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THE HISTORY OF THE GOLDEN HORDE IN ORIENTALISM: A BRIEF OUTLINE

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Abstract. The article considers ancient and medieval sources on the Golden Horde and Central Asian history, including information of the ancient authors on peoples of Central Asia, medieval sources, autochthonous sources, Muslim historiography. The article is dedicated also to the observation of history and ethnography of Kazakhs (mostly in Western oriental studies). A separate section reviews the phenomenon of nomadism in the context of such scientific problems as geographic factor and natural environment, social structure, political system and nomadic culture including the Kazakhs. In this context, the book presents western opinions regarding the following issues: impact of the Golden Horde onto Eurasia, a role of the Kipchaks within this area, Islamic and Turkic studies.

Keywords: Golden Horde, Mongol studies, Kazakhs, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, Oriental Studies, Turcology, Political Studies.

Introduction. The 750th anniversary of the Golden Horde is an anniversary around which heated discussions have already begun to unfold. Supporters of a new look at the Golden Horde today are actively speaking in the media and scientific publications. According to some researchers, the Golden Horde was the most developed civilization in that era. As for the Russian principalities, they simply destroyed each other, and the Golden Horde helped them stop these feuds and, finally, unite. According to others, paradoxically, the result of the existence of the Golden Horde in the history of the Middle Ages is the first globalization on the scale of Eurasia. There is an unexpected analogy: the Mongol Empire, the fragment of which was the Golden Horde, was somewhat reminiscent of the modern United States, primarily in size and military power.

The very concept of the Golden Horde appeared a hundred years after its disappearance. Contemporaries called this public entity Ulus Jochi, that is, he put on the eldest son of Genghis Khan. In 1269, a kurultai gathered in the Talas Valley, fixing the division of the Mongol Empire.

For more than two hundred years, the Golden Horde has been the political dominant that the entire Eurasian continent reckoned with. Historians say: it was a multistrukture state, and these structures were very different. On the one hand, a significant part of its population was engaged in traditional nomadic cattle breeding. On the other hand, trade routes were laid on the territory of the Golden Horde, and cities arose. And in territories where the state system was not previously known, the Horde established state power. A number of scholars note: she was invincible in the military, and therefore in the economic sense, and her humility was considered something natural. In the Golden Horde, warriors were all without exception. In fact, the Mongol nomadic civilization could one day take off and migrate to new territories at distances of sometimes thousands of kilometers.

Discussions are still ongoing about the number of Tatar-Mongols in the western campaign of Batu Khan. It is called from 30-40 thousand to 150 thousand. There were 15 “princes of blood” in Batu’s army, and each of them could command no less than Tumen, that is, he headed 10 thousand soldiers. But even if only 30 thousand participated in the raid, this is still more than the scattered feudal lords in Europe could oppose to the aliens, even if they could unite. It is necessary to add to this brilliant tactics of military operations and the best intelligence at that time.

Scientists say that the political system of Moscow Rus was borrowed from the Horde. As well as a transport system with post stations, which also represented a truly Horde “legacy”. The khans needed Russian soldiers, and the Russian princes frightened their western neighbors with the Horde threat. The official genealogy of the Russian tsars in the 16th century erected their origin, both to the Roman Caesars and to Genghis Khan. The horde fundamentally changed the course of Russian history, ultimately paved the way for a future empire, although at the time the conquerors arrived, there were no political and economic prerequisites for this.

In pre-Mongol Russia, an effective model of interaction between civil society and power was built - small and democratic states where princely power was controlled to one degree or another by the traditional institutions of self-government of the Eastern Slavs (veche, election of officials, including the highest, such as *posadniks* or thousand). However, in the process of the struggle against the Mongol-Tatar yoke, another idea arose and got stronger: Russia needs a strong centralized power. Only a strong state in the conditions of a natural economy, discarded centuries ago, was able to unite disparate territories to confront an external enemy. It is impossible to deny this: if there had not been a Tatar-Mongol yoke, perhaps there would have been no united Russia.

