

NEW METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE GOLDEN HORDE IN THE 13TH-16TH CENTURIES

Bereket KARIBAEV , Zere MAIDANALI , Meiramkul BIZHANOVA ,
Aknur KOSHYMOVA , Yedil NOYANOV 

Al-Farabi Kazakh National University (Kazakhstan)
E-mail: bereket.bk64@gmail.com, VipZM@rambler.ru,
b.meiramgul7@gmail.com, akosh.kno@gmail.com,
Edyl.Noivanov@kaznu.kz

Abstract: *The article discusses the theoretical and conceptual approaches of modern historical science on the issues of the Golden Horde's political history, revealing research paradigms and principles concerning the existence and behaviour of the nomadic statehood. The authors present the progress of historical knowledge in studying the issues related to social and political changes and the transformation of the Golden Horde. The interaction and the mutual influence of political structures on the sedentary agricultural populations as well as the dynamics and continuity of ideological processes were identified on the basis of new methodological principles of research. At the same time, the actualization and extrapolation of previous historical experience are particularly important, allowing to adequately mark the place of the nomadic civilization in the world-historical processes as a part of world history. Modern historical thought is characterized by new theoretical and conceptual approaches and the removal of clichés on the political history of the Golden Horde.*

Keywords: *Methodology, political history, Golden Horde, Empire, nomads, scientific paradigm, power, ideology*

Rezumat: *Noi abordări metodologice privind studiul istoriei politice a Hoardei de Aur în secolele XIII-XVI. Articolul pune în discuție abordările teoretice și conceptuale ale științei istorice contemporane privitoare la chestiunile legate de istoria politică a Hoardei de Aur, relevând paradigmele și principiile cercetării privind existența și comportamentul statalității nomazilor. Autorii prezintă progresul cunoașterii istorice în studierea aspectelor legate de schimbările sociale și politice și de transformarea Hoardei de Aur. Interacțiunea și influența reciprocă a structurilor politice asupra populațiilor agricole sedentare, deopotrivă cu dinamicele și continuitatea proceselor ideologice au fost determinate pe baza noilor prin-*

cipii metodologice de cercetare. Concomitent, actualizarea și extrapolarea experienței istorice anterioare sunt extrem de importante, permițând plasarea adecvată a civilizației nomade pe scena proceselor istorice globale ca parte componentă a istoriei lumii. Gândirea istorică modernă este caracterizată de noi abordări teoretice și conceptuale și de înlăturarea clișeeilor asupra istoriei politice a Hoardei de Aur.

Résumé : Nouveaux abords méthodologiques concernant l'étude de l'histoire politique de la Horde d'Or les XIIIème – XVIème siècles. *L'article ci-joint met en discussion les abords théoriques et conceptuels de la science historique contemporaine concernant les questions liées de l'histoire politique de la Horde d'Or, révèle les paradigmes et les principes de la recherche faisant référence à l'existence et au comportement de l'État des nomades. Les auteurs y présentent le progrès de la connaissance historique dans l'étude des aspects liés des changements sociaux et politiques et de la transformation de la Horde d'Or. On y détermine l'interaction et l'influence réciproque des structures politiques sur les populations agricoles sédentaires, ensemble aux dynamiques et la continuité des procès idéologiques à la base des nouveaux principes méthodologiques de recherche. De plus, il est extrêmement important d'actualiser et d'extrapoler l'expérience historique antérieure, ce qui permet de placer de manière adéquate la civilisation nomade sur la scène des processus historiques globaux en tant que partie composante de l'histoire du monde. La pensée historique moderne se caractérise par de nouveaux abords théoriques et conceptuels, par l'écart des clichés sur l'histoire politique de la Horde d'Or.*

INTRODUCTION

Historical science, as a rule, is closely related to the changes in the life of society. In this regard, modern historical science shows special attention to a wide range of issues related to the history of the Golden Horde. These issues concern the development of fundamentally new theoretical and methodological approaches in the study of historical processes and phenomena, generalizing the accumulated historical knowledge on a wide range of problems related to the Golden Horde statehood. They enrich the historiographic basis of the conceptual research conducted, confirming the achievements of the scientific research and determining the future prospects for creative research. The purpose of the research is to analyse new methodological approaches to the process of foundation and transformation of the political system and social structures of the Golden Horde. To achieve the goal of the research, the following tasks were completed: 1. Analysis of civilization discourse in studying the formation and development of the nomads' political system. 2. Analysis of the transformation of the political system

and social structures of the Golden Horde in historiography. 3. Modern approaches to the study of the interaction and mutual influence with the settled agricultural populations and the process of spiritual and ideological integration in the Golden Horde.

The presence of a number of hypothetical ideas about the historical stages of statehood formation on the territory of Eurasia, the interaction with the settled agricultural people, the formation of „alternative” historical research, expands our research problematic. One of the leading problems of modern historical research is the attempt to reconstruct the main stages of political genesis of the ancient and medieval nomads of Eurasia. The description of the systems of anthropological stratification of specific nomadic societies and the identification of their character has become the main line of theoretical developments. In the context of solving this matter, questions were raised and the main approaches were determined in order to solve further typological constructions of the nomadic state theory. Research into the period of formation of nomads’ state structures and their evolution to the state of „nomadic empire” in the territory of Eurasia is connected with the need to conduct a historiographical analysis of complex and pressing issues. These refer to the regularity and peculiarities of the historical process, the main stages of the ethnopolitical and ethnocultural development of nomadic associations, the phenomenon of nomadic statehood, the transformation of the political, legal and social system of the Golden Horde and subordinate agricultural peoples. The wide range of historiographic issues related to the interrelations between the nomadic and the sedentary agricultural societies refers to: tribal aristocracy – imperial confederation, the sacredness of the supreme power, the territorial control system, the imperial structure of the supreme power, the unified political terminology, spiritual and cultural foundations of the nomadic environment and its synthesis with the settled, agricultural world. The study of the history of the Golden Horde and its interaction with the settled agricultural peoples, the dynamics and continuity of ethnopolitical and ethnocultural processes is a directional process and the organization and management of this process is carried out through historically established methodological requirements and principles. At the same time, the actualization and the extrapolation of previous historical experience are matters of particular importance, allowing to adequately mark the place of the nomadic civilization in the world-historical processes as part of world history. The variability and controversy of the conceptual state of “nomadic empire” showed the insufficiently developed typology range of socio-political structures and the formation of state institutions in the Golden Horde, which makes researchers need

a diversified approach to the study of the political structures of the Golden Horde, requiring systematization and reconstruction.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The presence of a number of hypothetical ideas about the historical stages of statehood formation on the territory of Eurasia, the interaction with the sedentary and agricultural people, and the existence of „alternative” historical research makes the research problem topical. Research paradigms in their comparative analysis determine similar features in describing specific forms of power in a nomadic society, but accents are placed differently. The socio-cultural problems of the nomadic statehood were touched upon in the works of Peter Golden¹, Joseph Fletcher², Thomas Hall³, Thomas Barfield⁴, Rafis Abazov⁵, Uli Schamiloglu⁶. Dittmar Schorkowitz analysed the continuous interaction between the diverging cultures of European and Asian origin in Western Eurasia. In particular, he explored the cultural influences that the Mongols had on Eastern European countries bringing “more cultural forms and orientations from the East while accelerating or initiating the processes of acculturation and assimilation”.⁷ The field ar-

¹ П. Голден, *Кипчаки средневековой Евразии: пример негосударственной адаптации в степи* [Kipchaks of medieval Eurasia: an example of non-state adaptation in the steppes], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БН С РАН, 2004, с. 103-136.

