең исемен ханлығың. Синең теләгәнең ничек күктә булса, шулай ук жирдә булсын. Көндәге икмәгебезне безгә бүген бир, тағы гөнаһларыбызны бездән бушат (гөнаһларыбызны ал), ничек без бушатырбыз (кичерербез) безгә яман әйткәннәрне. Тағы безне начарлық сынавына калдырма, тағы барча яманлықлардан коткар. Амин!

Сөек, Мария, шатлык белән тулы син. Бөек алла синең белән. Барча хатыннар арасында хәерфатихалы (сайланган) син. Тағы хәер-фатихалы жимешен, синең уругың, корсагыңдагы Иисус Христос. Амин.

Яшәсен, ождахның ишеге,
Тереклекнең агачы.
Жимешенне безгә үстердең
Ииусны кайчан тудырдың
Ave Мария, кем безгә
Тудырдың бу жиһанны.

Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come, your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen!

Ave Maria, the Lord is with you, blessed be. Of all the women on earth, you are the most blessed. Blessed be your clan and the baby that you carry, Jesus Christ. Amen.

Ave, the gates of Paradise,
the Tree of life.
She raised her baby for us
She gave birth to Jesus
Ave, Maria, who gave birth to our Saviour.

103 p.

66. Ave ki tatli ovlinga
özözing köruptrgada
ötli sirkä içirdil
hačka kerip toltrdil
67. Ave jarli johsil bolga
soyurgamnak bizgä tapga
tengri saa boldi bolus
anda bizga bar kutulis

66. Ave, kim tatly oğlyña,
öz öžün köžün turğanda,
ötli sirkä içirdilär,
kačka kärip öldürdüläp.
67. Ave jarly joksyl bolğan,
sojurgamakny bizgä tapkan,
täñri sa boldy boluş,
anda bizgä bar kutuluş.

66. Ave кем ташлы углыңа
Үз-үзең күреп торганда
Утлы серкә ичерделәр
Хажга (крестка) кертеп үтерделәр
67. Ave, ярлы, йуксыл (хәерче) булган
Бәхет юлын безгә тапкан
Тәңре булды сиңа булымчы
Анда безгә бар котылу

66. Glory to Thee, who saw with her own eyes
how Her lovely son,
Was made to drink vinegar
and then crucified.
67. Glory to those who were deprived.
He showed us the way to happiness.
The Most High was always his aid.
In him is all our salvation.

4 p.

[23] jazda javli tokmak jatir.
Ol kirpi dir.
[24] jazda javli liays jatir.
Ol ylan dir.
[25] içer jer jnina kirer.
Ol biçak dir
[23] Жазыда жаулы токмак жатыр.
Ол кірпі дір.
[24] Жазыда жаулы кайш жатыр.
Ол жылан дыр.
[25] Ичәр, жәр, инінә кірәр.
Ол быцак тыр.

[23] Далада майлы тукмак ятыр.
Керпе.
[24] Далада майлы каеш ятыр.
Ул елан.
[25] Эчәр, ашар өненә керер.
Пычак.
[24] There is a bright belt on the steppe.
It is a snake.
[23] On the steppe there is a bright stick
A hedgehog.
[25] It drinks, eats, then hides in its burrow.
Knife.

Material prepared by Fanuza Nuriyeva

No.5

Mahmud al-Bulgari. 'Nahj al-Faradis.'

The introduction and the source are cited from the following publication: F. Nuriyeva 'Nahj al-Faradis' by Mahmud al-Bulgari, Kazan, 1999, 208 p.

'Nahj al-Faradis' ('The Open Way To Paradise') by Mahmud bin al-Ghali al-Bulgari al-Sarai is an epic 444-page work that is theological and didactic in nature. 11 copies of this valuable 650-year-old written source have been preserved. The original is missing. The Istanbul copy has been chosen as the basis of the study. The language of the copy under consideration is valuable because it was made in the 14th century. The copy is one of the complete ones (containing 4 chapters and 40 sections). It is well known and widely used in Turkology research. There is a postscript at the end of the manuscript: *'This book was completed in the year seven hundred and sixty-one, on the sixth day, in the God-blessed month of Jumada al-Awwal. It was finished in the early morning. What is more, the compiler of the book passed from the earthly world into the world of eternity on the said Sunday'* (pp. 443–444). This postscript contains the date when Muhammad ibn Khosrow al-Khwarizmi completed the copy. This postscript is particularly valuable because it records the exact date when the author of the work died.

It is indisputable that the author was born in Bulgar and lived and worked in Sarai. The third takhallus—'Kerder'—is controversial. Ya. Kemal admits that Kerder was one of the famous cities in Khwarezm [Kemal, 1930, p. 11]. E. Nadzhip links the author's origins with a Kazakh Kurder dynasty [Nadzhip, 1971, p. 63]. B. Yafarov suggests that it could be a suburb of Bulgar—Kardar, based on the fact that the word 'Kard' is used in many texts alongside the word Bulgar [Yafarov, 1949, 70 b.]. The phrase 'Kard Bulgar' is used in Sh. Marjani's book 'Mustafad al-Akhbar.' The Saint Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences holds a poem (call mark 344), which praises Kard Bulgar in Persian.

The problem concerning the language of the written source has attracted the attention of turkologists domestically and abroad—Sh. Märçani [Märçani, 1885], A. Samoylovich [1927], S. Vahidi [Archive 53-1, 26-43], Ya. Kemal [1930], B. Yafarov [1949], Ya. Ekman, [Ekman, 1956], Kivametdin [Kivametdin, 1934], E. Nadzhip [1971; 1989] Sh. Abilov [1977], E. Fazylov, [1966; 1971], F. Nuriyeva [1998; 1999; 2002], and others. The first information about the language of 'Nahj al-Faradis' was provided by historian Shigabutdin Marjani, who included 'Nahj al-Faradis' in a list of ancient Tatar literary written sources.

Thanks to a tireless search by talented scholar and historian S. Vahidi, three copies of the manuscript 'Nahj al-Faradis' have been found. Valuable thoughts on the significance of the written source and its language have been preserved in unpublished notes [Archive 53-1, 28]. Through his study of copies of the work S. Vahidi came to the following conclusion: in the 14th century there was a language in the Volga Region that differed from Uighur and Chagatai, which was spoken by the Tatars of the Urals and Volga Region up until the 1905 revolution [Archive 53-1, 27]. The same view has been expressed by literary scholars such as G. Răxim and G. Gaziz [Răxim, Gaziz, 1924, 5 b.].

In Turkology the dedicated study of the written source's language started with the well-known work by A. Samoylovich. He made a direct link between the language of the written source and the history of Kazan Tatar literary language in the Golden Horde, where Kipchak language elements dominated [Samoylovich, 1927, p. 20], thus supporting Sh. Märçani's theory that the language of 'Nahj al-Faradis' is closer to Tatar than other Turkic languages.

A Crimean Tatar scholar Yakub Kemal made a great contribution to the study of this written source. He studied the language in a copy of 'Nahj al-Faradis' that is not known to academia. This scholar's legacy is even more valuable taking into account that this copy was later lost.

E. Nadzhip, a well-known researcher and scholar of the Turkic language traditions of in the Middle Ages, believes that many literary works of varied content and written in mixed Turkic languages were created over a vast territory of the Turkic world from the lower reaches of the Syr Darya River and the Northern Khwarezm to Azerbaijan, Crimea, and Mamluk Egypt... 'Alongside the Kipchak-Oghuz language, another literary language took shape in the same territories. It can be traced back to the

Karluk-Uighur literary language of the Kara-Khanid period... This language, known provisionally as Oghuz-Kipchak, belongs to d-δ-j—that is, a group of Turkic languages. This literary language was used to write 'Khosrow and Shirin' by Qutb, the Central Asian 'Tafsir,' 'Kysas Rabguzi' and 'Nahj al-Faradis' [Nadzhip, 1971, p. 56].

These statements regarding the attribution of the written source's language are supported by more modern studies in Turkology. In his articles on the history of Tatar literary language, E. Tenishev [1987, pp. 133–137] links, for example, the emergence of written sources such as 'Kisekbash Kitaby,' 'Bedavam,' and 'Nahj al-Faradis,' directly with the Volga Region. The work of Uzbek scholars devotes much attention to the study of the written source's language. Linguistic aspects of the work along with other written sources in Central Asian literary language were quite thoroughly covered in summary works concerning vocabulary and grammatical structure by scholars such as E. Fazylov [1966, 1971], Sh. Shukurov [1974], and others. As to the issue of attribution, these scholars tend to consider the written source against a broader background of Central Asian and Khwarezmian written sources. This view is shared by Tatar scientist and academic M. Zakiev. According to him, 'Until the 15th century Old Turkic language was common to all Turks living in the Kara-Khanid Khanate, Volga Bulgaria and Seljuk Union, the Golden Horde, Cumania; therefore, written sources from the 10–15th centuries called Old Turkic should be recognised as common heritage and be studied when researching the history of the language and literature of all Turkic-speaking peoples (except for the Chuvash and Yakut)' [Zakiev, 1986, pp. 140–141].

Foreign Turkologists, such as Ya. Ekman, Zeki Velidi, E. Bloshe, V. Kivametdin, Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, and others, have contributed greatly to the linguistic study of the records. Ya. Ekman published the text of the record based on the Istanbul copy. Ahmed Zeki Velidi [Velidi, 1926, II], based on the Istanbul copy of the written source, expressed some interesting thoughts regarding the lexical composition of the work. With no recourse to special linguistic analysis and taking into account only the kharake placed in the text, he suggested that this manuscript was written from beginning to end by a resident of Khwarezm. To support his argument, Z. Velidi points out that the author of the work refers exclusively to theologians of Middle Asian origin. This is not surprising because Middle Asia was the commonly-accepted centre of theology at that time. And we must take into account the fact that copies of this manuscript were found neither in Khwarezm nor in Middle Asia.

Professor M. Fuat Köprülü-Zadeh, supporting Z. Velidi's view, associates the written source with Khwarezm [Köprülü, 1926, pp. 344–345].

While we believe that there is no direct contradiction, as Khwarezm was part of the Golden Horde, a detailed study of the written source's language gives us reason to associate it with the Volga Region, and our position regarding the study of the written source's language is close to that of the researchers in the first group (Sh. Märçani, S. Vahidi, B. Yafarov, E. Nadzhip, and others), who considered that the Volga Region was the most likely region for the written source to have appeared and defined the language of the written source as a Kipchak version of the Golden Horde-Khwarezmian language—that is, a close precursor of Old Tatar language.

Almost all copies of the manuscript 'Nahj al-Faradis' known to researchers are partially described in works by S. Vahidi's (unpublished works), B. Yafarov, Ya. Kemal, Z. Togan, Ya. Ekman, Ya. Bloshe, E. Nadzhip. Newly-discovered copies are described by Sh. Abilov (for more details about copies of the manuscript 'Nahj al-Faradis' see: [Nuriyeva, 1999, pp. 20–28]).

As mentioned in the introduction (mukaddime), Mahmud al-Bulgari used reliable sources (mögtämäd kitaplar) while writing the book: 'Masabih al-Sunnah' ('Sunnah Lamps') by Hussyn al-Baghawi, 'Al-ta'aruf li-madhhab ahl al-tasawwuf' ('Study of the Sufi way') by Muhammad al-Kalabadhi, 'Masharik Anwar al-nabaviya min sihah al-Akhbar al-mustafaviya' ('Rise of Lights') by al-Saghani, 'Nisab al-Akhbar' by Abu 'Ala al-Ushi, 'Kenz al-Akhbar' by Muhammad ibn Bashraviya, 'Shihab al-Akhbar' by Abdullah al-Kuda'i, 'Al-Mabsut' by al-Sarakhsi, 'Ihya Ulum al-Ain' ('Revival of the Sciences about Religion') by Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, 'Tanbiyat al-Ghafilin' ('Awakening of the Careless') by Abu Leysy al-Samarkandi, 'Al-Jami al-Sahih' ('Authentic Collection') by al-Bukhari, 'Sahih' ('Authentic Collection') by Muslim al-Nishaburi, 'Jami al-Sahih' by Abu 'Isa al-Tirmidhi, 'Musnad al-Nas' by Shabgan ibn Mahdi.

In the conclusion (hatim) the scribe mentions other sources used by Mahmud al-Bulgari when writing his book: 'The author of the book (Mahmud al-Bulgari) said that the commentary on Tafsir (interpretation) is based on the books 'Kashshaf' by Imam al-Jarullah al-Alam and 'Tafsir' by Imam Abu-Ma'ali ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Isfahani. At the beginning of each chapter there are Hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad and the titles of the books from which they are cited, passed down by scientists and sheikhs who used the books 'Kut-al-Kulub' by Imam Abu Talib Makki, 'Mujtala' by Zainula Imamati Ferdowsi and a commentary on the texts of 'Muzhtala' by Imam Vakyydi, 'Maghazi,' and Imam Muhammad Katib's 'Maghazi.' The final part also indicates a tafsir by al-Zamakhshari 'Al-Kashshaaf 'an Haqa'iq at-Tanzil,' which is the only and the most complete Mu'tazila commentary that has been preserved. The list of the authors of these works alone demonstrates the author's familiarity with theological literature. At the same time, an analysis of the sources used by Mahmud al-Bulgari helps to reveal how the works of eastern philosophers and scholars in the Volga Region spread and developed, as well as the role they played in forming public opinion in the 14th century.

The main idea of the work is to establish the rules of conduct for a true Muslim, providing him heavenly bliss in the other world. This idea is revealed in the main part of the work, which consists of four chapters (bab). Each chapter is divided into ten sections (fasl). The first chapter is devoted to the life of the Prophet Muhammad. The fasls describe the following: the prophet's virtues; the prophet receiving the revelation; the prophet's first companions and their exploits; an explanation why the prophet left Mecca for Medina; the prophet's miracles; the prophet's conquest of Mecca; the rapture of the prophet; the prophet's journey to heaven and hell in the night of rapture; the angels' assistance to the prophet during battles; the death of the prophet. The second chapter provides biographical data about the four caliphs: Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali, let peace be upon them, about the family of the Prophet Muhammad—his daughter Fatima, grandsons Hassan and Hussein, and four Imams: Imam Abu Hanifa Kufi, Imam Shafiga, Imam Malik, and Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal. The third chapter is devoted to charitable activities relating to God: prayer, zakat, fasts (uraza), pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj), obedience to father and mother, eating only permitted food (helal yemek), good deeds, appropriate ways to spend time, patience in adversity. The fourth chapter is devoted to actions that alienate a person from God: the shedding of innocent blood, adultery, the harms of alcohol, arrogance, lies, attachment to earthly life, wealth, vindictiveness, pride, and faint hopes.

With regard to its genre and compositional structure, 'Nahj al-Faradis' is of a so-called 'compartmentalised composition' work [Minnegulov, 1993, p. 243]. They consist of various relatively independent composition units called hikayats. The hikayats are placed according to various ideological and thematic sections to support the hadith along with quotations from the works of outstanding Sufi scholars. These stories used real life examples to demonstrate the idea of the hadith, its wisdom, and its truth.

Bab III

Excerpts from the seventh fasl

'On the necessity of moderating one's appetite'

Zuhri was asked: 'O Zuhri, you are a great scientist, why do you serve the sons of Marwan?' 'Here is my honest answer,' he said, 'I could not stand up in the face of my own gluttony, but even so, I could not acquire everything that my body desired. So I began to serve Emir and Sultan. Now I understand that I made the wrong choice and was tempted by the flesh. If I could have subdued the flesh and been content with what I had, it would have been better' (300–301).

Once a scientist visited the home of his student. The student laid out a meal for his teacher, but there was nothing on the table, except for a crust of bread. The student was very ashamed of his poverty. The teacher sensed this. 'Stand up, let us go to the gates of the prison,' he told the student. The student was surprised and did not understand why they must go to the gates of the prison. When they approached the prison, they saw how beyond the gate some were being brutally beaten; others were having their hands cut off or being subjected to some other form of torture. The teacher said: 'Do you understand, my dear student, for what purpose I have brought you here?' 'Oh, teacher, no, I do not understand your intent,' the student admitted. Then the teacher said: 'Know and remember this: these poor people chose not to content themselves with a piece of bread, they wanted something more, and for that reason they turned

to thievery and committed other violations of Islamic commandments, and so they are condemned to such a torment.' One of the prisoners, with shackles on his feet and a chain around his neck, turned to them, imploring: 'O, my dears, I am very hungry, I have not eaten for several days, please, give me at least a piece of bread, for God's sake.' In response, the teacher said, 'O shackled one, if you could have contented yourself with the piece of bread you had, you would not find yourself in such a situation.'

'O my dear, you speak the truth; really, this is how it was,' said the man in shackles. The teacher said: 'O my student, we have come here to learn how to moderate our vile passions' (301).

Once upon a time, Sheikh Fathi Muassali saw two small children. Each of them had a piece of bread in his hand. One of them had bread topped with halva. The one without any halva, said: 'Give me some halva.' 'Fine,' said the one with halva, 'I will give you a piece of halva if you agree to be my dog.'

He agreed. Then the child with the piece of halva tied it up with a string, put it in the mouth of the child who had asked for it, and began to pull him around like a dog.

Having seen all this, the sheikh said: 'If the child had agreed to be content with a piece of bread without halva, he would not have turned into a dog.' The conclusion was as follows: he who cannot be content with what he has, is envious of other people's possessions, thirsts for them, and becomes a slave of his passions truly turns into a dog.

Bab III

Excerpt from the eighth fasl

'On the necessity of doing good and fearing unrighteous deeds'

<...> Sa'id Khudri recalls what he heard from the Prophet: 'If any among you see that something bad is being done, you have the duty to make it right. If you cannot make it right by physical means, then you must at least say: 'What are you doing is very bad, do not do it.' If for some reason you are afraid to say something, as it is perhaps dangerous for you, then at least judge the action within your heart. But passive condemnation alone is a the least effective way of defending iman.' <...>

Bab IV

An excerpt from the seventh fasl about the harm of intoxicating drinks

Ibne Homer and Ibnelgabbas say that the Prophet, let peace be upon him, said that drinking alcohol is the greatest of all sinful deeds. Once a Muslim takes a cup of an intoxicating drink into his hands, this servant of God will be immediately deprived of the grace of Allah, never to receive it again. Once he takes a sip from this cup, he will immediately be plunged into God's curse; when the alcohol reaches his stomach, he will be subjected to God's punishment; and those who do not drink alcohol but sit at the same table as those who drink it will be deprived of the necklace of Islam (363).

<...> A muezzin by the name of Salih lived in Baghdad. He had served as muezzin for forty years. Near the mosque lived a Christian with a very beautiful daughter. When Salih climbed to the top of the mosque's minaret to pronounce the Adhan for prayers, he always looked down at her and admired her. Finally, he fell in love with her. Once, having climbed the minaret for a prayer, he saw that the girl was alone at home. He stared at her for a long time, and, having fallen still more deeply in love with her, he could not hold himself back; he descended from the minaret, entered her home, and tried to hug her. But the girl called her father. The muezzin was caught and reprimanded: 'You are a Muslim muezzin, and yet you thought to commit such a wicked act. We will take you to a Muslim judge and cast shame upon you.' The muezzin told the Christian: 'I am madly in love with your daughter, let her marry me.' 'Well,' the Christian said, 'I will let my daughter marry you if you fulfill my conditions: accept my faith, eat pork, and drink vodka.' 'No, I cannot betray my faith by accepting yours,' said the muezzin, 'and I may not eat pork as this is a very large sin, but I may drink a little bit of vodka.' Vodka was brought in, and the girl herself served vodka to the muezzin. He drank it, became intoxicated, and began to nibble on some lard. Then the girl's father said: 'Become a Christian, or I will not give up my daughter to you.' The muezzin did not dare refuse and accepted Christianity. The girl's father gave up his daughter to him and left them alone. Having decided to take a walk in the fresh air in order to become sober, the muezzin climbed to the top of the minaret but could not maintain his grasp on it because he was drunk. He fell

to the ground and died, without having acquired what he desired most. Thus, vodka did not bring the muezzin happiness, but deprived him of iman and doomed him to eternal hellfire.

Bab IV

An excerpt from the sixth fasl about the danger of excessive love of worldly goods

<...> Abū Hurayrah said: 'Once the Prophet, let peace be upon him, said to me: 'Well, Hurayrah, would you like me to show you a picture of the world?' He took me by the hand and led me to a pond. The pond was full of filth; there were human heads and bones, animal bones, old rags, and human waste all floating around. 'Well, Abu Hurayrah, this is the picture of the world,' the Prophet said, 'Here you can see the heads of those who were greedy for worldly goods, who pursued earthly riches. Just like you, they hoped to want for nothing. Now, Abu Hurayrah, do you see that only their bones are left, no skin and no flesh? After a few days the bones will turn into dust as well. You see all of this waste. Before it was the food that they took with them. Now it is just disgusting filth. O Hurayrah,' he continued, 'you see these old rags; all these shreds were once these people's clothes. They adorned themselves in them. Now they are too disgusting even to pick up. Do you see these skeletons? These were animals. Some of them were ridden by people who travelled the world on their backs; some of them were forced to work by people. Now they are a pile of bones. Only the wind blows over them.' 'Is this really our world, our lives?' I thought and began to weep. 'If one wants to mourn for this world, let him cry,' the Prophet said, let peace be upon him. Prophet Isa (Jesus), let peace be upon him, once came to one city with his apostles. All of the residents of the city were dead; there was no single living creature, only white bones and the smell of decay. Prophet Isa told his students: 'It seems that the residents of this town died by the God's will. If they had died in their beds, they would have buried each other. Here, no one is buried. I will not be surprised if it comes to be known that God destroyed the city in one hour.' The apostles said: 'O Jesus, we beg you, may the Lord allow one of them to speak to us, to tell us about what happened.' Prophet Isa, let peace be upon him, went to the Lord with this request, and the Lord commanded: 'O Isa, come to this pile of bones at midnight with your students and ask all of the questions that may interest you. You will get an answer.' Prophet Isa came to this place at midnight with his students and cried out: 'O city dwellers, how do you feel? Tell us what happened to you.' A voice emerged heard from the pile of bones: 'O Son of God, know and tell our story to everyone. We were living in peace and in good health, and then God's punishment befell us; we all died and descended straight to hell.' 'Why were you punished by the Almighty?' 'We loved all that which displeased the Lord, we were attached to this world as a baby is attached to its mother! When something was not as we wanted, we wept and grew angry with our lives as a child grows angry when punished by his mother and cries when his mother's attention is distracted from him. When we got what we wanted from our lives and satisfied all our earthly passions, we were all killed.' 'O you who is speaking to us, why were you allowed to speak, and not someone else?' Isa asked. 'I was also among them, but I was not so tied to the earth as they were, and yet I was also killed right along with them, but while they descended straight into the depths of hell, I found myself on the edge of hell, where there is still hope for survival.' After hearing these words Isa said to his students: 'O my students, is it not this better to live on this earth modestly, eat barley bread, wear simple clothes, sleep on the bare ground, and lead a righteous life than to burn in hell in the kingdom of God?' The students then said: 'O Son of God, you are right. Let it be so.'

Material prepared by Famuza Nuriyeva

No. 6

Tatar Legends

The source and the notes are cited from: Vagapov G.A. *Tatarskie skazaniya*. (G. Vagapov, *Tatar Legends*.) // Proceedings of the Eastern branch of the Imperial Archaeological Society, Part I, Issue 1, Saint Petersburg, 1858, pp. 1–9 (reprinted from *Kazanskiye Gubernskiye Vedomosti*, 1852, No. 43 and No. 45—*Editor's note*).

*'Timur's Seizure of Bulgar'*¹

And our Bulgars were known for their debauchery. They were allowed to take out loans because of legal loopholes, but they committed just as many sins of adultery and slaughter; they left behind Jumu'ah² because of their hard drinking, they abandoned the rituals practised after the fivefold prayers; they considered it permissible to drink buza and beer, saying that they were not in Misr³; they abandoned collective prayers; they deplored Imam Shafi, saying that his words were idle talk; and they also abandoned Eids (religious festivals)—they became sinners before God Almighty. And for that very reason the God Almighty committed them to Lord Aksak Timur.

Bikchura was a khan in Bulgar at that time. Lord Mir-Timur⁴ sent messengers to Bikchura Khan to ask: why do not you say Jumu'ah or celebrate Eids? The khan said to his scholars: how will you answer Mir-Timur? The scholars said: answer him according to our books. And the Bulgarian scientists answered that Bulgar was not Misr, and they offered supporting texts from Hidae, Vikae, and others⁵. Mir-Timur wrote in his response: Why are not you guided by Daljiy, Timurtash, Kiney, and other books, which certainly prescribe that Jumu'ah should be said in the villages as well? Moreover, the books of the six legends⁶ do not contain anything indicating that Misr is required for this, and a book called Durrul-Asar contains the legend that no Jumu'ah means no appeal to the East, except in the Misr Collection, there are no legends but only words of one of Muhammad's associates⁷, and moreover, this associate is of a questionable character—we do not know which of the associates he was, and the books of six legends do not contain such a legend. The interpretation of Durrul-Asar states that Imam al-Humam, Mister Nu'man, the son of Sabit, made a mistake in this place, and that the mistake of the Mujtahid⁸ can be forgiven. Even in Jusa, a village near Medina, there were forty mature men: Muhammad himself along with three other people read the Jumu'ah prayer. Along with these answers he wrote other ones and sent them with an ambassador to the Bulgars. The Bulgarian scholars answered: the fact that you consider the Grand Imam erroneous, that you do not recognise the legend of 'no Jumu'ah, no appeal to the East' as a legend, that we should not adhere to the words of the book called Durrul-Asar certainly shows that you are a dissident: we thought that you were worthy of our respect, but indeed, you are a dissident.

You must know that the book called Durrul-Asar is not a schismatic text; by 'books of six legends' we mean the following books: the first called Sahih Muslim; the second, Sahih Najadi; the third, Musabih; the fourth, Myushkat; the fifth, Mubarak; and the sixth, Musharak.

In those days our Bulgarian and Khwarezmian scholars were engaged in the study of Rhetoric, Logic, and Philosophy, and they were teachers of these disciplines, as our mentor and scholar Dr. Taftazani wrote an interpretation of Akaid; and his students, the honourable Mullah Hayali and Mullah Ahmed, delivered lectures. He himself wrote a Tahdhib on Logic, and the most learned of his students wrote interpretations, on which others wrote notes, so that the science of legends, destroyed one after another, became Sophistry in these three countries, and they involved themselves in studying and teaching the science of Ayna and Hidae using contemplation and debate, so that the study of the Sunnah remained only in Dagestan and Egypt. Scholars of this country (Bulgar) were ignorant of the Sunnah.

And thus Aksak Timur, having heard the mentioned words of the Bulgars, commanded his troops to attack with unpi (battering rams) and cannons.

And he said: I swear by the Almighty God, I will destroy the city of Bulgar and any memory of it! And he swore.