² Дж. Флетчер, *Средневековые монголы: экологические и социальные перспективы* [Medieval Mongols: ecological and social perspectives], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БНС РАН, 2004, с. 212-254.

³ Т. Холл, *Монголы в мир-системной истории* [Mongols in the world-system history], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БН С РАН, 2004, с. 136-167.

⁴ Дж. Т. Барфилд, *Опасная граница: кочевые империи и Китай (221 г. до н.э. – 1757 г. н.э.)* [The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China (221 BC to AD 1757)], Санкт-Петербург, Нестор-История, 2009, с. 488.

⁵ R. Abazov, *The Palgrave concise historical atlas of Central Asia*, USA, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p. 125.

⁶ U. Schamiloglu, *The Liberation of Rus' from the Yoke of the Golden Horde by Iu. G. Alekseev*, in “American Historical Review”, 1992, Vol. 97, No. 1, p. 181-182. DOI: 10.2307/2164575 (Accessed on 06.02.2019)

⁷ D. Schorkowitz, *Cultural Contact and Cultural Transfer in Medieval Western Eurasia*, in “Archaeology, Ethnology and Anthropology of Eurasia”, 2012, Vol. 40, no. 3, p. 84–94.

chaeologist German Fedorow-Dawydow made a great contribution to the research question. Under his supervision, the Volga regional archaeological expedition was organized, which conducted an archaeological study of the Volga Golden Horde settlements. A detailed stratigraphy of the monuments was developed, and the time of the emergence and fall of the Golden Horde cities and their historical geography were specified. The excavation materials from the Volga expedition were particularly discussed in his articles published abroad, such as *Die Goldene Horde und ihre Vorgänger* (1972)⁸ and *Städte der Goldenen Horde an der unteren Wolga* (1984)⁹. Modern researchers such as Mirkasym Usmanov¹⁰, Damir Iskhaikov¹¹, Iskander Izmailov¹², Ilyas Kamalov¹³, Dmitry Vasilyev, Vladimir Ivanov¹⁴, and others consider, from the new methodological viewpoint, the place and significance of the Golden Horde as the first Eurasian empire of the late medieval period that rose to the same level as the great European states. Peter Jackson presented in his work an extensive survey of the books and most important articles published on the development of the Mongol empire during the period of 1986-1999 and identified the main issues of modern research. In particular, he pointed

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aeae.2012.11.010>

- ⁸ G. A. Fedorow-Dawydow, *Die Goldene Horde und ihre Vorgänger*, Germany, Koehler & Amelang Leipzig, 1972, p. 148.
- ⁹ Idem, *Städte der Goldenen Horde an der unteren Wolga*, Materialien zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie 11, München, 1984.
- ¹⁰ М. А. Усманов, *Состояние и перспективы источниковедения истории Улуса Джучи* [State and perspectives of the source study of the history of Ulus Jochi], in *Источниковедение Улуса Джучи (Золотой Орды. От Калки до Астрахани 1223-1556)* [Source study of Ulus Juchi (Golden Horde, from Kalka to Astrakhan 1223-1556)], Collection of papers, Казань, 2001, с. 428.
- ¹¹ Д. М. Исхаков, И. Л. Измайлов, *Этнополитическая история татар* [Ethnopolitical history of the Tatars], Казань, 2007, с. 356.
- ¹² И. Л. Измайлов, *Некоторые аспекты становления и развития этнополитического самосознания населения Золотой Орды* [Some aspects of the formation and development of the ethnopolitical self-awareness of the population of the Golden Horde], in *Из истории Золотой Орды* [From the history of the Golden Horde], Collection of papers, Казань, Изд-во «Фонд им. М. Султангалиева», 1993, с. 17-32.
- ¹³ И. Камалов, *Золотая Орда и русский улус (татарское влияние на Россию)* [The Golden Horde and the Russian ulus (Tatar influence on Russia)], Казань, Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани АНРТ, 2016, с. 304.
- ¹⁴ Д. В. Васильев, В. А. Иванов, *Метаморфозы истории Золотой Орды в XXI веке* [Metamorphosis of the Golden Horde history in the 21st century], in "Golden Horde Review", 2015, Vol. 3, no. 3, p. 151-166. <http://goldhorde.ru/RU/3-2015/> (Accessed on 06.02.2019)

out the linguistic issue as one of the great problems posed by the study of the Mongol empire.¹⁵ The American scientist Uli Shamiloglu suggested studying the environmental and climate observations; this is, in fact, a continuation of Lev Gumilyov's ideas on the geographical and environmental determinism. In addition, the scientific interpretations of the American researcher Uli Schamiloglu on the matter of clan structure in the Golden Horde society are interesting. In the modern historiography of the Golden Horde, the Tatar scientists Damir Iskhakov and Iskander Izmaylov are outstanding researchers with new conceptual viewpoints, who believe that a new ethnopolitical community was formed in the state because the military-feudal nobility committed to state ideology, using both traditional (Turkic and Mongolian) myths and Islamic ideas and symbols. The first problem raised by researchers is the ethnic-forming factor – the state. The second one is the ethnic-forming social stratum – the military-feudal nobility. Istán Vásáry provided another research direction. In his article, he attempted to illustrate how combined evidence presented by written sources and numismatics can be used to reassess some genealogical and chronological issues of the Golden Horde. He suggested that it would allow reinterpreting a series of events and eliminating many deep-rooted misconceptions.¹⁶

As modern historiography states, “the essence of the historical process, is centred on two fundamental scientific approaches in world history – universal-stadial and universal-pluralistic”. Throughout historical science, researchers evaluated directly the nomadic management structures, others gave particular importance to the essence of the entire military hierarchical organization of empires, which attempted to subjugate dependent people and withdraw a portion of the excess product from them. Discussions over the past decade have revealed two approaches in assessing the nomadic statehood of Eurasia. The prevailing viewpoint in modern historical science is that nomadic empires were super complex chiefdoms¹⁷.

Nikolai Kradin characterized these formations as “tribal confederations”. He identified three types of nomadic empires:

¹⁵ P. Jackson, *The Mongol Empire, 1986–1999*, in “Journal of Medieval History”, 2000, Vol. 26, no. 2, p. 189–210. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-4181\(99\)00016-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-4181(99)00016-0)

¹⁶ I. Vásáry, *The beginnings of coinage in the blue horde*, in “Acta Orientalia Hungarica”, 2009, Vol. 62, no. 4, p. 371–385. <https://doi.org/10.1556/AOrient.62.2009.4.1>

¹⁷ Б. В. Базаров, Н. Н. Крадин, Т. Д. Скрынникова, *Введение: кочевники, монголосфера и цивилизационный процесс* [Introduction: nomads, the Mongolian world and the civilizational process], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БН С РАН, 2004, с. 3–20.