In three days the city of Bulgar had been reduced to ruins as if it had never existed. Only God Almighty knows how many soldiers he had. Having ordered his troops to destroy the stone fortifications with unpi (battering rams), he cast them to the bottom of the Volga River; he ordered that the heads of Bikchura Khan and his twelve viziers be cut off; girls and women like pearls were made into slaves and distributed among the commanders; he hung thirty-six scholars on the gallows, and in the course of one week he ordered for the survivors of the siege to be carried off in various directions and ordered not to live there. An old man named Janbakti founded a village along with his generation and called it

Janbakti. An old man named Musellyam with his generation went to Tashbilgi and settled in Tashbilgi village. An old man named Tetyush and his generation found themselves in the Bulga Ravine, and this became the village of Tetyush. An old man named Laish and his generation found himself on the bank of the Belaya (Kama) River, and Laish village was founded there. An old man named Mamadysh stopped on the Nukrat (Vyatka) River, and Mamadysh village was established there. Some of them moved to New Kazan, which is located in the mouth of the Kazanka River; some of them moved to the eastern side of the Urals in Saray-Jük; some of them moved to be among the Kirghizes; they were scattered all over the world.

According to Islamic chronology, on the 86th⁹ year, on the 1st day of the month of Muharram, on Friday, after a prayer, and on the 26th day of the Gemini constellation (May) according to Christian chronology, the city of Bulgar was relegated to ruin and oblivion: only its name remained in the world. At that time there were ten thousand and twenty-four households in Bulgar.

During the same era he (Aksak Timur) razed the city of Bilär. Having ruined the city, he scattered its residents all over the face of the earth.—On the banks of the Kama River (Belaya River) there was a city called Kashan: having devastated it as well, he exiled its entire population.

Having razed Bulgar, Bilär, and Kashan, Lord Mir-Timur planned to conquer Moscow. At that time the Russian Tsar Ivan IV Vasilyevich¹⁰ reigned in Moscow. With plans to convert him to Islam, [Mir-Timur] left Bulgaria with his troops, and after some time they approached a Russian city called Vladimir. They spent the night there. During the night Lord Mir-Timur had a dream and saw Khidr¹¹, let peace be upon him, who told him: 'You have no permission from God to convert Muscovy to Islam: the time has not come yet, it must be done upon the appearance of Mahdi¹². Return to Samarkand. The lawyer Abulleys-i Samarkandi waits for you with love in the bosom of his grave; there is the place of your burial.' Having said this, he disappeared. After he rose in the morning and read a morning prayer, Lord Mir-Timur told the most learned Taftazani about his dream; he replied: 'O Sultan! If we have not been granted permission, we shall not go because the cursed Satan cannot transform into Khidr.'

As it was Sunday and the first day of October, which the Russians call Intercession of the Theotokos, they were in church for a prayer.—In the neighbourhood there was a two-year-old black mare that belonged to one Russian man. When the Russians were coming out of the church, Lord Mir Aksak Timur, grasping the hind legs of the black mare, threw her out of the Russian man's shed¹³. Where the mare fell, there appeared a lake for Aksak Timur's troops to perform ablution; for there was no river near the city of Vladimir; the Russians used well water. And this lake exists even today: Russians say that this water is impure and do not drink it.

Lord Mir-Timur began to make his way back to Samarkand. The road led to New Kazan. At that time Ilham Khan reigned in New Kazan. When he heard that Mir-Timur was coming, he went out to meet him. Mir-Timur entered New Kazan and stationed his troops in the suburbs. Over two months he and his viziers went to worship the graves of the followers¹⁴. (In the original there is a list of the followers, whose names I have not stated here.)

After that Mir-Timur arrived in Sodom—that is, the city of Elabuga. At that time Ilbakti Khan, son of Urazbakti Khan, reigned in Sodom. This khan did not recognise any faith or religion; Mir-Timur wanted to convert him to Islam, but they could not come to an agreement. The Sodom in question was a small town. He razed it too and, after ordering the destruction of the city gates, had them thrown into the Kama River; he captured the residents and scattered the rest of them about all the world's countries. He visited the graves of the followers located in the mouth of the Toyma River. (There follows the list of the followers.) From there, crossing the river (Kama) and stopping in the village of Myalkas, he worshiped (the followers); the troops were quartered at the inhabitants' homes on the Kama River. Autumn arrived, and it came time for the snow to fall.

The mouth of the Irnya River flows into the Sviyaga River. A khan called Bayrash, the son of Qoli Khan, reigned there. Aksak Timur wrote a letter to him saying that he would come to him to spend the winter. Bayrash Khan wrote him in response: 'O Sultan Mir-Timur! I am always at your disposal. Let our father and mother be your sacrifice. I agree. God is our benefactor.'

On the Bagrash River—this river flows into the Irnya; beside the river is a tall mountain—and at the very top of this mountain Bayrash Khan erected a large palace. When the palace was ready, he invited Mir who came together with his army.

Bayrash of Sviyazhsk met him with his army, led him to the palace at top of the aforementioned mountain, and welcomed him, saying, your servant Bayrash has built a palace for you; if you so wish, please, stay here. Lord Aksak Timur, having examined the palace, approved of it and gave a large part of his treasury to Bayrash Khan.

And so he spent a winter there and visited the grave of Mullah Hafiz Tashkendi. The Menzeli River flows into the Ik River. He was also a guest of Mustafa Khan. (An enumeration of adorations.) Upon his return he entered the palace built by Bayrash Khan on the Bagrash River. After spending a winter there, on the twelfth day of Gemini (May), Lord Mir Timur left along with his army and said farewell to Bayrash Khan. Bayrash Khan accompanied him up to the Ik state of Tugash Khan. (There follows worship of the followers.)

After that Mir-Timur, having said farewell, went to Samarkand, and Bayrash Khan returned to Sviyazhsk.

And thus Lord Mir-Timur, having crossed the Urals, appealed to the Kirghiz people and invited them to accept Islam along with the Turkmens. Those who accepted Islam he left and appointed khans from among their ranks; those who disagreed were turned into slaves and prisoners. Thus he reigned in Samarkand for three years; he passed in the fourth year on the twenty-seventh day of the month of Ramadan. The learned Taftazani passed on the day of celebration. This was in the year eight-hundred and seventy-two, in accordance the Hegira, in the year of the Dog.

Notes

¹ From the second part of 'Tewarih-i Bulgarie,' a Bulgarian narrative written by Husam-El-Din of Bulgaria (See Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1846, May, Dep. IV. Description of Turkish-Tatar manuscripts in Saint Petersburg, I. Berezina).

² *Jumu'ah* is the Muslim name for Friday and the collective prayer held on Friday.

³ In Muslim theology *Misr* is used to refer to any large city.

⁴ *Mir* (instead of *Emir*): Prince, Lord.

⁵ *Hidayet*, written by Almyurginani, and *Vikayet*, written by Mahmud Burkhan-esh-Shariat, are the theological guidelines of the Muslims of Turkestan.

⁶ Muslims have six different sciences that together comprise 'Esh-Sharia,' the science of faith and law; moreover, they have six degrees of jurisprudence, and here the term 'books of six legends' refers to those listed below.

⁷ I translated the word *Ashab* as 'associate' as they were associates of Muhammad in his military operations.

⁸ The Mujtahids are the three highest classes of Islamic legal scholars.

⁹ We know that the Bulgars had a city called Cuman: one wonders whether the name Kashan, which is alluded to in a Tatar story about Kazan tsars published in No. 12 of Kazanskiye Gubernskiye Vedomosti, 1852, is used here in its place.

¹⁰ Obvious error.

¹¹ According to a Muslim legend, Khidr reached a fountain of eternal life and is therefore immortal, roaming the world in the form of an old man. He brings luck to all houses he visits and people whom he meets. A folk legend.

¹² Mahdi, the last of the 12 Imams, is to appear at the end of the world according to a Muslim legend.

¹³ The original contains excessive details here.

¹⁴ Students of Muhammad's associates.'

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

No. 7

Excerpts from a Kirghiz legend about Edigü

The introduction, the source, and the notes are cited from: Potanin G.N. *Otry'vki iz kirgizskogo skazaniya o Idy'ge, iz zapisej Chj.Valixanova*. (G. Potanin, Excerpts from a Kirghiz Legend about Edigu, from the Records of S. Walikhanov) // *Living Antiquity*. Periodical of the Department of Ethnography of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society / Edited by the Chairman of the Department of Ethnography, V. Lamansky, Issue IV, Saint Petersburg, 1891, pp. 156–163.

'While putting into order the papers of her late father K. Gutkovsky, K. Gutkovskaya discovered among them several of the letters of Shoqan Walikhanov among them, as well as several manuscripts; although they were partially hand-copied by K. Gutkovsky and partially by others, they seem to be copies of the records and articles of Shoqan Walikhanov. The manuscripts found included a Kirghiz legend about Edigu with fragments from its various versions, a passage from a Qara-Kirghiz tale about Manas (namely, the following episode: the death of Kukotay Khan and his funeral), notes about Shuno-Batyr, about Kirghiz beliefs, and other things. <...> Here we will present only the beginning of the legend about Edigu with its various versions, which is an interesting combination of several topics. <...>

'The Jir ('rhapsody,' from the verb *jirlamak*, which means to intone—*Editor's note*) of Edigu can be dated to the end of the 14th century, judging from the events described therein, and was probably composed at the beginning of the 15th century. This is evidenced by the presence of numerous antiquated words and expressions, which are now absent from the language. It is also noteworthy that there is not a single Persian or Arabic word in the entire rhapsody, even though at the time words from these two languages were being used even in conversations between commoners due to the spread of the Moham-medan religion'(S. Walikhanov—*Editor's note*).

Walikhanov seems to have recognised that the Kirghiz tale refers to the historical Edigu. At one point he says: 'The most remarkable historical Kirghiz jir is that of Edigu, that same Idege, Edeku, or Edigu that is mentioned in Toktamys's yarliq, the very same beg, mangab(?), and temnik who defeated Vytautas on the Vorskla River and defiantly commanded a horde during the reign of the four Khans.' In another place he says: 'The existence of Edigu cannot be disputed like the existence of Tokhtamys Khan and Tamerlane. It is evidenced not only by folk tales but also by written records. Ibn Arabshah says that Edigu was one of Tamerlane's devils. An anthology by Khalfin (published in Kazan) contains Edigu's genealogy, compiled based on Kazan Tatar legends. The western part of the Ulytau Mountain in the Central Horde, which is a completely separate cliff from the main ridge, is called Edigu. There is a mound on top of the cliff, built of flagstone and rubble; this mound has the same form as all oboo ('obo' in Mongolian)—that is, mounds erected in honour and remembrance of wounded or killed heroes—and is called Idygenyn Obasi; the mountain itself is called simply Idygi; Kirghiz people honour him as a national hero and sacred by birth, often offering sacrifices at his grave. Sometimes they slaughter cattle, which is now done very rarely, but more often they tie shreds of clothing or strands of horsehair to a bush growing nearby. A. Shrenk¹ visited the mound and composed a precise sketch of the cliff's appearance. It is unknown where the grave of Tokhtamys Khan is; his and Edigu's contemporaries (included) Ken-Janbay, Kara-Kipchak-Kublin, Kien-Bay (who is not mentioned in this rhapsody), Khuday-Berdy, Kos-Devlet, Qara Qoca; the Kirghiz people claim that the latter was the forefather of the Argyns²; Qara Qoca was the son of St. Okkesa Sabag; Rashid Al-Din seems to claim that Qara Qoca was Tokhtamys's messenger to Tamerlane. The mounds of these heroes are on the right bank of the Ishim River; it will be impossible to say whether these are their graves or simply monuments until these mounds are excavated.'

An excerpt taken by Walikhanov from an anthology by Khalfin, ed. of 1822, ch. IV, shows that the Kazan tale states that Baba Toklas descended from Abu Bakr; he was a descendant of Abu Bakr in the 15th generation; and Edigu was a descendant of Baba Toklas in the sixth generation. Baba Toklas was a sovereign in Mecca; here are his descendants: Termeul (appeared on the Volga River and the Yaik River), Kyzychi, Islyam-kaya, Kadir-kiya, Kutlukeba; and Edigu was the latter's son. Kutlukeba was killed by Urus Khan. According to one of the legends, Baba Toklas had four sons, and according to a different one, only three; the third of them Tyrme was on the Volga and Yaik Rivers. Pilgrims in Kaaba first bow to the Prophet's coffin, then the coffin of Alem-Murtaza Sayyid, and then the coffin of the wonderworker saint Baba Toklas. Uzbek Khan, after accepting the faith, sent his knight Uran to the

noble city of Mecca, who brought these three saints with him (that is, the three sons of Baba Toklas?), and then all the people accepted the faith.

Then Walikhanov says: 'Comparing the folk (?) Kazan tale preserved by Khalfin and the testimony of Ibn Arabshah with this steppe rhapsody, we can conclude with certainty only that Edigu was of spiritual origin; that he occupied a significant position during the reign of Tokhtamysh, as Tokhtamysh entrusted him with 'Crimean disputes and military affairs,' and then he called him a bey par excellence, saying: 'Have you ever heard of a khan fleeing and being pursued by his bey?'

Walikhanov's translation of the epic, or bylinas (poems), about Edigu, as is evident from his notes, is a combination of three copies made for him by his father, Chingis Valiyevich. The translation in the preserved manuscript took thirteen pages, two of which (pages 10 and 11) have been lost. In addition, two other variants of the epic's beginning are written on separate pages. Walikhanov seems to distinguish between two versions: the Kirghiz and Nogai. The full version of 13 pages is the Kirghiz version; the two variants stopping in the very beginning are apparently both Nogai. We do not exactly know what Walikhanov meant by the 'Nogai version.' This may mean that they were recorded by the current Nogai in the Caucasus, where Walikhanov had never been, or that it was found among the Kazan Tatars or other neighbouring Turks (but not the Kirghiz), or even in some written texts. Walikhanov himself surmises that these versions belonged to the ancient Nogai. Whatever the case may be, we present the beginning of the Kirghiz version (No. 1) at first and then the two Nogai versions (No. 2 and No. 3).

1. In ancient times there lived the saint Baba-Umur; being 15 years old he began to perform miracles. At this time a girl caught his fancy; she caught his fancy, and she became pregnant; having become pregnant, she gave birth to a son, a son named Baba-Tokty-Chachty-Aziz. When he reached the age of twenty-five years, Baba Tokty went out into the world to perform miracles. One day, having reached the sea, he saw a girl sitting on the shore and combing her golden hair with a golden comb. As soon as he approached and came near the girl, she saw him and hid herself under water. 'Am I not Baba-Tokty-Chachty-Aziz?' the saint said. 'Cannot I dive after her?' So he said, and so he jumped into the water after the girl.

Sixty white otavs³ were standing under the water; the girl was sitting in one of them. I would say her eyes were like the sun. I would say her mouth was like the moon... she was amazingly beautiful. Baba-Tokty looked at her and ran back in surprise. But the girl grabbed him by his garb and said: 'Where are you running, Jigit?'⁴ 'I cannot talk with you,' Baba-Tokty replied. 'If I talk with you, I will commit a great sin. Better to let me go; then I will run away from here.' But she replied: 'I've been looking for someone like you and now I've found you. If you leave me, not marrying me, you will commit an even greater sin.' Baba-Tokty stopped and began to think: 'If I do not take this girl, I will undertake a greater sin than if I did; it is better then to take her.' And so he decided to marry her.

Having gotten married, the girl now said to her husband: 'Now that you have become my husband, and I have become your wife, I beseech you to fulfill only three requests: when I take off my boots, do not look at my feet; when I take off my shirt, do not look under my arms; and when I wash my hair, do not look at my head.'

One time Baba-Tokty saw her taking off her boots and looked at her feet. He saw that her feet had hooves (as that of a goat). Another time, when she was taking off her shirt, he looked under her arms and saw her insides (lungs) through her skin. The wife realised this and rose up to heaven, crying out 'Oh, my dear!' and then fell back down to the earth. After some time Baba-Tokty entered her room and saw that his wife was removing the skin from her head and washing her hair, combing it with a golden comb. He looked at the top of her head and saw her brain through her skin.

His wife again realised this and rose to the sky, saying to her husband 'Hey, Jigit! Under my breast is a six-month old baby. He will fly away with me, but I will leave him on the banks of the Nile River, under the walls of the city Kum-Kent, for further I must fly. Go and find him there yourself, exactly where I have said.'

And she flew away. Baba-Tokty-Chachty-Aziz, in search of his child, went to the banks of the Nile River and found a baby wrapped in a silk kerchief under the walls of the city Kum-Kent. And since the child was born in a desolate desert, he named him Edigu.

Having tied the baby to his back, Baba-Tokty brought him to the lands of Tokhtamysh Khan, the ruler of a mighty nation. This nation was Nogai by origin. Baba-Tokty-Chachty-Aziz raised Edigu until he reached the age of three years. He then (later), having given him to some beys (chieftains) to study, himself flew off somewhere. Edigu studied until the age of eight years along with the other children, who equaled ninety in number. One time, having called altogether the children to fight in a field, he

defeated them all, gathered their clothes, folded them in a heap, sat on top of the heap, and said: 'Here I sit on the throne of Tokhtamysh Khan.'

One day it happened that Edigu was walking with some children in a field when he saw two men walking towards them; Edigu told the children that they should not be the first to welcome the coming people. 'If those coming will be the first to welcome, accept their welcome and say to them salaam. If they ask why you were not the first to say salaam, then I will answer for you.' The two men approached and the children did not tell them salaam. 'Why do you not welcome us, children?' they asked. 'Do not you see that we are older than you?' Edigu then replied: 'Who of us is older? Two of you or ninety children?' 'Of course we are older because you are children,' they answered. 'No. If I sum all the ninety children, we will be much older than you and therefore you must first welcome us.' The two men were taken aback by his response. One of the men then began to say to the other: 'Let's tell this child our argument; he shall judge us.' They then called out: 'Hey, child! To the court of Tokhtamysh Khan we go to resolve a dispute between us. Will you resolve our problem?' 'If God puts wisdom in my mouth, I will do it,' Edigu replied. 'This is the father of Alsin, Kok Jaldy the shooter; I'm the son of Kenes, Ken-Janbay. The Edyl and Jayiq⁵ lands belong to me; even a hare that runs through these lands is mine. On the banks of the Jayiq, near White Lake, I saw a lying white hare and went home for a bow, wishing to shoot the hare. But while I was going for the bow, Kok Jaldy (the Blue Mane) killed the hare and took it. Judge for us to whom does the hare belong.' Edigu then asked Kok Jaldy: 'How far were you when you shot at the hare?' Kok Jaldy indicated an approximate distance. Edigu then said: 'If I tell you both my decision, will you agree with it?' The two said they would agree. Edigu then gave a hare to one of the children and put him in the field at the very same distance at which Kok Jaldy had shot at the hare. He then told Ken-Janbay: 'Shoot! If you shoot the child, give a kun; if you shoot an arrow into the field, let the child go; if you shoot the hare, it shall be yours.' 'I am not satisfied with your decision,' Ken-Janbay said. Having grown angry, he went to Tokhtamysh Khan but soon returned back again, saying: 'Make the child hold the hare. I'll shoot!' He then shot the hare, exactly in the place it was assigned in the field without touching the child.' 'The hare that you saw then belongs to you,' Edigu said. But Kok-Jaldy the shooter was dissatisfied with the decision and, having grown angry, went away. Ken-Janbay and Kok-Jaldy the shooter went to Tokhtamysh Khan, and Kok Jaldy began telling him about the dispute and the decision of the boy. Having listened to them, Tokhtamysh Khan then said: 'This decision is fair, I am not able to make a more just decision.'

Having now reached the age of eight years, Edigu finished his studies and hoped to get hired to tend sheep to earn some money. Standing in a field, he saw four people driving a lame animal. The four people saw Edigu and said to each other: 'Let's tell our business to this shepherd with the dirty ass; let him judge us.' The four approached and said: 'All four of us are brothers; we all have a single property from our inheritance, this lame animal. The head of the animal is owned by the eldest brother, while each of us has one leg. This lame animal entered the ploughed field of one *kaur*⁶, and now we owe four hundred tilyas⁷ for the four steps it left in the ploughed field. We are now arguing on this issue. Can you judge our dispute?' Edigu replied, 'If God helps me then I shall decide the case. Who of you owes the lame leg?' 'I do,' the youngest of the brothers replied. 'Well, you do not have to pay. The elder brother who owns the head of the lame animal must pay two hundred tilyas because the eyes saw and the head led the whole body; the two middle brothers must pay a hundred tilyas each; the owner of the lame leg must not pay anything since healthy legs dragged the lame one and made the four steps in the field.' The three elder brothers, being dissatisfied with this decision, went to Tokhtamysh Khan. Once they announced that they were asking for justice, the younger brother told the Khan that they had already received a decision. The Khan asked how they had been judged, and the younger brother told him the story of their judgment. Afterwards Tokhtamysh said that he was not able to propose a more just solution. And so the four brothers left.

Once again it happened, when two men were leading a four-year male camel and, upon seeing Edigu in the field, said to each other: 'Let this shepherd with the dirty ass judge us.' They approached and said: 'Hey, shepherd! We have an argument regarding this camel. Judge us and tell us your decision!' 'Very well!' Edigu said. Then one of those disputing began: 'I lost this camel when it was one year old, and now when it is four years old, I have recognised it. This man is the thief who stole my camel.' 'Come on, now you tell me!' Edigu said referring to the other man. The other man then began: 'This camel was borne by my own female camel, and my own male camel is his father. The dispute on the part of this man is a wrongful accusation.' Then Edigu said to both the disputants: 'Do you have a camel who is the mother of this camel?' And when they both said that they did, he ordered them both to bring the mothers. He then took a lasso, wrapped the atan's⁸ hind legs with it, and started to roll the tied rope with a stick.

To the wail of the tortured atan one of the camels cried out. Then Edigu said to its proper owner: 'Take the atan for it is yours, and this person is truly a thief.' But the thief, dissatisfied with Edigu's decision, went to Tokhtamysh Khan and told him about the shepherd's decision. Afterwards Tokhtamysh Khan said: 'I am not able to propose a more just solution.'

Again while Edigu was grazing sheep, it happened that two women, two men, and one child between them were going across the steppe and arguing. Upon seeing Edigu, one said: 'What will happen if this shepherd with the dirty ass judges us?' 'Let him judge!' the others said, and all four of them approached Edigu. 'Hey, shepherd! Here we are in a dispute with one another, and we are in need of being judged. Will you decide our dispute?' Edigu agreed. Then one man and one woman said that this child was lost when it was a baby, and that now they recognise him as their own. Meanwhile, another woman began to say: 'This is my own child. I carried him in my belly for ten months; my sacrum was bent for ten months because of him, and the words of this woman are false.' Then Edigu took the child and gave his hand to both women, each of whom called herself a mother, and, raising a sword over the child, said: 'I will split this child into two halves for you,' truly intending to cut him. The first woman then said, 'Do what you want!' But the other cried out: 'Do not kill the child! Better give him to her! When the child grows up, he will find me, his real mother.' Edigu then said to her: 'Take your child for he is really yours!' But the first woman was dissatisfied with this decision and went to Tokhtamysh Khan for a judgment. When all four of them came to the Khan and told him what decision the shepherd had made, the Khan stated that the decision was fair, saying: 'I am not able to propose a more just solution for you.'

At last, Tokhtamysh Khan said: 'Who is this, he who decided such intricate matters four times? Bring him to me.' The Khan's retinue immediately brought Edigu to him. 'Are you the man who decided four cases in the desert?' the Khan asked. 'I am your humble servant,' Edigu replied. 'What's your name?' 'Edigu.' The Khan then ordered to take off his ragged clothes.

Here we stop the full story of Walikhanov's text and will tell Edigu's story in brief. Edigu pacified Tokhtamysh's enemies, pacified the kingdom, and became close to Tokhtamysh. One time the Khan's wife told the Khan that the destiny of this hired servant (that is, that of Edigu) was above even the Khan's own destiny. 'Hey, you stupid woman!' the Khan said. 'How did you know that his destiny is above mine?' The Khan's wife explained that she saw how the Khan involuntarily shuddered in fear whenever Edigu entered the Khan's headquarters; the Khan's wife offered, in order to check the truth of her statement, to attach the flap of the Khan's dress to the felt on which he was sitting⁹. Tokhtamysh then conspired for Edigu's death. On the advice of his wife, the Khan ordered to prepare an arab and sarab¹⁰, to make a sixty-headed¹¹ tent, and to gather people and make Edigu a peddler. When being entertained by people, Edigu would get intoxicated and then the Khan would kill him. A six-year-old boy, the son of Edigu's friend, heard this conversation and warned Edigu. And so the big tent was set up, people were gathered, and nine knights were placed at the entrance to the tent and sixty athletes in the steppe, all waiting in ambush. Edigu was indeed made a peddler. He tied goat fur to himself and drank only half of what was given, while the other half he poured into the fur. At this time Angusynt cut the left stirrups of the guests' saddles, climbed to the top of the tent, and sang out: 'Your large-hoof horse is ready,' etc. This was the agreed upon sign. Edigu flew out of the tent like an arrow and jumped on his horse, Torlamboz. The nine knights, who were all standing in the doorway, struck one another with their knives.

Edigu then fled across the Volga River. Ken-Janbay and the other knights caught up to him and invited him to come back across the Volga River. Edigu refused to return to Tokhtamysh. Running even further, he then came across a tent. Inside there he met a girl, the daughter of Sa-Temir-Khan, himself driven away by the alp¹² Deu-Kaban. He asked the girl to tell him when the alp would fall asleep. The girl sent him seven and a half boursaks¹³; Edigu understood that she wanted him to come at noon on the eighth day. On the eighth day Edigu returned, and the daughter of Sa-Temir-Khan then bared the breast of the sleeping alp; Edigu shot an arrow into his breast and cut the alp's body into two halves. However, the dying alp still managed to grasp the tail of Edigu's horse Torlamboz. Edigu then drove the princess to her father and married her. She gave birth to a son, a son who left to avenge his father. The son killed Tokhtamysh and brought his head back, although his father had ordered him not to kill Tokhtamysh¹⁴. Meanwhile, in order to create strife between Edigu and his son, Ken-Janbay the knight persuaded Edigu to share his bed, not only with his own wife but also, in the absence of his son, with his son's bride. When Edigu's son returned, he saw his father sitting between the two women and entertaining them. He shouted so loudly that Edigu's eye jumped out of its socket, and Edigu's leg broke¹⁵.

2. Edigu originated from Baba-Tuklas (Chakli-Aziz) and was of the 9th generation.

The Nogai legend about the origin of Baba-Tuklas is as follows: on his way one day a man saw a skull with an inscription on the forehead. It read: 'Alive, I killed innumerable people; dead, I can kill forty people.' The finder burnt the skull, collected the ashes in a bundle, brought it home, and gave it to his daughter for safekeeping. Out of curiosity the daughter unfolded the cloth and upon seeing white powder, took some with her finger. She then tasted it, after which she got pregnant and gave birth to a son, Baba-Tuklas.

When he was still a pupil, the boy displayed an extraordinarily acute mind. Once the Khan of that country had a dream that he was sitting on a bridge across a large river. Dragons emerged from the river—twenty from one side of the bridge and twenty from the other—and they wanted to eat him. After the dream the Khan called his scholars and demanded that they explain his dream, but the scholars could not do this. Then Baba-Tuklas suggested that he would solve the Khan's dream. The scholars brought him to the Khan. Baba-Tuklas begged the Khan to kick the scholars out for he was embarrassed by the presence of his teachers; and after they went out, he told the Khan that the dragons were his forty scholars, who were working for his wife. They would go to her one by one in the form of black, old women. The Khan then ordered they watch for this. And so it turned out that the interpretation of Baba-Tuklas was right. The scholars were killed and the words written on the skull with respect to the forty victims were thus fulfilled. Therefore, Edigu's descendants are called 'aksuyaks' or 'white bone.'