- 1) typical empires - nomads and farmers co-exist at a distance;
- 2) tributary empires - farmers depend on nomads;
- 3) conquering empires - nomads conquer an agricultural society and migrate to its territory¹⁸.

According to the researcher, the Mongols subsequently created the first world-system by uniting large regional centres (Europe, the Islamic world, India, China, and the Golden Horde) into a single chain. In this regard, Daniel Waugh, based on the archaeological approach, discusses the controversial impact of Mongol conquests across Eurasia. He believes that the Mongols' impact differed in relation to "the location and the priorities of the new conquerors"¹⁹. While Nikolai Kradin offers a civilization approach in order to solve the question of whether the nomadic empires and medieval society were consistent with the state and civilization level, Sergey Klyashtorny²⁰ applies the method of linear evolution of nomadic societies, according to which power developed from tribal and military-democratic institutions to an early state – an over-tribal political organization. According to Christopher Kaplonski, the Mongols established the world's largest contiguous land empire as well as opened new trade and information routes between Asia and Europe.²¹

Modern theories draw parallels between the histories of continental empires. Using the example of Russia's state building associated with the repolarization of Muscovy's power in relation to the Golden Horde, Pavel Osinsky explores an alternative, continental pathway of the empire building, drawing on a theory of fields and an agency theory.²² Alfred Rieber states „Empires are state structures in which

¹⁸ Н. Н. Крадин, *Кочевники, мир-империи и социальная эволюция* [The nomads, world-empires and social evolution], in *Раннее государство, его альтернативы и аналоги. Сборник статей* [Early state, it's alternatives and analogues], Волгоградский центр социальных исследований, 2006, с. 490-511.

¹⁹ D. C. Waugh, *The 'owl of misfortune' or the 'phoenix of prosperity'? Re-thinking the impact of the Mongols*, in "Journal of Eurasian Studies", 2017, Vol. 8, no. 1, p. 10-21. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euras.2016.11.004>

²⁰ С. Г. Кляшторный, *Основные этапы политогенеза у древних кочевников Центральной Азии* [The main stages of political genesis in the ancient nomads of Central Asia], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 2, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БН С РАН, 2005, С. 23-31.

²¹ С. Kaplonski, *The Mongolian Impact on Eurasia: A Reassessment. The Role of Migration in the History of the Eurasian Steppe*, In: A. Bell-Fialkoff (ed.), *The Role of Migration in the History of the Eurasian Steppe*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2000, p. 251–274.

²² P. Osinsky, *The Rise of Muscovy in the Late Middle Ages: Interpreting Russia's State-Building through the Lens of a Field Theory*, in <http://www.appstate.edu/~elorantaj/>

one ethnic group establishes and retains control over other ethnic groups within the boundaries of a certain territory.”²³ The author considers that „the imperial system consists of a set of symbols, institutions and spatial links that determine the power of the ruler and the ruling elite”²⁴. As follows from the development of historical thought, the imperial idea embodied the image of the ruler, and the author focuses on three circumstances: the concepts of power became part of moral and religious ideas, they were associated with traditions and myths, the language of politics turned them into visible symbols and written texts. The concept of power became part of moral or religious ideas and they were associated with traditions and myths²⁵. Modern literature shows that border management in empires was not a one-line process. Andreas Kappeler in the article “The Formation of the Russian Empire in the 15-18 Century: The inheritance of Rus, Byzantine and the Horde” shows the empire’s stages of development under the influence of the Byzantine-Orthodox, Norman-pagan, Roman-Latin, steppe, and Islamic civilizations²⁶. Thus, modern civilization theories emphasize the ideological basis of imperial constructions. Russian researcher Lorina Repina points out: “Exactly from this perspective, we should consider mental stereotypes, historical myths, different processes of transformation of ordinary historical consciousness, mechanisms for the formation, transformation, and transfer of historical memory turned to the future ...”.²⁷

Vadim Trepavlov²⁸ believes that the characteristic features of the state system of the Golden Horde include the following: a) monarchical power of the khan;

Osinsky.pdf (Accessed on 4.03.2019)

²³ А. Рибер, *Сравнивая континентальные империи* [Equating Continental Empires], in *Российская империя в сравнительной перспективе* [The Russian Empire in a Comparative Perspective]. Сборник статей. Москва, Новое издательство, 2004, с. 34.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ А. Каппелер, *Формирование Российской империи в XV – начало XVIII века: наследство Руси, Византии и Орды* [Formation of the Russian Empire in the 15 - beginning of the 18 century: the inheritance of Russia, Byzantium and the Horde], in *Российская империя в сравнительной перспективе* [The Russian Empire in a Comparative Perspective], Сборник статей, Москва, Новое издательство, 2004, с. 95.

²⁷ Л. П. Репина, *Историческая память и современная историография* [Historical Memory and Contemporary Historiography], in “Новая и новейшая история” [New and Contemporary History], 2004, no. 5, p. 39-40.

²⁸ В. В. Тrepавлов, *Административное устройство. Организация управления* [Administrative device. Organization of management], in *Золотая Орда в мировой истории* [Golden Horde in world history], Collective monograph, Казань, Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани АН РТ, 2016, с. 148-157.

b) participation of Karachi-beks - representatives of several (usually four) aristocratic Tatar families in the administration; c) the division of the nomadic population and territory into right and left wings; d) the ulus system - a set of contingents of the lieges and territorial domains granted by the khan to the administration of military commanders and „civilian” dignitaries; e) the institution of governors (Mongolian *daragachi*, *daruga*, Turk *baskak*) in the management of the urban and rural settled population; f) collecting taxes; g) combination of public administration with traditional local government. Anthropologist Thomas Hall proceeds from the world-system approach; therefore, if we consider nomadism in terms of this methodology, then, in the pre-industrial era, the nomads took the place of the „semi-periphery”.²⁹ Altogether, various regional economies (local civilizations, „peace empires”) united in a single space. He shares Thomas Barfield's opinion that there are synchronous cycles of ups and downs of agricultural civilizations and nomadic empires. Certain opinions and hypotheses of modern historical science reflect the features of the phenomenon that has not been fully studied. In the course of historical discussions, even opposing theories rather do not exclude each other, but reflect the important structural parameters of the object being studied. Joseph Fletcher³⁰ emphasizes that statehood is not an institution that is vital for a nomadic society, and in turn, P. Golden³¹ is sceptical of the idea that nomads can independently create statehood, but does not deny that under the influence of the Chinese civilization the steppe empires took the form of early state societies. The representative of Kazakhstani historiography, Zardykhan Kinaiyatuly, believes that, in order to understand the nature of nomadic statehood, it is necessary to turn to the sources of the ancient Turkic term „ulus”. The researcher pays attention to the Turko-Mongolian terms „el”, „ulus”, which convey the meaning of state, as the English „state”, the Chinese „go” were known long before the appearance of the Euro-Slavic „state”, „republica”, Arabic „mamlakat”, Persian

²⁹ Т. Холл, *Монголы в мир-системной истории* [Mongols in the world-system history], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БНС РАН, 2004, с. 136-167.