One time, Baba-Tuklas (the holy man) met on the seashore a girl who, having previously flown in the form of a pigeon, had now turned back into a girl. She was sitting on the beach and combing her golden hair with a golden comb. However, as soon as he approached the girl, she saw him and plunged into the water, leaving the kebe, or pigeon's skin, on the shore. According to some people, she was the daughter of the sun (Kun-Sulu); others believe that she was the daughter of Albasta the spirit. Having been left on the beach alone, Baba-Tuklas said: 'Am I not Baba-Tuklas-Chakli-Aziz? Cannot I dive after her?' So he said and so jumped into the water after the girl.

Further on is identical with the text of the Kirghiz version. Baba-Tuklas finds the girl there and wants to escape from her. The girl keeps him with the words that if he does not marry her, he would undertake a greater sin than if he were to marry. The passage then stops there.

3. Edigu descends from Baba-Tuklas-Azi in the ninth generation. Kutlu-Kiya (Azi) was his father. One time this holy man met a girl who, having flown in the form of a pigeon¹⁶, plunged into the water leaving the pigeon's skin on the shore (some people think this was the daughter of the sun Kun-Slu, others think this was the daughter of a spirit). Kutlu-Kiya seized keban. 'Let me go!' No! 'You shall not own me!' Agreement: 'Do not look at my head, under my arm, and at my heels.' Further on is identical to the Kirghiz version. Having found (...), Kutlu-Kiya went to Ulus to Tokhtamysh, to whom he was close. Tokhtamysh had a bird...¹⁷. Sa-Temir Khan asked Tokhtamysh for an egg of this bird (to raise) for himself a chick. Tokhtamysh did not give it, after which Sa-Temir turned for help to Kutlu-Kiya, who then stole an egg and sent it to Sa-Temir. This bird gave three eggs; the stolen one was shown (sic). Tokhtamysh, having learned about the theft, cut off Kutlu-Kiya's head and also wanted to kill his son Edigu. However the bey, whom Kutlu-Kiya had instructed to raise Edigu, gave his own son instead to be killed. Edigu then tended to the sheep together with other children. Now goes the first judgment of Edigu, concerning a duck shot in another's lake. As a result of this case, Tokhtamysh declared the boy fit for...¹⁸. Being at the Khan's court, Edigu decided two other cases that the Khan and all his beys could not solve. The first was a dispute about a child between two women, the second, between two beys about...¹⁹. The dispute between the two women about the child was the same as that about the Kirghiz camel—throw the child into the water and his true mother would follow²⁰. The Khan's wife (some say as a result of rejected love) again said to the Khan that the young man was dangerous to the Khan, would darken his greatness in the future, and causes the Khan to involuntarily shudder and jump up with his (pillow) whenever he comes. Then Tokhtamysh gathered his people and demanded that...²¹ this young man, because he should be not from an ordinary family judging by his prowess, and meanwhile he put some people.

Notes

¹ A traveller of the Kirghiz steppes in his forties.

² Argyns is one of the largest dynasties in the Middle Horde.

³ Otavs are generally yurts for newly married; this name (of the yurt) is retained (later); in the steppe yurts of married sons are called otavs if compared to those of their fathers (according to S. Walikhanov).

⁴ Jigit is a 'young man.'

⁵ The Edyl River is the Volga; the Jayıq River is the Ural (Yaik).

⁶ There is no explanation of this word in Walikhanov's papers.

⁷ Tillya is a golden coin.

⁸ Atan is a male camel.

⁹ Following the actions performed according to the Khan's wife's words, the following episode was included. The Khan's wife poured katyk (fermented cow's milk) into a cup, urinated into the katyk, and gave the mixture to Edigu who had come into the tent. He cut the katyk into a cross with a knife, mixed the middle, and drank. Asked by the Khan's wife whether the katyk was good, he replied: 'If the dish was not so old, it would be delicious.' Tokhtamysh explained to his wife that Edigu was speaking about her, but the Khan's wife explained to Tokhtamysh that cutting katyk into a cross meant that he would divide Tokhtamysh's people into four parts, and mixing the middle meant that a rebellion would start among the people.

¹⁰ Probably wine, similar to the strongest varieties of wine of the Mongols, the so-called ardza and hardza.

¹¹ The upper ends of lathes in the kerege (grid) of the tent are called heads.

¹² Alp is a giant.

¹³ Boursak is small flour balls fried in fat.

¹⁴ In the oldest version Edigu probably rebuked his son for raising his hand against the tsar.

¹⁵ The tale about Edigu was recorded by Radloff in two editions, Baraba and Kirghiz, and placed in his Proben, vol. III, and vol. IV, 35. In the Baraba tale Tsanpay was the secret friend of Edigu (that is, Ken-Janbay?): there is no Angusyn. Also the daughter of Sa-Temir-Khan was taken away by a Russian knight, Anisim (Orus Nadir Anisym).

¹⁶ Mongolian stories about a bird-girl include one, in which the hero, stealing the swan's clothes of the bathing divine maiden, was called Odyuge-bo (see the Essays on the North-Western Mongolia, IV, 24); the Kirghiz people sometimes represent Edigu as part of the Edigu-bi pair. Odyuge-bo was one-eyed; Edigu also became one-eyed as a result of his son's cry; in the Baraba edition (Radloff's) he becomes one-eyed after struck by a balalaika.

¹⁷ Was not finished.

¹⁸ Was not finished.

¹⁹ Was not finished.

²⁰ Is not similar to the above printed Kirghiz version.

²¹ Was not finished.

Material prepared by Alsu Arslanova

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Abbreviations

- AAE — Acts collected in the Russian Empire Libraries and Archives by Archeographic Expedition of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. Saint Petersburg, 1836, Vol. 1–4
- AAH — *Acta Archaeologicae Hungaricae*. Budapest
- ACV 1493 — Abbreviated Chronicle Vault 1493 // Complete collection of Russian chronicles, Vol. 27, Moscow — Leningrad, 1962, Pp. 163–298
- AC — Archaeological Congress
- AD — Archaeological Discoveries
- AEB — Archaeology and Ethnography of Bashkiria (Ufa)
- AEMA — *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*
- AHAE — Association of History, Archaeology and Ethnography
- AOH — *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest)
- ARISC — Abstracts of the Reports of the International Scientific Conference
- ARNC — All-Russian Numismatic Conference
- ARSC — Abstracts of the Reports of the Scientific Conference
- ARSPC — All-Russian Scientific and Practical Conference
- ARVC — Ancient Russian Vivliofike. Continuation
- ARV — Ancient Russian Vivl-iofika
- AR — Abstracts of the Reports
- AST (RT AS) — Academy of Sciences of Tatarstan (Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan)
- ASUHAMR — Astrakhan State United Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve
- AY — Archeographic yearbook (M.)
- A — *Journal asiatique*. Paris
- BAR — British Archaeological Reports. Oxford
- BBAS USSR — Bashkir Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR — 'Byzantine Chronicle' yearbook (M.)
- BEFEO — *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise de l'Extreme Orient*
- BKG — Bulletin of Kazan guberniya
- BSC — Bashkir Scientific Center
- BSHANMR — Bilyar State Historical Archaeological and Natural Museum-Reserve
- BSHAR — Bolgar State Historical and Architectural Reserve
- BSOAS — Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
- CAJ — Central Asiatic Journal
- CAS — The Compilation of Archaeological Sources Complete collection of Russian chronicles, vol. 1–42, Saint Petersburg, Leningrad, Moscow, 1841–2005
- CSCC — Collection of State Charters and Contracts
- CS — Simeon Chronicle // Complete collection of Russian chronicles, Vol. 18, Moscow, 2007
- CWRHGH — Collection of Works Related to the History of the Golden Horde
- CWTS — Collection of Works in Turkic Studies
- DM SL KSU — The Department of Manuscripts of the Scientific Library of Kazan State University
- DRMM — Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of Lobachevsky Scientific Library, KSU
- EE — Epigraphics of the East (Moscow — Leningrad)
- EI2 — *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd ed. Leiden-London
- EI — *Enzyklopaedie des Islam*. 1st ed. Leiden-Leipzig
- Erm — Ermolin Chronicle // Complete collection of Russian chronicles, Vol. 23. Moscow, 2004
- ER — Ethnographic Review
- GMS — Gibb Memorial Series. Leyden-London J
- GVC — Galician-Volhynian Chronicle
- HA — Historical acts collected and published by the Archaeographical Committee. Saint Petersburg, 1841–1842. Vol. 1–4
- HC — Hypatian Chronicle // Complete collection of Russian chronicles, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1998
- HJAS — Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
- HJ — Historical journal (Moscow — Leningrad)
- HR — Historical Records
- HSSHAAC — Historiography and Source Studies for the History of Asian and African Countries
- HUSSR — History of the USSR
- IA MES RK — The Institute of the Archeology of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan
- IA RAS — Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- IAS — Imperial Academy of Sciences (Saint Petersburg)
- İA — *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Istanbul
- IEA RAS — Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of RAS
- IHAЕ AS Kaz. SSR — Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of Kazakh SSR
- IHAS RT — Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Science
- IHLLE — Institute of History, Linguistics, Literature and Economics
- IHLL — The Institute of History, Language and Literature
- IHMC — Institute of History of Material Culture
- ILLA — Institute for Language, Literature, and History (since 1997 ILLA: Institute for Language, Literature, and Arts in the name of G. Ibragimov of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences)
- IOS AS USSR — Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR
- IRAS — Imperial Russian Archaeological Society (RAS)
- IWH RAS — Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- JMIA — Journal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (M.)
- JMNE — Journal of the Ministry of National Education (M.)
- JRAS — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. London
- KAEE — Khwarezm Archaeological-Ethnographic Expedition
- KAE — Kuybyshev Archaeological expedition

- KBAS USSR — Kazan Branch of the Academy of Sciences of USSR
 KBNCR — Kabardino Balkarian National Culture Research Institute (Kabardino Balkarian Institute for Humanitarian)
 Komi SC UDAS USSR — Komi Scientific Centre of the Ural Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences
 KSC UAS — Kazan Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences
 KSPI — Kazan State Pedagogical Institute
 KSU — Kazan State University
 L. — London
 LC — Laurentian Chronicle // Complete collection of Russian chronicles, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1997
 LMAR — Literary Monuments of Ancient Rus
 LSU — Leningrad State University
 MAEGR — Materials on the archaeology of the Eastern governorates of Russia
 MASU — Middle Asian State University (Tashkent)
 MC — Moscow Chronicle of the end of the 15th century // Complete collection of Russian chronicles, Vol. 25 Moscow — Leningrad, 1949
 MDCC — Museum of the district city of Chistopol (Museum of History and Regional Studies)
 MES KR — Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan
 MFA — Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 MGH DD — Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Diplomata
 MGH Epp. — Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae
 MGH LL — Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Leges
 MGH SS — Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores
 MGH — Monumenta Germaniae Historica
 MHKKh — Materials on the history of the Kazakh Khanates of the 15–18th centuries
 MHKK — Materials on the history of the Kirghiz and Kirghizia (M.)
 MHTT — The materials on the history of the Turkmen and Turkmenia (Moscow — Leningrad)
 MPR — Mongolian People's Republic
 MRA — Materials and researches on the archaeology of the Volga region
 MRA — Materials and researches on the USSR archaeology
 MRILLAE — Mordovia RILLAE — International Scientific (or Numismatic) Conference
 MSMPR — Materials of the society for monuments protection and restoration
 MSU — Mari State University
 MSU — Moscow State University
 MUN — Moscow University Newsletter
 NCAS — The National Centre for Archaeological Studies, Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences
 NC NHM — Numismatic Collection of the National History Museum
 NES — Notes of the Eastern scholars board under the auspices of the Asian Museum of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR
 NE — Numismatics and Epigraphics (Moscow)
 NFC — Novgorod First Chronicle
 NH — National History
 NIc — The I Novgorod chronicle of the older and newest recensions [Complete collection of Russian chronicles, Vol. 3, Moscow, 2000]
 NINU — The Notes of the Imperial Novorossiysk University (Odessa)
 NIVc — The fourth Novgorod chronicle // Complete collection of Russian chronicles, Vol. 4, part 1. Moscow, 2000
 NM RT — National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan
 NNSTTU — Nizhny Novgorod State Pedagogical University
 NODIRAS — The Notes of the Oriental Department of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society
 NP — Numismatics and Phaleristics (Kiev)
 NSA RK — National Science Academy of the Republic of Kazakhstan
 NY. — New York
 OCAE HM — Old Crimean archaeological expedition of the Hermitage Museum
 ODIAS — The Oriental Department of the Imperial Archaeological Society
 OD IRAS — The Oriental Department of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society
 OD RGS — The Oriental Department of the Russian Geographic Society
 OSAC — Orenburg Scientific Archive Commission
 PAA — Peoples of Asia and Africa
 PAC — Proceedings of the Archaeological Commission
 PC — Pskov Chronicles Ed. 1–2, Moscow — Leningrad, 1941–1955
 PIAC — Permanent International Altaistic Conference
 PIOSHA — Proceedings of the Imperial Odessa Society for History and Antiquities
 PQ — Philosophy Questions
 PRC — People's Republic of China
 PSAHEKU — Proceedings of the Society of Archaeology, History, and Ethnography, Kazan University
 PSAHE — Proceedings of the Society of Archeology, History, and Ethnography
 PSSTS — Proceedings of the Scientific Society of Tatar Studies
 PSTU — Perm State Humanitarian Pedagogical University
 PSUMHRS — Penza Stat United Museum of History and Regional Studies
 PSU — Perm State University
 PTI — Physics and Technology Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences
 PTSHAE — Proceedings of the Taurida Society for History, Archaeology, and Ethnography of the Institute of Ethnography
 QH — Questions of History (M.)
 RAS — Russian Academy of Sciences
 RAS — Russian Archaeological Society (IRAS)
 RA — Russian Archaeology, magazine (Moscow)
 RC — Rogozhsky Chronicler // Complete collection of Russian chronicles, Vol. 15. Moscow, 1965

- RGS — Russian Geographical Society
 RHS — Russian Historical Society
 RILLAE — Research Institute of Linguistics, Literature, Art and Ethnography
 RSUH — Russian State University for the Humanities
 RT — Republic of Tatarstan
 SAHMC — State Academy for the History of Material Culture
 SA IA NSAU — Scientific Archive of the Institute of the Archaeology of the National Science Academy of the Ukraine
 SA — Soviet Archaeology, magazine (Moscow)
 SCD — Synopsis of a thesis... for the Scientific Degree of the Candidate... of Sciences
 SCHD — Synopsis of a thesis for the Scientific Degree of the Candidate of Historical Sciences
 SE — Soviet Ethnography, magazine (Moscow)
 SFC — The first Sofia Chronicle // Complete collection of Russian chronicles. Vol. 6. Ed. 2, Moscow, 2000
 SGS — State Geographic Society
 SHAR — Society of History and Antiquities of Russia at Moscow University
 SHA — Supplements to the Historical Acts Collected and Issued by the Archaeographical Committee. Saint Petersburg
 SHE — Soviet Historical Encyclopaedia
 SHM — State Historical Museum (M.)
 SH — State Hermitage Museum (Saint Petersburg)
 SK — Seminarium Kondakovianum. Prague
 SMIA — Short messages of the Institute of Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences (RAS)
 SMIMCH — Short messages of the Institute of Material Culture History
 SOS — Soviet Oriental Studies (Moscow)
 SPbSU — Saint Petersburg State University
 SPL — State Public Library in the name of M. Saltykov-Shchedrin (M.)
 SRH — *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*. Budapest
 SRI — Scientific and Research Institute
 SRMLC — Saratov Regional Museum of Local Studies
 SSAC — Saratov Scientific Archive Commission
 SSU — Saratov State University
 STD — Synopsis of a thesis... for the Scientific Degree of Doctor
 ST — Scientific Tatarstan, magazine (Kazan)
 ST — Soviet Turkology
 SUM RT — State united museum of the Republic of Tatarstan (Kazan)
 TAE — Tatar archaeological expedition
 TA — Tatar Archaeology, magazine (Kazan)
 TC — The Tver collection // Complete collection of Russian chronicles, Vol. 15, Moscow, 1965
 TDM — Tatar dialectology materials
 The Notes of the Department of the Russian and Slavic Archaeology of the Russian Archaeological Society
 TM — *Türkiyat Mecmuası*. Istanbul
 TRS — Theses of reports and statements
 Tr — Trinity Chronicle // Priselkov M. Trinity Chronicle. Text reconstruction. Moscow — Leningrad, 1950
 TSAC — Taurida Scientific Archive Commission
 TSHI — Tatar State Humanitarian Institute
 Typ. — The Typographic Chronicle // Complete collection of Russian chronicles, Vol. 24, Petrograd, 1921
 UkrSSR AS — Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
 USSR AS — Academy of Sciences of the USSR
 VC — The Vladimir Chronicle // Complete collection of Russian chronicles, Vol. 30, Moscow, 1965
 VMRS — Volgorad Museum of Regional Studies
 WAHAE — Works of the Association of History, Archaeology and Ethnography
 WARLD — Works of the Ancient Russian Literature Department
 WDOHCA — Works of the Department of the Oriental History, Culture and Art of the Hermitage Museum
 WIHAE — Works of the Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of Kazakh SSR
 WOD RAS — Works of the Oriental Department of the Russian Archaeological Society
 WOSAC — Works of Orenburg Scientific Archive Commission
 WSC — Works of the scientific conference
 WSHM — Works of State History Museum
 ZDMG — *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*

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On the cover: picture of the golden tamga from Khan Tokhtamysh's message to Yagailo.

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In Seven Volumes

Volume 3
**The Ulus of Jochi (Golden Horde).
13th Century–Mid–15th Century**



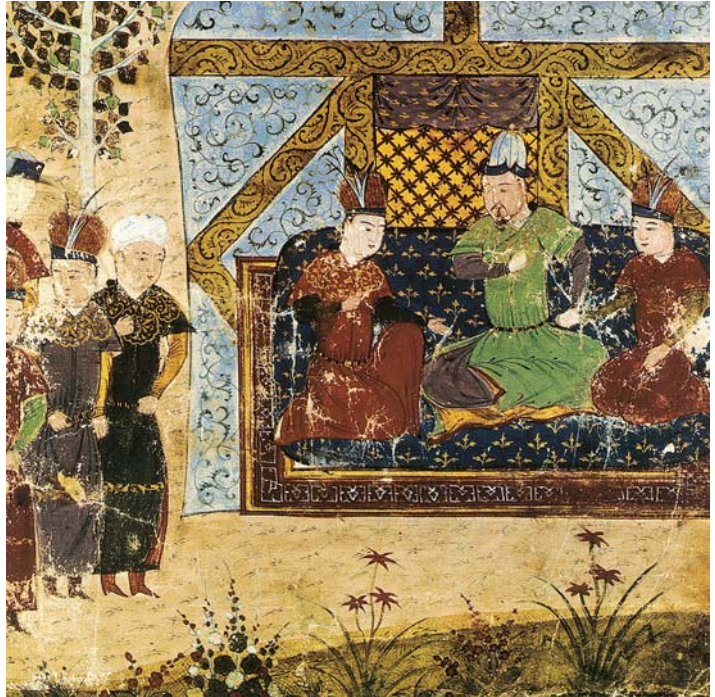
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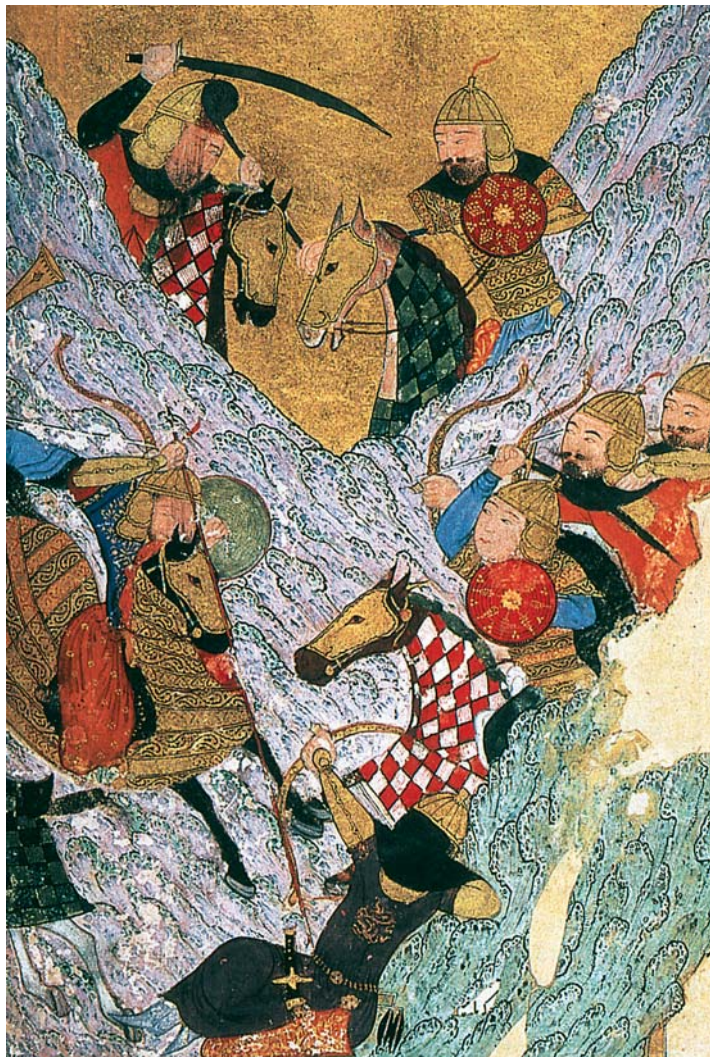
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Chinggis Khan with his sons.
Miniature from a Persian manuscript
of the 14th century.



**Invasion of Northern China
by Mongolian troops.**
Miniature from a Persian manuscript
of the 14th century.





City siege. Miniature from a Persian manuscript of 1314–1315.



Mongol medium horseman
13th–beginning of the 14th century.
Reconstruction by M. Gorelik



Mongolian heavy horseman 13th–
beginning of the 14th century.
Reconstruction by M. Gorelik



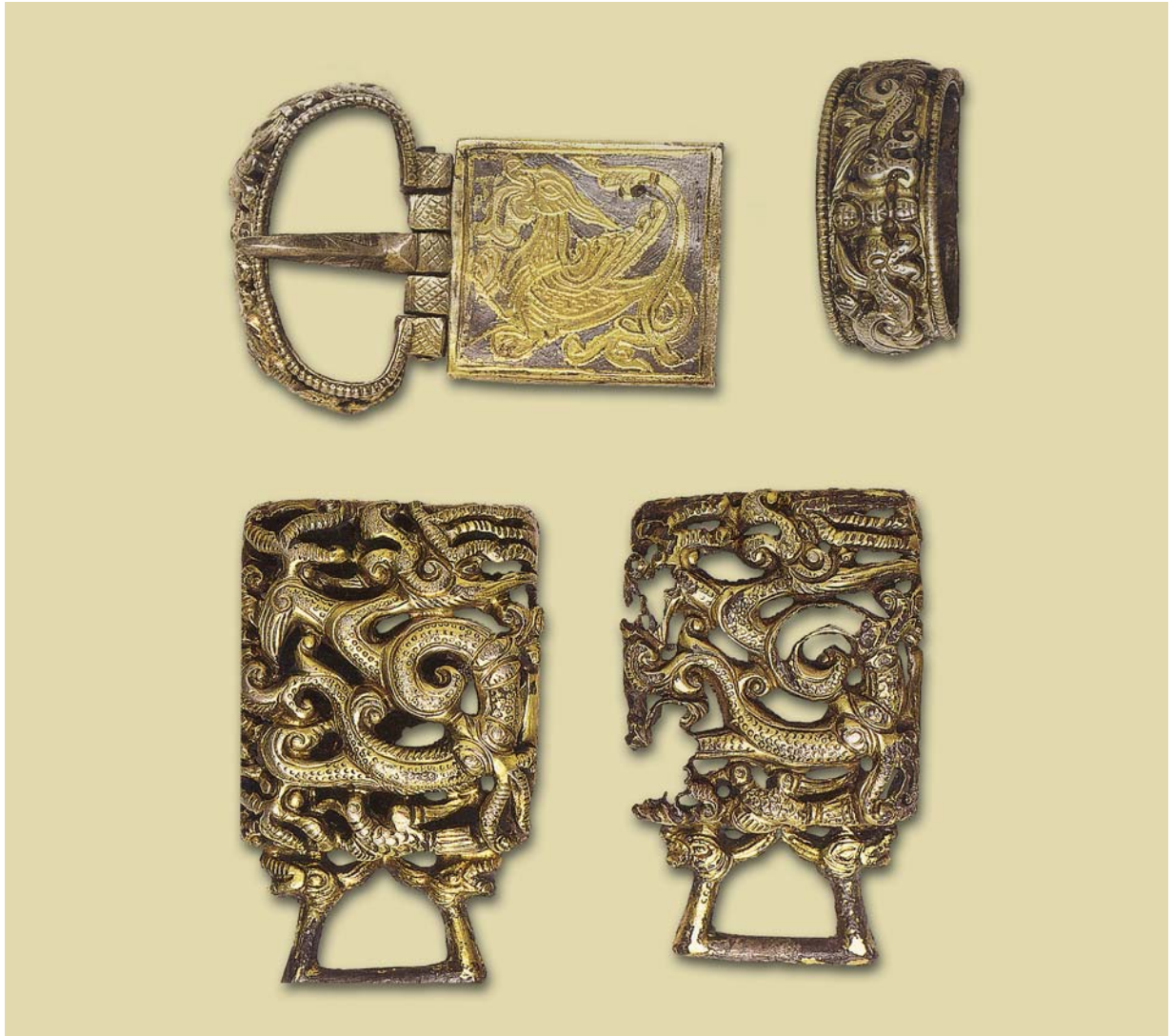
Pope Innocent IV sends his messenger Giovanni da Pian del Carpine to the Great Khan to establish diplomatic relations.
Miniature from an English manuscript of the 14th century.



Cycle of miniatures dedicated to the Battle of Legnica.
German miniature of the 13th century.



Cycle of miniatures dedicated to the Battle of Legnica.
German miniature of the 13th century.



Belt set.

Silver, gild. Great Mongolian state or Ulus of Jochi. 13th century. Astrakhan oblast, the ancient town of Krasnoyarsk. Hermitage Museum



Buckle.

Silver, gild.

Great Mongolian state or Ulus of Jochi. 13th century. Astrakhan oblast, the ancient town of Krasnoyarsk. Hermitage Museum



Belt set. Gold. Ulus of Jochi. 1227–1270.
Northern Caucasus, settlement of Gashun-Usta. Hermitage Museum



Belt onlay.
Bronze, gild. Ulus of Jochi. Latter half of the 13th century. Bulgar city. Bolgar State Historical and Architectural Reserve



Belt onlay.
Bronze. Ulus of Jochi. Latter half of the 13th–beginning of the 14th century. Astrakhan guberniya, Tsarev uyezd, Zubovka village. Hermitage Museum



Belt onlay.
Bronze. Ulus of Jochi.
Latter half of the 13th–beginning of the 14th century.
Bulgar city. Bolgar State Historical and Architectural Reserve

Badges with a picture of a dragon.

Bone, silver, carving, gild.
Ulus of Jochi. 14th century.
Volgograd oblast, burial mound
near Maleevka village.