³⁰ Дж. Флетчер, *Средневековые монголы: экологические и социальные перспективы* [Medieval Mongols: ecological and social perspectives], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БНС РАН, 2004, с. 212-254.

³¹ П. Голден, *Кипчаки средневековой Евразии: пример негосударственной адаптации в степи* [Kipchaks of medieval Eurasia: an example of non-state adaptation in the steppes], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БНС РАН, 2004, с. 103-136.

„dawlat”³². In Mongolian, an ulus meant an organizational entity involving a number of kin groups united by allegiance to their leader. Stephen Kotkin believes that the efforts made by the Mongols to build an administration and streamline taxes are “an impressive example of a general pattern”.³³

Modern historians focus their attention on another problem, such as the imperial structures of power of the Golden Horde. This aspect of the matter was reflected in the study of Nicola Di Cosmo.³⁴ The sequence of historical thinking and especially historical analysis by modern methodological approaches shows that related structures and genealogies caused „dispersity” and centrifugal nomadic societies. However, the military hierarchical bodies of political management in nomadic empires such as the Golden Horde were closely intertwined with the tribal segments, at the same time they outranked them, controlled them, and organized their effective use in accordance with the goals of the imperial leadership. Thus, the Kazakh researcher Kanat Uskenbay considers that “according to the established state tradition of the nomads, the state was divided in military and administrative terms, into wings and uluses for more effective management. In this respect, the Mongolian empire with its ulus-wing system is the most striking example. The division of the army and population into wings and ulus was projected on the administrative structure of the whole Mongolian empire”³⁵. The development of historical thought shows not only the process of events but to a certain extent, it influences the formation of public opinion and worldview. A variety of methodological approaches and research principles led to the disclosure of the genesis of socio-political changes in the nomadic environment. The further development of historical thought will allow us to define new directions, to open the research horizons and find alternative ways in studying the complexity, differentiation, and

³² З. Қинаятұлы, *Шыңғыс хан және Қазақ мемлекеті* [Genghis Khan and the Kazakh state], Алматы, Тарих тағылымы, 2010, с. 512.

³³ S. Kotkin, *Defining Territories and Empires: from Mongol Ulus to Russian Siberia 1200-1800*, Princeton, Princeton University, Slavic Research Centre, 1996.

³⁴ N. Di Cosmo, *Black Sea Emporia and the Mongol Empire: A Reassessment of the Pax Mongolica*, in “Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient”, 2010, Vol. 53, no. 1, p. 83-108. DOI: 10.1163/002249910X12573963244241 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/233636627_Black_Sea_Emporia_and_the_Mongol_Empire_A_Reassessment_of_the_Pax_Mongolica (Accessed on 06.02.2019)

³⁵ К. Ускенбай, *Восточный Дешт-и Кыпчак в XIII – начале XV века. Проблемы этнополитической истории Улуса Джучи* [East Desht-i Qipchaq in the 13 - early 15 century. Problems of the ethno-political history of Ulus Juchi], Казань, Изд-во «ФЭН» АН РТ, 2013, с. 40.

development of the socio-political structures of the Golden Horde.

The novelty of the present research on the Golden Horde theme is that, along with social and economic conditions, the cultural and religious factors are revealed for the first time – these matters were taken into consideration by the studies of Salikh Zakirov³⁶, Vladimir Kostyukov³⁷, Zikiriya Zhandarbek³⁸, Magomet Safargaliev³⁹, Nikolai Malov⁴⁰, and Il’Nur Mirgaleev⁴¹. Religious and ideological factors influenced the social processes, including the ethnocultural life of the Golden Horde. Another important aspect in the history of the Golden Horde is the relationship with the Mameluke Egypt during the reign of Beybaris under the title of Takka al-Malik - az-Zahir Rukn ad-duniyya va-d-din Beibarys al-Burundukdari al-Salih (full name and title of the ruler). Modern historiography pays attention to: 1. the main reasons for the existing friendly relations and military alliance between the rulers of Egypt and the Golden Horde. 2. The influence of Islamic ideology on the rapprochement of the two states. These problems cover various aspects of the socio-political history of the states and their comprehensive consideration and historiographic analysis will identify the conflicting sides of this process, raise unresolved issues and see the weakness of methodological approaches and the insufficient debate concerning the religious and dynastic relationships of the Golden Horde and Egypt.

METHODOLOGY

The methodological basis of research uses the comparative-typological

³⁶ С. Закиров, *Дипломатические отношения Золотой Орды с Египтом* [Diplomatic relations of the Golden Horde with Egypt], Москва, Наука, 1966, с. 159.

³⁷ В. П. Костюков, *Была ли Золотая Орда "Кипчакским ханством?"* [Was the Golden Horde "Kipchak Khanate?"], in *Тюркологический сборник. 2005: Тюркские народы России и Великой степи* [Turkological collection. 2005: Turkic peoples of Russia and the Great Steppe], Москва, "Восточная литература" РАН, 2006, с. 199-237.

³⁸ З. Жандарбек, *Йасауи жолы және қазақ қоғамы* [The path Yasawi and the Kazakh society], Алматы, Ел-шежіре, 2006.

³⁹ М. Г. Сафаргалиев, *Распад Золотой Орды* [The collapse of the Golden Horde], in *На стыке континентов и цивилизаций* [At the crossroads of continents and civilizations], Москва, ИКСАН, 1996, с. 280-530.

⁴⁰ Н. М. Малов, *Религии в Золотой Орде* [Religions in the Golden Horde], Саратов, Изд-во Саратовского государственного университета им. Н.Г. Чернышевского, 1998, с. 127.

⁴¹ I. Mirgaleev, *The Islamization of the Golden Horde: New Data*, in "Golden Horde Review", 2016, Vol. 4, no. 1, p. 89-101. <http://goldhorde.ru/RU/category/2016/> (Accessed on 06.02.2019)

method of analysis and synthesis, the comparative analysis, the method of actualization, the comparative method, the method of actualization and retrospection. Therefore, the Eurocentric theories of the emergence and development of the state imply a centralized political power that monopolizes (or delegates) management and regularly collects taxes on a more or less certain territory. In historical science, synchronous political processes were considered as successive stages of state formation. The concept of „political genesis” was developed in the 1970s and 80s by Lev Kubbel⁴², who named the process of formation of the state as such. The modern American anthropologist and historian Thomas Barfield believes that the emergence of the nomadic statehood is built on contradictions⁴³. At the top of the nomadic empire, there is an organized state led by an autocrat, but it turns out that most of the tribe members retain their traditional political organization, which is based on related groups of various ranks. According to the researcher, two series of theories were suggested to resolve these contradictions, which had to show that the tribal form is only a shell for statehood or that the tribal structure never leads to the present state. In other words, these scientific studies, based on the methods of actualization and retrospection, reveal the stages and dynamics of the development of research principles in considering various aspects of nomadic statehood that, according to foreign researchers, only temporarily dominated the tribal political organization.