Goblet.

Silver, gild. Ulus of Jochi.
End of the 13th–first half of the 14th century.
Hermitage Museum





Belt ladle.
Bronze. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century.
Hermitage Museum



Bowl with a figure of a stag.
Silver. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century.
Hermitage Museum



Bowl.
Ulus of Jochi.
End of the 13th–first half of the 14th century.
Hermitage Museum



Caravan on the Silk Road.

Miniature from the Catalan Atlas of Abraham Cresques. 1375. British Library, London



Paiza of Abdulla Khan.

Silver, gild. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century.
Ekaterinoslav uyezd, Grushovka village.
Hermitage Museum



Paiza of Abdulla Khan.

Silver, gild. Ulus of Jochi. 1362–1369.
The ancient town of Sarov. Nizhny Novgorod guberniya.
State Historical Museum



Buttons.

Silver, turquoise, pearls, stamping, gild. Ulus of Jochi. 14th–beginning of the 15th century.



Rings.

Silver, gold. Ulus of Jochi. 14th–beginning of the 15th century.



Portolan of Catalan foreman Mecia de Viladestes,
known as Portolan de Viladestes. 1413.



Portolan of Catalan foreman Gabriel de Vallseca.
1439. Museu Marítim de Barcelona



Masterpiece of medieval cartographic art: the Catalan Atlas of Abraham Cresques. 1375. The map was designed for Charles V of France. National Library of France, Paris



Navigation map/portolan of Venetian craftsmen Francesco and Domenico Pizzigano. 1367.



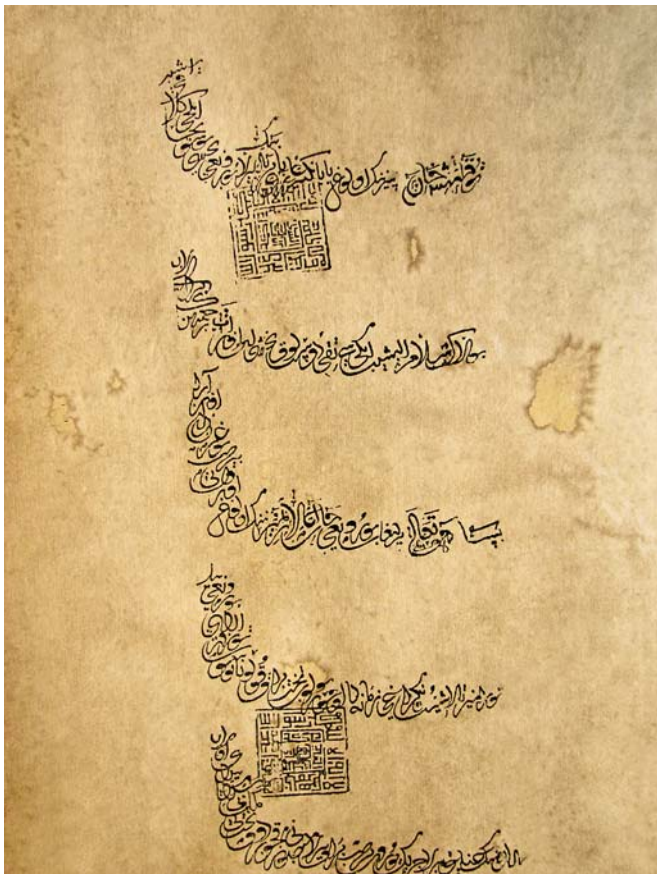
Phylactery — a case for rolls, manuscripts and amulets.
Silver, forging, engraving. Ulus of Jochi. 14th–beginning of the 15th century.



Lid of a bowl (inkstand?).
Bronze. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city



**Letter of Khan Ulugh Muhammad
to the Turkish Sultan.**
Topkapy Palace Museum, Istanbul





Jami-mosque. View from the west. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Bulgar's central area with the mausoleum and Jami-mosque.
View from the southeast. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Inside view of Jami-mosque.
Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Minor minaret.
Uls of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city.
Photo by I. Izmaylov





**Decoration detail
of the Minor minaret's window aperture.**
Stone carving. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city.
Photo by I. Izmaylov



Mausoleum or other public building. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Banya's foundation. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Fragment of the banya's internal part ('Red chamber').
Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Mausoleum near the Minor minaret. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city. Photo by R. Sharifullin.

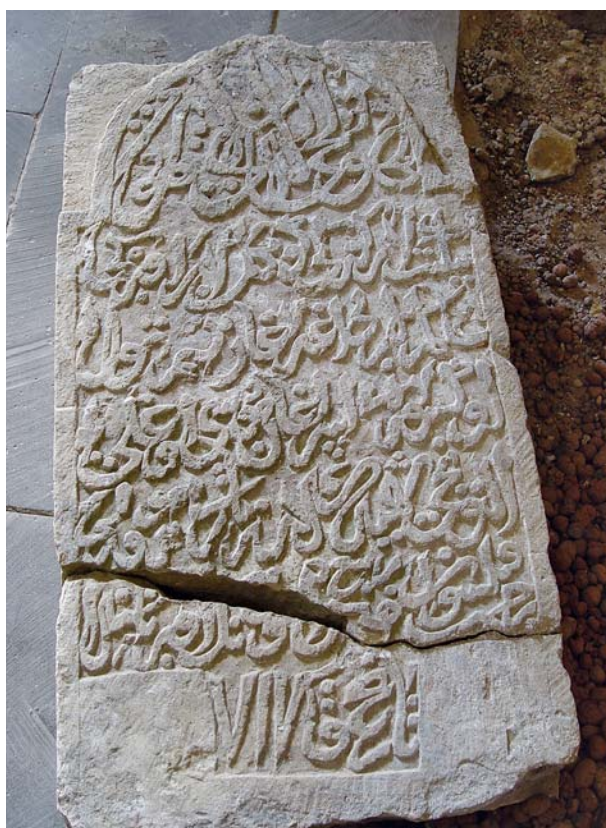


Detail from a tiled board. Composite white frit material, polychrome mosaics. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city. National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, Kazan



Maiolica tile.

Bulgar city. Bolgar State Historical and Architectural Reserve



Headstones with epitaphs.

Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city.

Bolgar State Historical and Architectural Reserve. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Headstones with epitaphs.

Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city. Bolgar State Historical and Architectural Reserve. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Detail from a tiled board. Composite white frit material, polychrome mosaics.
 Ukek. 14th century. Saratov Regional Museum of Local History



Tondo with a Persian inscription. Composite white frit material, polychrome mosaics.
 Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Astrakhan oblast, the Selitrennoye archaeological site.
 Astrakhan State United Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve



Mosque column cap.

Ulus of Jochi. 13–14th centuries. Volgograd oblast, the ancient town of Vodyanskoe.
Volgograd Museum of Regional Studies.



Architectural detail.

Ukek. 14th century. Saratov Regional Museum of Local History



Arch of the portal to 'Ozbek Han Mosque'.
Solkhat. 14th century. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Column capital of 'Ozbek Han Mosque'. Solkhat. 14th century. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Foundation of the column of 'Ozbek Han Mosque'. Solkhat. 14th century. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Mosque. Solkhat. 14th century. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Mosque. Solkhat. 14th century. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Madrasah. Solkhat. 14th century. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Caravanserai's wall. Solkhat. 14th century. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Mausoleum. Solkhat. 14th century. Photo by I. Izmaylov



Janicke Khanum Masoleum. Chufut-Kale (Qırq Yer). 15th century. Photo by I. Izmaylov

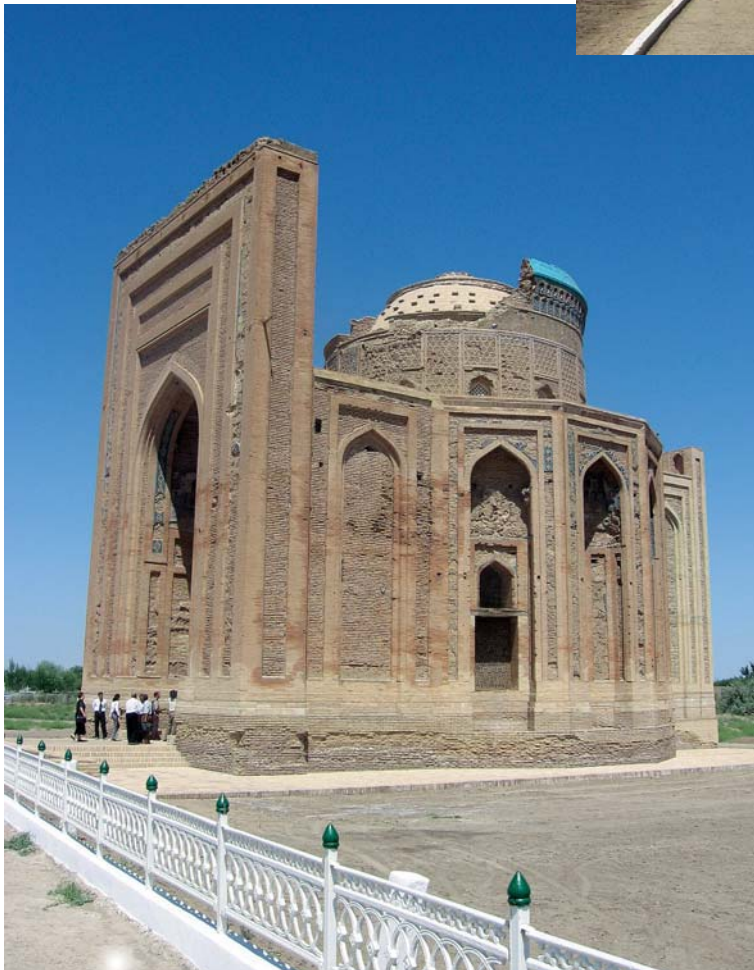


Road to Chufut-Kale (Qırq Yer). Photo by I. Izmaylov

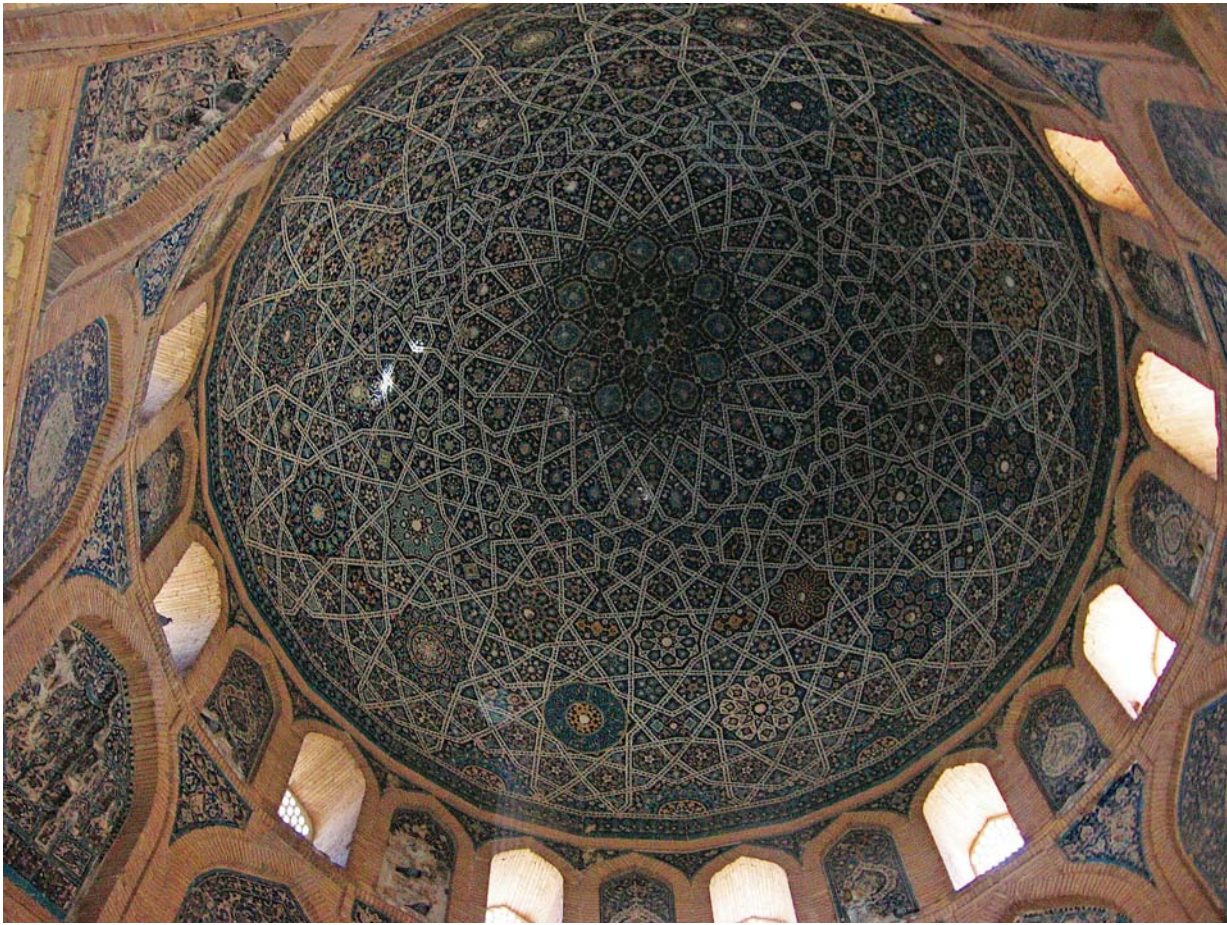


Mausoleum of Najmuddīn-e Kubrā. Kunya-Urgench. 14th century. Photo by A. Burkhanov.

Temür Qutlugh's minaret.
Kunya-Urgench. 14th century.
Photo by A. Burkhanov.



Tyurabek-Khanum Mausoleum.
Kunya-Urgench. 14th century.
Photo by A. Burkhanov.



Tyurabek-Khanum Mausoleum.

View of the mosaic dome from the inside. Kunya-Urgench.
14th century. Photo by A. Burkhanov.

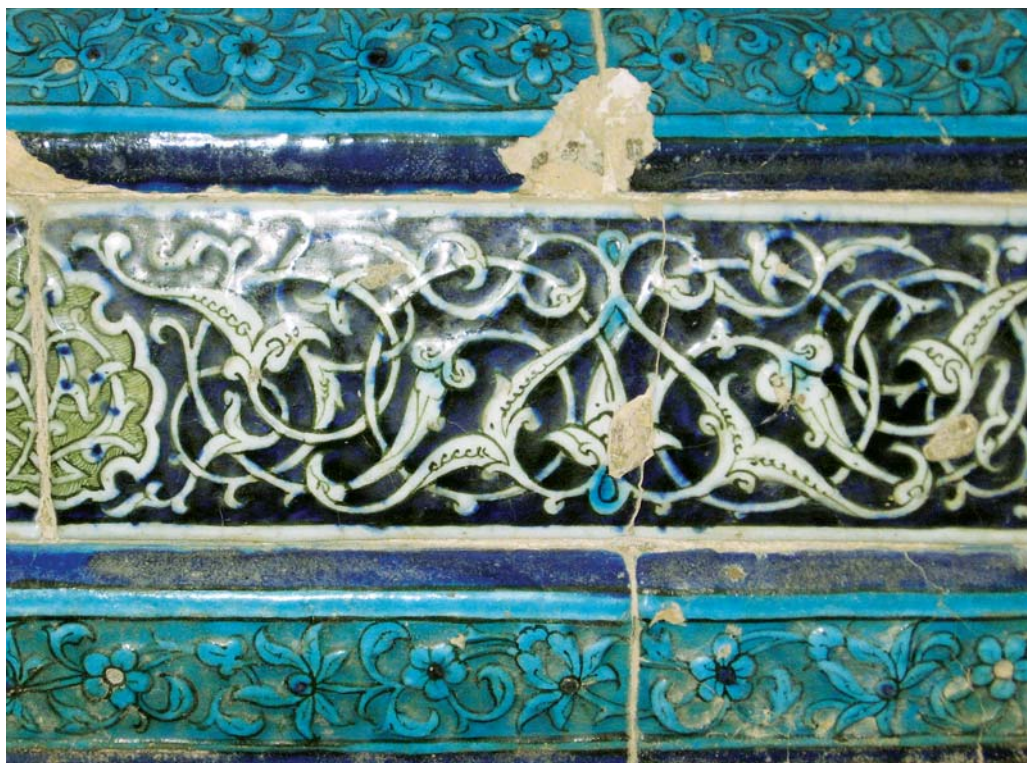


Enthronement of the Khan and Khanbika.

Miniature of a Persian manuscript
of the early 14th century. Berlin



Gravestone with maiolica panels. Kunya-Urgench. 14th century. Photo by A. Burkhanov.



Maiolica gravestone panel.

Mausoleum of Najmuddīn-e Kubrā. Kunya-Urgench. 14th century. Photo by A. Burkhanov.



Catalan portolan of Jaime Bertran. 1482.

To the north we see miniatures of the main Eurasian emperors
with the most massive figure located in the east — the 'Emperor of Tartaria'



Golden Horde Khan on his throne. Reconstruction by M. Gorelik



Departure of the Mongolian Sultan.

Miniature of a Persian manuscript of the early 14th century. Berlin



Liu Guandao. Fragment of the painting 'Kublai Khan on a hunt'.

Silk. Yuan Empire. 1280. National Palace Museum, Taipei



Earrings. Gold, pearls. Ulus of Jochi. 14th–beginning of the 15th century. Hermitage Museum



Quran holder. Gold, filigree. Ulus of Jochi. First half of the 14th century. Hermitage Museum



Pendent badges of a horse harness.
Silver, gild. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Hermitage Museum



Badges/rosettes.

Gold, granulation, filigree, pearls. Ulus of Jochi. Latter half of the 13–14th centuries. Hermitage Museum



Decoration of a female hat — Bocchi.

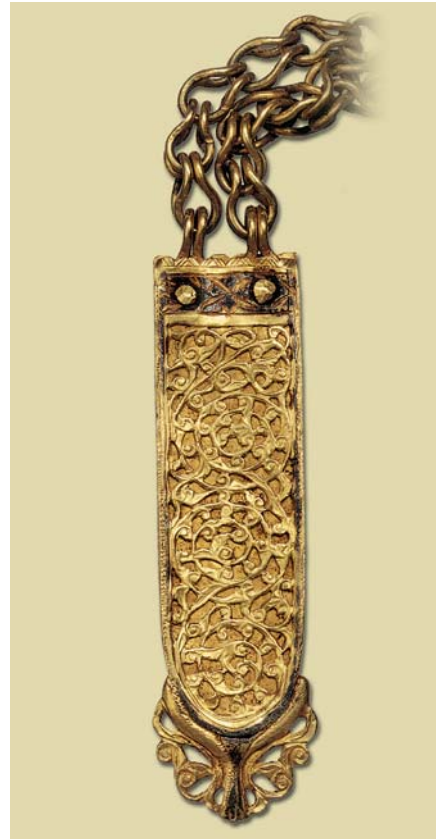
Gold, filigree, precious stones. Ulus of Jochi. Early 14th century. Hermitage Museum



Belt onlays. Gold. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Hermitage Museum



Quran holder.
Silver, gild, niello.
Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Hermitage Museum



Pendant on a chain.
Gold, niello. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century.
Hermitage Museum



Coin-like pendants. Gold. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Hermitage Museum

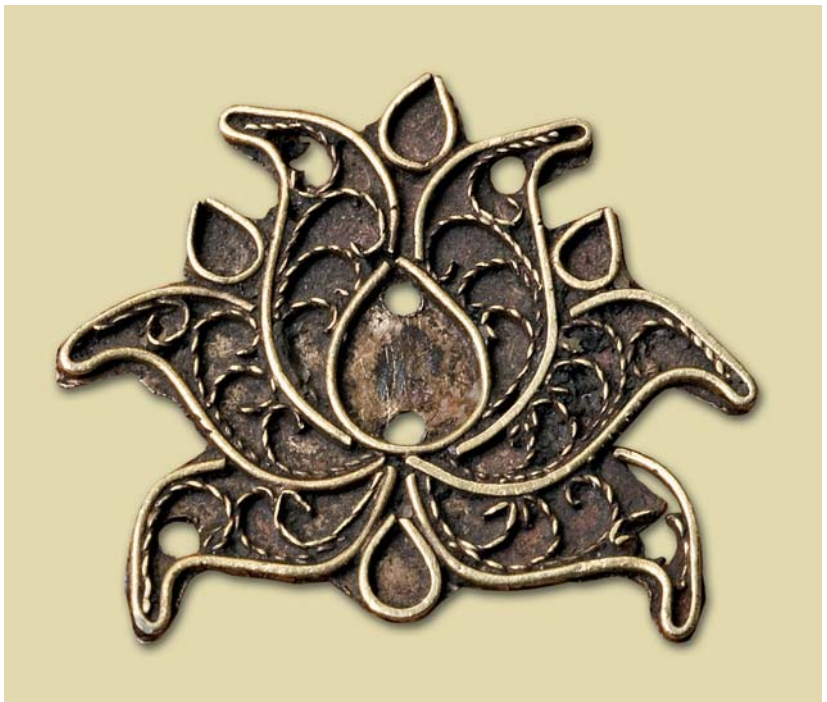


Belt set.

Silver, gild. Ulus of Jochi. End of the 14th–beginning of the 15th century. Hermitage Museum



Garniture of a belt set. Gold, niello, chisel, engraving.
Ulus of Jochi. Latter half of the 14th–beginning of the 15th century. Hermitage Museum



**Sewn-on badge
in the form of a lotus.**
Silver, gild.
Ulus of Jochi. 14th century.
Hermitage Museum



Upper part of a jar.
Silver, gild.
Ulus of Jochi. 14th century.
Hermitage Museum

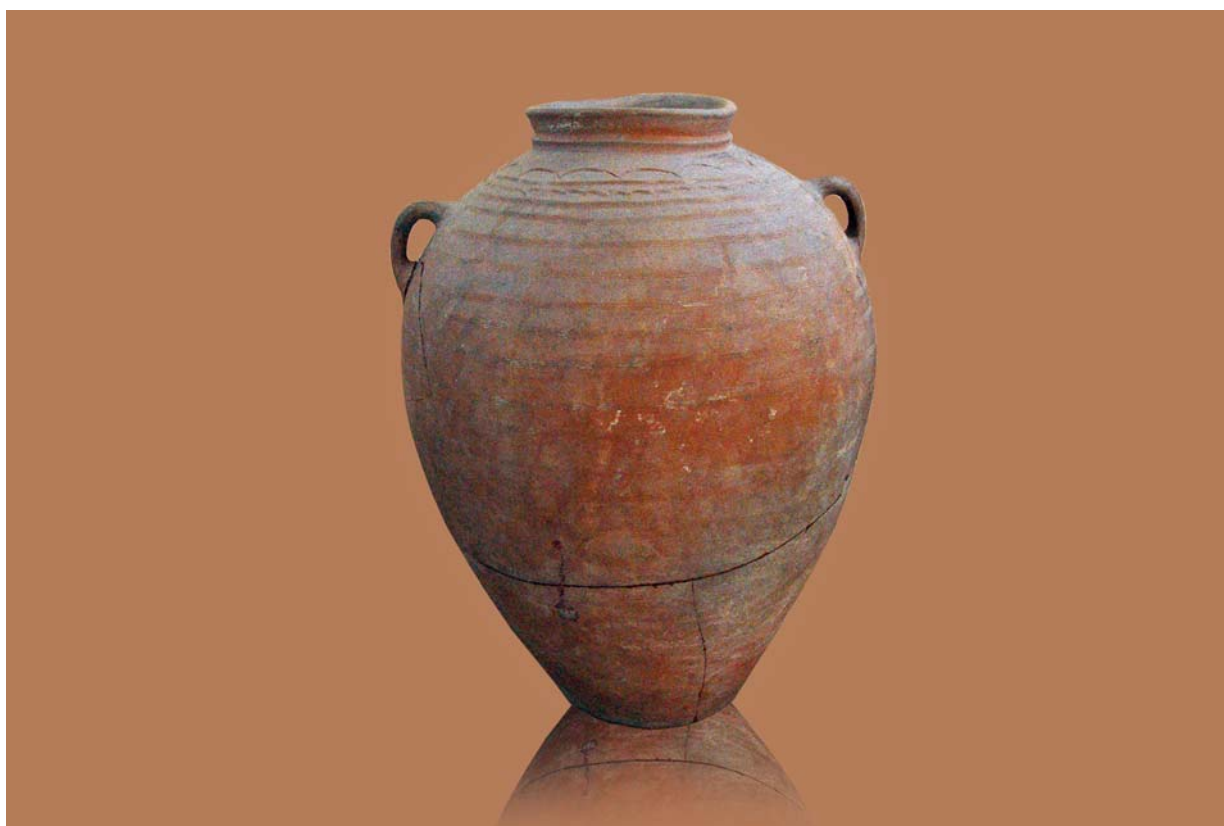
Bracelet.
Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Juketau



Bracelet. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Hermitage Museum



Red-clay Golden Horde vessels in the roasting chamber. Reconstruction



Khum — a vessel for storing grain or water.
Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Bulgar city. Bolgar State Historical and Architectural Reserve



Mirror with an epigraphic ornament and picture of fantastic creatures (Al-Burāq?).
Bronze, casting. Ulus of Jochi. 13th–beginning of the 14th century. Bulgar Ulus



Mirror. Bronze, casting. Ukek. 13th–beginning of the 14th century.
Saratov Regional Museum of Local History



Bowl. Semi-faïence. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Saray al-Jadid



Carafe of Venetian glass.
Ulus of Jochi. 14th century.



Bowl with a picture of a panther.
Ulus of Jochi. 14th century. Saray al-Jadid



Helmet.

Ulus of Jochi. 13–14th centuries. Hermitage Museum



Bowl. Composite white frit material.

Underglaze painting. Ulus of Jochi. 14th century.



Lock in the form of a horse.

Bronze. Ulus of Jochi. 13–14th centuries. Bulgar city.
Bolgar State Historical and Architectural Reserve



Plate bracelets.

Silver. Ulus of Jochi. 13–14th centuries. Bulgar Ulus. Hermitage Museum



Battle.

Miniature from the Persian manuscript 'Shah-nameh'. Circa 1330s. British Library. London



Duel.

Miniature from the Persian manuscript 'Shah-nameh'. Circa 1330s. Detroit Institute of Arts



Enthronement of the Khan. Miniature from the Persian manuscript 'Shah-nameh'.
Circa 1330s. Smithsonian Institution, Washington



Golden Horde general.
Reconstruction by M. Gorelik



Golden Horde armour-clad warrior. 14th century.
Reconstruction by M. Gorelik



Monument to Rashid al-Din
in Hamadān city, Iran. Photo by Mardetanha



The Khan's court celebrates the New Year in white clothing.
Miniature from the Persian manuscript of Rashid al-Din. Circa 1330.
Topkapy Palace Museum, Istanbul



Ghazan Khan's conversion to Islam.
Miniature from the manuscript 'Jāmi' al-tawārīkh' by Rashid al-Din. 14th century.



Ghazan Khan on horseback. Miniature from Rashid al-Din's manuscript 'Jami' al-tawarikh'. 14th century.



Battle. Miniature from Rashid al-Din's manuscript 'Jami' al-tawarikh'. 1314.



Tarkhan yarliq of Tokhtamysh Khan. 1392.

Bone quiver onlays.
Ulus of Jochi. 14th century.