The scientific methodology on the history of the Golden Horde, based on an analysis of the system in its development towards a synergetic paradigm and historical research, presents many topical issues from a new theoretical and methodological position and, in some cases, hypothetical reconstructions of little-studied events and phenomena of the historical and ethnocultural past, such as: the ethnogenetic continuity of nomadic organisms and the settled-agricultural environment, the main stages in the formation of statehood, the problems of power and domination and subordinate settled-agricultural peoples. Prospect of modern research consists also in their complex interdisciplinary character when exact historical and theoretical-analytical sections of historical reality are considered simultaneously.

In the choice of scientific and theoretical methodology - the civilizational approach (Natalia Proskuryakova, Igor Ionov, John Hord, Shuntaro Ito, Rafail Khakimov,

⁴² Л. Е. Куббель, *Очерки постстарно-политической этнографии* [Essays of Authority-Political Ethnography], Москва, Наука, 1988, с. 1.

⁴³ Т. Дж. Барфилд, *Опасная граница: кочевые империи и Китай (221 г. до н.э.-1757 г. н.э.)* [The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China (221 BC to AD 1757)], Санкт-Петербург, Нестор-История, 2009, с. 488.

Anatoly Khazanov, Bulat Kumekov, Aigul Orazbayeva⁴⁴), allowed to objectively consider the development features of the Golden Horde statehood at different levels and in all the diversity of manifestation of political, legal and spiritual-cultural constants and paradigms of development. For the development of modern civilization research, many factors are required, above all the development of interdisciplinary dialogue as an environment for the development of progressive research methods. Interdisciplinary synthesis focuses on the general state of historical science and opens up a new level of theoretical and concrete historical understanding of multidirectional processes in the Golden Horde.

DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

Modern historical science today has developed three basic approaches in the study of the nomadic world: stadial, dichotomous and the concept of local civilizations. Natalia Proskuryakova defines: „Analysis of the modern methodological situation allows us to identify several main trends in homeland historiography: 1. update the formative approach; 2. develop of a civilizational approach; 3. combine the formative and civilizational approaches; 4. active development of the modernization paradigm”⁴⁵. Sociological theories define the state as a special form of organization of society, possessing certain means and methods of applying power

⁴⁴ Н. А. Проскурякова, *Концепции цивилизации и модернизации в отечественной историографии* [Concepts of Civilization and Modernization in Russian Historiography], in “Вопросы истории” [Questions of History], 2007, Vol. 21, no. 7, p. 69-74; И. Н. Ионов, *Цивилизационное сознание и историческое знание: проблемы взаимодействия* [Civilizational consciousness and historical knowledge: problems of interaction], Москва, Наука, 2007, с. 499; Д. Хорд, *Древо цивилизаций* [The Civilizational Tree], in “Время мира” [World time], Выпуск 2, Новосибирск, 2001, с. 355-369; S. Ito, *A Framework for Comparative Study of Civilizations*, in “Comparative Civilizations Review”, 1997, Vol. 36, no. 36, <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1395&context=ccr> (Accessed on 04.02.2019.); Р. С. Хакимов, *Золотая Орда как вершина тюрко-татарской цивилизации* [Golden Horde as the top of the Turkic-Tatar civilization], in *Золотордынская цивилизация* [Golden Horde civilization], Казань, 2008, с. 176; А. М. Хазанов, *Кочевники и внешний мир* [Nomads and the outside world], Алматы, Дайк-Пресс, 2002, с. 604; Б. Е. Кумеков, *Степная и городская культура кимеков* [Steppe and urban culture of Kimek], in *Урбанизация и номуадизм в Центральной Азии: история и проблемы* [Urbanization and nomadism in Central Asia: history and problems], Алматы, 2004, с. 102-134; А. И. Оразбаева, *Цивилизация кочевников евразийских степей* [The civilization of the nomads of the Eurasian steppes], Алматы, Дайк-Пресс, 2005, с. 308.

⁴⁵ Н. А. Проскурякова, *Концепции цивилизации и модернизации в отечественной историографии* [Concepts of Civilization and Modernization in Russian Historiography],

within society, establishing a certain order of relationships between members of society in a certain territory, which involves the entire population in an established territory. We find the conceptual provisions that deny the nomadic statehood among the founders of the German classical philosophy, Immanuel Kant⁴⁶ and Friedrich Hegel⁴⁷. Immanuel Kant saw the origins of statehood among nomads in the conflict between the nomads and the landowners (sedentary groups). Friedrich Hegel attributed the nomads to the second prehistoric stage of nomadic development and believed that nomads did not ripe to the statehood formation stage. According to Friedrich Hegel, the emergence of the state as a political institution is possible only if there are cities, as centres of public authority, an organized legal system, and other related elements. Due to the patriarchal organization, Friedrich Hegel assigns them the role of destroyers of civilization by cause of lack of state and individual freedom.

Historiography of the theory of civilizations as noted by Igor Ionov “has not only scientific but also great practical importance since it can become the basis of a new world outlook on the main trends of global development. In the conditions of global changes in the world, a growing number of problems are acquiring a whole series of universal problems that form an objective basis for realizing the role of the civilization paradigm. At the present stage of the development of the world community, the interaction of representatives of different cultures, nationalities, and confessions becomes an undeniable imperative”⁴⁸. Modern followers of the civilizational approach pay great attention to the comparative study of civilizations; thus, John Hord constructs the genealogical tree of civilizations⁴⁹, S. Ito creates a scheme in which he tries to take into account the space-time features of life of each of the 23 main civilizations, their mutual influence on each other, the general historical global shifts („urban”, „axial”, “scientific” revolution”)⁵⁰. The

in “Вопросы истории” [Questions of History], 2007, Vol. 21, no. 7, p. 154.

⁴⁶ И. Кант, *Сочинение в 6-ти томах* [Works in 6 volumes], Москва, Мысль, 1966, Т.6, с. 743.

⁴⁷ Ф. Гегель, *Сочинения в 14 томах. Философия истории* [Works in 14 volumes. History philosophy], Москва, Соцэкгиз, 1935, Т. 8, с. 468.

⁴⁸ И. Н. Ионов, *Цивилизационное сознание и историческое знание: проблемы взаимодействия* [Civilizational consciousness and historical knowledge: problems of interaction], Москва, Наука, 2007, с. 477.

⁴⁹ Д. Хорд, *Древо цивилизаций* [The Civilizational Tree], in “Время мира” [World time], Выпуск 2, Новосибирск, 2001, с. 355-369.

⁵⁰ S. Ito, *A Framework for Comparative Study of Civilizations*, in “Comparative Civilizations Review”, 1997, Vol. 36, no. 36, <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1395&context=ccr> (Accessed on 04.02.2019.)

civilizational theory in Russian historiography has quite a few changes of a regional and typological nature, so attempts are made to determine the influence of the Golden Horde on the formation of Russian civilization: „... the creation of a system of cities of the southern Russian steppes in the XIVth century allows us to talk about the history of the Golden Horde as an attempt at a civilizational breakthrough in the history of mankind, and also as an incomplete original way of evolution of the Russian (Eurasian civilization).⁵¹ They concluded that civilization is, first, the ability to learn, change, develop and create, ensure basic human needs, tolerance in the relationships of people and the level of self-organization of society, where the most important criterion is the autonomy level from the surrounding natural environment. Moreover, all these features, according to the researcher, were inherent in the civilization of the Golden Horde. Rafail Khakimov points out the great role of the Golden Horde in the life of the Turkic peoples and the entire Eurasian space: “The Golden Horde culture absorbed the medieval achievements of many Turkic and other peoples. The perfect economy, built on a wonderful financial system, fantastic communications and management at that time, allowing to control a huge territory and provide security, excellent military art, science, literature, architecture, etc. - all this speaks of an independent culture of the Golden Horde, which stood in the Middle Ages at the highest level”.⁵²

In assessing the historic role of nomads, the American researcher Anatoly Khazanov relies on his own conclusions regarding the complete historical process on the planet. At the same time, he denies both evolutionism and Marxism. Anatoly Khazanov summarizes that all the major breakthroughs in the history of mankind were the result of the unique combination of various factors and occurred a few times or once only. Anatoly Khazanov remains true to his „concept of uniqueness” of historical development. Based on it, he concludes his research with the following words: “...the nomads were not the only or even the most important of the many factors that determined the long-term trends of regional development”.⁵³ That is, Anatoly Khazanov denies the fact that the nomads had a significant contribution to the history of mankind. Kazakh scientists also did not stay

⁵¹ Э. С. Кульпин, *Золотая Орда: судьбы поколений* [Golden Horde: the fate of generations], Москва, ИНСАН, 2008, с. 118.

⁵² Р. С. Хакимов, *Золотая Орда как вершина тюрко-татарской цивилизации* [Golden Horde as the top of the Turkic-Tatar civilization], in *Золотоордынская цивилизация* [Golden Horde civilization], Казань, 2008, с. 14.

⁵³ А. М. Хазанова, *Кочевники и внешний мир* [Nomads and the outside world], Алматы, Дайк-Пресс, 2002, с. 216.

away from the modern science discussions on the topic of the correspondence of different methodological approaches, including civilizational ones. Based on medieval Arab sources, Bulat Kumekov calls for an understanding of the specificity of the civilizational features of the nomadic culture. Defending the main definitions of civilization in the steppe civilization, such as the state, cities, and writing, he says: "Due to the intergenerational adaptation to the geographical environment and the dominant cattle-breeding economy, the nomadic tribes developed the traditions of the steppe culture, the most stable block, which was associated with a special phenomenon, the steppe way of life. Its deep roots originate in the Bronze Age and the standards are established in the Saka historical and cultural community. A high degree of continuity is specific to the steppe way of life in time and space".⁵⁴ In his monograph *Civilization of the nomads of the Eurasian steppes*, the modern Kazakhstani author Aigul Orazbayeva considers it expedient to include the term "civilization of the nomads of the Eurasian steppes" (CNES) in the categorical apparatus, since it meets all the most significant socio-cultural characteristics of traditional Kazakh society and is more optimal in the further disclosure of its essence and content".⁵⁵

Modern historians focus on another issue such as the imperial power structure of the Golden Horde. T. Barfield, analysing the components of nomadic formations, defines them as autocratic and state-like in foreign and military policy, but adhered to the principles of deliberativeness and federalism in internal affairs.⁵⁶ The result of a set of critical analysis techniques was the understanding of the transformation of the Mongol Empire into a mega-empire and its logical continuation of the Golden Horde, which included various political, economic, ethnic, religious and other subsystems (uluses, "wings", segments of the decimal system, tribal structures, oases, cities and agricultural territories, confessional communities, etc.).⁵⁷ J. Daniel Rogers identified several strategies for unification in major

⁵⁴ Б. Е. Кумеков, *Степная и городская культура кимеков* [Steppe and urban culture of Kimek], in *Урбанизация и номадизм в Центральной Азии: история и проблемы* [Urbanization and nomadism in Central Asia: history and problems], Алматы, 2004, с. 102.

⁵⁵ А. И. Оразбаева, *Цивилизация кочевников евразийских степей* [The civilization of the nomads of the Eurasian steppes], Алматы, Дайк-Пресс, 2005, с. 76.

⁵⁶ Дж. Т. Барфилд, *Опасная граница: кочевые империи и Китай (221 г. до н.э.-1757 г. н.э.)* [The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China (221 BC to AD 1757)], Санкт-Петербург, Нестор-История, 2009, с. 488.

⁵⁷ С. А. Васютин, *Монгольская империя как особая форма ранней государственности? (к дискуссии о политических системах кочевых империй)* [Mongol Empire as a spe-

political structures. Various options for such integration are the inclusion of the conquered population in their society and its acculturation, strengthening of ties through the construction of common cultural symbols, new genealogies and religions, free exchange and marriage, hostage, the creation of supralocal administrative and ideological institutions⁵⁸. Nicola Di Cosmo in his work *Education of the State and periodization of the history of Inner Asia* notes that the impetus for politogenesis is a structural crisis within the tribal society. It led to the militarization of the nomadic society and the creation of permanent military units and special squads⁵⁹. Nicola Di Cosmo believes that the history of the steppe empires can be divided into four stages from the point of view of income generation from the outside world: 1) the period of the tributary empires - from the Huns to the zhuzhans (209 BC - 551 AD); 2) the period of trade and tributary empires of the Turks, Khazars and Uighurs (551-907); 3) the period of the dual-administrative empires (907-1259); 4) periods of mature empires (1260-1796)⁶⁰. He also defines endogenous and exogenous factors in the formation of "steppe" empires. Among the endogenous factors, the charismatic "builders of the empire" play the central role - individuals capable of successfully manoeuvring in the whirlpool of steppe politics both militarily and diplomatically, and creating tribal confederations, perhaps even empires, with centralized political power and armed forces⁶¹. Modern researchers like Mirkasym Usmanov, Damir Iskhakov, Iskander Izmailov, and others from new methodological positions consider the place and significance of the Golden Horde as the first Eurasian empire of the late medieval period, which has risen to the same level as the great European states. In particular, Mirkasym Usmanov pays attention to the commonality of the social structure, political organization, mentality and historical heritage of the lieges of the

cial form of early statehood? (to the discussion of the political systems of nomadic empires)], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 1, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БН С РАН, 2004, с. 271

⁵⁸ Д. Роджерс, *Причины формирования государств в восточной Внутренней Азии* [The Contingencies of State Formation in Eastern Inner Asia], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 3, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БНС РАН, 2008, с. 144-180.

⁵⁹ Н. Ди Космо, *Образование государства и периодизация истории Внутренней Азии* [State formation and periodization of the history of Inner Asia], in *Монгольская империя и кочевой мир* [Mongol Empire and nomadic world], Книга 3, Улан-Удэ, Изд-во БН С РАН, 2008, с. 195-197.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Golden Horde⁶². Damir Iskhakov considers the preservation of the clan system uniting the military-service nobility, and the relatively similar structure of the khanates, with the yurts of the ruling tribes and representatives of these tribes who could freely move from one khanate to another, settling on the territory of the corresponding tribal land⁶³. Historiographical sources inform us: „In the system of internal management of the Golden Horde, an important role was played by the administrative and bureaucratic apparatus represented by the servicemen, as well as the military nomadic nobility, among whom the most prominent was the role of Turkic people - the Kipchaks, the medieval Uighurs, and the Volga Bulgars”⁶⁴. The history of the Turkic, Slavic, Finno-Ugric tribes and associations continued in the states formed during the Mongol conquest. In this respect, both the bureaucracy and the army of the Golden Horde were composed of representatives of the local population. “The majority of the lieges of the Golden Horde were the Turkic peoples, the Kipchaks, conquered by the Mongols – the Kipchaks and Cumans of Kazakhstan, the Volga region and the Black Sea region, the inhabitants of Khorasm and Volga Bulgaria and the inhabitants of Russian principalities ... The Mongols, who formed the nobility and the elite troops, quickly fell under the influence of their more cultured lieges, having already perceived by the end of the thirteenth century their Turkic language, and then the religion of Islam”⁶⁵. Another contemporary author, Ilyas Kamalov, after analysing a large set of historical sources concluded that the population census, the creation of troops using the population of the conquered lands, the organization of the postal services and the tax collection were all the duty of the darugas, represent-

⁶² М. А. Усманов, *Состояние и перспективы источниковедения истории Улуса Джучи* [The state and prospects of the source study of the history of Ulus Juchi], in *Источниковедение истории Улуса Джучи (Золотая Орда). От калки до Астрахани. 1223-1156* [Source study of the history of the Ulus Juchi (the Golden Horde). From Kalka to Astrakhan. 1223-1556.], Казань, 2001, с. 5-14.

⁶³ Д. М. Исхаков, *Родословные и эпические произведения как источник изучения истории сословий Улуса Джучи и татарских ханств* [Pedigrees and epic works as a source for studying the history of the estates of Ulus Juchi and the Tatar khanates], in *Источниковедение истории Улуса Джучи (Золотая Орда). От калки до Астрахани. 1223-1156* [Source study of the history of the Ulus Juchi (the Golden Horde). From Kalka to Astrakhan. 1223-1556.], Казань, 2001, с. 329-366.

⁶⁴ Д. М. Исхаков, И. Л. Измайлов, *Этнополитическая история татар* [Ethnopolitical history of the Tatars], Казань, 2007, с. 83.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

atives of the Golden Horde in the Russian lands. Moreover, the period of domination of the Golden Horde Turkic influence on the formation of Russian statehood has only grown⁶⁶. In conclusion, the researcher stated: "the influence of the Golden Horde on Russia is not limited to the political and religious sphere, but they also affected the sphere of state organizations and the socio-economic sphere. ... As a result of the three centuries of domination of the Golden Horde over the Russian principalities, the Russian principalities became the owners of a centralized state"⁶⁷. Thus, the complex and ambiguous nature of the development and synthesis of the sedentary and nomadic systems in the Golden Horde makes the application of system principles in the analysis of institutions of power and domination, the social system and the specific features of the process of transformation and convergence of the nomadic society and the settled population promising. Thus, the cyclic changes in the power structure of nomadic societies and the intensification of the process of specialization of power in nomadic systems were identified, and the deeper it was, the more developed and structured the society turned out to be. A variety of modern approaches and opinions led to the disclosure of the genesis of socio-political changes in the Golden Horde. Analysing the historiography of symbiosis and the synthesis of nomadic and sedentary agricultural structures of the Golden Horde, we saw the need for special scientific research on the problems of power and the rule and cultural synthesis of nomadic associations and settled-agricultural people.

At the present stage of development of historiographic research, one of the main research objects is the interaction and inter-influence of various cultural traditions, ideology, and religion. The process of religious tolerance and the influence of religion on the political system and social institutions began as part of the Mongol Empire, part of which was the Golden Horde. "In traditional Mongol religion one tried to avoid offending spirits for fear of supernatural retaliation; thus, honouring the rituals of all religions and being included in prayers was simply a form of spiritual insurance against offending another spiritual power. Furthermore, inclusion in the prayers also demonstrated the legitimacy of the khan's authority as it had the official backing of the local religious elite. The inclusion of the ruler's name in the khutba, the Friday sermon in Islam, was a centuries-old practice that indicated the legitimacy of the ruler.... Beyond their own

⁶⁶ И. Камалов, *Золотая Орда и русский улус (татарское влияние на Россию)* [The Golden Horde and the Russian ulus (Tatar influence on Russia), Казань, Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани АНРТ, 2016, с. 135-139.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, с. 273.

policy of religious toleration, the Mongols attempted to preserve peace between the religious sects within the empire. This should not be construed as a philanthropic ideal, but rather one of strategic necessity.”⁶⁸ According to Uli Schamiloglu, the traditional Mongol belief system may be defined as “animist, so consistent with the other traditional religions of Eurasia in which shamans served as media to invoke the spirits of natural phenomena.”⁶⁹ In the monograph of the Russian researcher Aleksandr Yurchenko, we see the author’s reference to the ideological foundations of the Mongolian empire: “The ideological legitimation of the power of the imperial elite in the person of Genghis Khan and his entourage demanded a change of religious dominance, because the former system of shamanistic views and cults ... could not satisfy the demands of the new social and political reality.”⁷⁰ An interesting trend in historiography is the issue of spiritual and ideological integration and the process of Islamization of the Golden Horde society. Uli Schamiloglu points to this multi-vector process: “Finally, the fact that in this part of the medieval world knowledge was to be equated with religious knowledge, it would be necessary to create a new high culture on the basis of one of the great world religions with its own tradition of a high culture. This could only be accomplished by importing or attracting scholars versed in this tradition to its own territory. Even though Islam was not the only religion practiced in the territories of the Golden Horde, it ascended in the early 14th century to the status of a state religion. The Islamic Turkic high culture which developed slowly over the course of the 13th-14th centuries, indeed began to flourish in the mid-14th century, reflects a felicitous conjuncture of several different facts: wealth, urbanization, Turkification, and Islamization”.⁷⁸

It should be noted that the role of religion was very important and it served as the ideological basis for military operations. Kazakhstani researcher Zikiriya Zhandarbek describes the adoption of the Islam by Berke Khan as follows: “Berke Khan became the ruler of the Golden Horde and tried to unite the state and turn Islam into a nation-wide ideology and the main factor uniting the entire state”⁷¹.

⁶⁸ T. May, *The Mongol conquests in world history*, London, Reaktion Books, 2012, p. 173.

⁶⁹ U. Schamiloglu, *The Islamic High Culture of the Golden Horde*, <http://www.turko-tatar.com/ca303/UCLA200x.pdf> (Accessed on 06.02.2019)

⁷⁰ А. Г. Юрченко, *Золотая Орда: между Ясой и Кораном (начало конфликта)* [The Golden Horde: between Yasa and the Qur'an (the beginning of the conflict)], Санкт-Петербург, ЕВРАЗИЯ, 2012, с. 52.

⁷¹ З. Жандарбек, *Йасауи жолы және қазақ қоғамы* [The path Yasawi and the Kazakh society], Алматы, Ел-шежіре, 2006, с. 59.

Magomet Safargaliev⁷², analysing the current historical situation, notes that after occupying the throne of the Golden Horde, Berke Khan began to restrict the power of the ulus rulers, the descendants of Juchi and made efforts to subordinate them to the central government. Military-political structures were formed in every region and were obliged to strengthen the centralization of the state. According to Il'Nur Mirgaleev, it was during the reign of Berke Khan that the main directions of the foreign policy of the Golden Horde were established and remained a priority until the late 14th century⁷³. Nikolai Malov wrote about the influence of Islamic ideology on the foreign and interior policy of Berke Khan: "Muslims from Khorezm and Bulgar were hired to the civil service. The cities built along Itil were purely Muslim cities. In international politics, Berke Khan appeared as an Islamic ruler, he made an alliance with Egypt and began military operations against the state of Hulagu, which conquered the Caliphate and killed the Caliph Mustafa"⁷⁴. The famous Kazakh scientist Zardykhan Kinayatuly drew attention to the growth of the influence of Islam in the Golden Horde, stating that: "Berke Khan ruled the ulus of Juchi for 9 years from 1257-1266. 1) He contributed to the gradual penetration of Islam in the steppes of Deshta - Kipchak through comprehensive relations with Muslim states. 2) He was the first to conduct tax reform. 3) Has enabled the mutual enrichment and interconnection of Eastern and Western cultures in the Eurasian spaces through the transfer of the capital upwards through Itil"⁷⁵.

Historical science often addresses the problems of clashes between the Hulaguids and the Juchi dynasty line. Geographical location, natural resources and peculiarities of the climate of Azerbaijan and Georgia aroused the zealous interest of both the descendants of Juchi and the descendants of Hulagu. The war between states began after Berke's attempts to influence Hulagu by diplomatic methods. As it is shown by the analysis of historical literature, the rapprochement and the military alliance of the Golden Horde and Egypt are based on the contradictions

⁷² М.Г. Сафаргалиев, *Распад Золотой Орды* [The collapse of the Golden Horde], in *На стыке континентов и цивилизаций* [At the crossroads of continents and civilizations], Москва, ИНКАН, 1996, с. 320.

⁷³ I. Mirgaleev, *The Islamization of the Golden Horde: New Data*, in "Golden Horde Review", 2016, Vol. 4, no. 1, p. 89-101. <http://goldhorde.ru/RU/category/2016/> (Accessed on 06.02.2019)

⁷⁴ Н. М. Малов, *Религии в Золотой Орде* [Religions in the Golden Horde], Саратов, Изд-во Саратовского государственного университета им. Н. Г. Чернышевского, 1998, с. 96-98.

⁷⁵ З. Қинаятұлы, *Қазақ мемлекеті және Жошы хан* [Kazakh state and Juchi khan], Алматы, Ел таным, 2014, с. 169.

and hostility between the descendants of Juchi and the Hulaguids. Another factor of rapprochement between the Golden Horde and Egypt can be called the aggressive campaigns of the Hulaguids to Syria. The Kazakh researcher K. Saki believes that one of the reasons for the close diplomatic and military relationship of the Golden Horde and Egypt is the Turkic origin of the ruler of Egypt, Beybaris. "Sultan Beybaris attached special importance to direct diplomatic relations with his historic homeland - the Golden Horde. As the Arab historians point out, these relations were based not only on the creation of a military alliance against the Hulaguid rulers but also on Beybaris' desire to establish contact with the fatherland, ensuring the inflow of young men and women from the Golden Horde to Egyptian land. For the sake of fulfilling these goals, he exchanges ambassadors with Khans of the Golden Horde".⁷⁶

Russian researcher Vladimir Kostyukov interprets the reasons for the rapprochement of the two states in a different way. In his opinion, attempts to strengthen relations between the Golden Horde and Egypt, as well as many other states, are explained by the "Kipchak majority" in the ruling dynasties of the Golden Horde, their kin relations and family ties. In fact, as Al-Omari points out, the Mamluk sultans gravitate towards their relatives, and desire their mass resettlement and, thereby, create a protective environment⁷⁷. Vladimir Kostyukov believes that cooperation with the Golden Horde should be determined by even more weighty arguments. The Egyptian Mamluks, who decided to fight the Hulaguids, became convinced that such a strong personality as Berke could become their ally. When the contradictions with Iran reached the military phase, the Muslim rulers of Egypt became Berke's allies.⁷⁸ According to the researcher's definition, the family ties of the Egyptian sultans did not play the main role, „the enemy of my enemy is my friend” and the religious feelings of Berke Khan came first. The sources of this historical period convincingly testify that the rapprochement between Egypt and the Golden Horde had an ideological background. Another important reason and driving force

⁷⁶ Қ. Саки, *Пирамида үстіндегі киіз үй немесе Байбарыс туралы* [About a yurta on the Pyramid or about Baybars], Алматы, Фолиант, 2001, с. 110.

⁷⁷ В. Г. Тизенгаузен, *Сборник материалов относящиеся к истории Золотой Орды* [Collection of materials related to the history of the Golden Horde], Санкт-Петербург, 1884, Т. 1. с. 232

⁷⁸ В. П. Костюков, *Была ли Золотая Орда "Кипчакским ханством?"* [Was the Golden Horde "Kipchak Khanate?"], in *Тюркологический сборник. 2005: Тюркские народы России и Великой степи* [Turkological collection. 2005: Turkic peoples of Russia and the Great Steppe], Москва, "Восточная литература" РАН, 2006, с. 228.

for the war that has begun between states is the so-called „holy war against the infidels”⁷⁹. It should be emphasized that in that historical period, religion had a decisive role, and it served as the ideological basis of any war. Arabian historians also wrote about the powerful role of the Islamic factor in the foreign policy of the Golden Horde. The systematization and comprehensive study of historical literature open the way to historical-geographical, historical-comparative and synergetic methods of research of the spiritual, ideological and socio-political aspects of the relationship between the Golden Horde and Egypt. Contemporary historical science requires a thorough and in-depth study of the interaction of world religious traditions by means of new methodological approaches from the standpoint of the gathered historical data and theories of the historical process. The new perspectives introduced by historical science, such as the analysis of the administrative, legal and social systems of the nomads based on the new historical research methods, allow the presentation of an integrated model of the complex process of dialectical development of the Golden Horde.

CONCLUSION

The analytical study of theoretical conceptual approaches, the methodological approaches and the scientific paradigms of historic research have led us to the following results:

1. In the choice of scientific and theoretical methodology – the civilizational approach (or historical-cultural approach). It allows to objectively assess the features of statehood development in different stages, from nomadic associations and confederations, to “nomadic empires”, in a whole variety of manifestations of their political, legal, spiritual and cultural constants and paradigms of development. Part of the civilizational paradigm of modern historical science is scientific research on the history of empires and imperial structures of the Golden Horde, new theoretical and methodological constructions applied to the study of the concept of „nomadic empire”.

2. The gradual strengthening and synthesis of political, social, ideological spheres of the nomadic world and the settled agricultural population in the Golden Horde contributed to the consolidation of the political and social structures of subordination and differentiation, the interpenetration of various religious and ideological elements.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

3. The development of scientific research based on interdisciplinary and systemic approaches, as well as intercultural dialogue of various religious traditions on the territory of the Golden Horde is due to the need for interaction of diverse forms and multifunctional systems, both political-social and spiritual-cultural. The new demands of scientific knowledge require their reconstruction into a complex set of different types and systems of religious beliefs, combined into a unique global perspective.