Discussion. *Source base.* It will be obvious to assert that the history of the Golden Horde, at least in the initial period of its history, is most closely connected with the Mongol Empire. This applies both to the source study base of the subject of research, and the entire historiographic complex. As for the historical tradition, dynastic succession, the Mongolian influence was felt in the history of the Golden Horde and its epigone states for several centuries, and in the refraction of the Kazakh Khanate - until the middle of the XIX century.

The Mongol period in the history of nomadic civilizations is the most studied in world historiography, and at the same time it is the most brilliant era in the history of Eurasian nomads, who through collective efforts created an empire unprecedented in size, power and influence in the history of mankind. The interest in studying the phenomenon of the Mongol Empire, which has become a geographical prototype of other formations of Eurasia, colossal in territory (the Russian Empire and the USSR, the latter literally repeating the geographical configuration of the Mongol power during its heyday), has still not diminished. The history of Kazakhstan is naturally associated with this period.

The name of the Franciscan John de Plano Carpini is well known in history and historiography. His famous description of a diplomatic journey through the expanses of the empire of Genghis Hap today is translated into almost twenty languages of the world. The report of Brother John remains one of the most striking documents of the era of the Mongol triumph in Eurasia. The background of the appearance of this source is as follows [1].

On March 5, 1245, in Lyon, Pope Innocent IV signed the bull to the “Tsar and the people of Tartar.” Franciscan John de Plano Carpini was entrusted with delivering the message of the pope to the address, who, in connection with the mission entrusted to him, received broad powers from the papal legate. Brother John was in his sixty-fourth year. Most likely, a diplomatic trip to Central Asia was not planned. Dad did not give a single gift with the ambassadors. The envoy had to get to the nearest Mongolian army, and for this the path through Eastern Europe was chosen. Mission participants left Lyon on April 16 and headed for Bohemia. On their way to Poland, Brother Benedict Pole joined them.

Brother Benedict showed a keen interest in various aspects of the life of the Mongol Empire, and his fixation of the information received is distinguished by fewer errors and mistakes. In 1965, the American historian G. D. Painter published, according to the Latin manuscript of the 15th century, the text of the History of Tartarus by brother C. de Bridia, which is nothing more than an abridged arrangement of the report of Brother Benedict.

The mission that opened the Golden Horde to Europe was the embassy, sent to the Mongols by Pope Innocent IV in 1245. Pope's Franciscan ambassador John de Plano Carpini and his companion brother Benedict Polyak reached the Mongol nomadic capital Sira Orda, near Karakoram, south of Lake Baikal, and returned described their journey. The work of Brother John was called by him "The Book of Tartarus." This story has survived to the present in twelve manuscripts of the XIII and XIV centuries. and presents a unique European testimony of the culture and customs of the Mongols and other Asian peoples. The report of Brother Benedict formed the basis for the History of Tartarus by Brother C. de Bridia (preserved in the manuscript of the 15th century).

John de Plano Carpini named his report *Liber Tartarorum* ("The Book of Tartarus"). One of the scientific scribes of the XIV century. clarified this name and it turned out the following: "The History of the Mongols, whom we call Tartars" (*Historia Mongalorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus*). In 1247, the brother of C. de Bridia, who rewrote the report of Brother Benedict Polyak with abbreviations, gave his work the title "History of Tartarus" (*Historia Tartarorum*) The encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264) used almost entirely Brother John's report when he was writing his encyclopedia, *Speculum historiale* (Historical Mirror).

It is known that diplomats agreed with Batu Khan's request to go to Central Asia in order to in the kurultai, connected with the election of the new great khan. The Franiiskans did not have authority for such a trip, as, however, there was no ban. The Roman curia could not predict such a development of events. The choice in favor of the trip was made personally by brother John and brother Benedict, which perhaps indicates their awareness of the importance of such a trip for the implementation of contacts at the highest level and the collection of materials. Franciscan reports contain rich materials about the tribes that became part of the Mongol Empire.

The information of the Franciscan mission of 1245 is strikingly different from the European apocalyptic descriptions of the Asian nomads collected in the Great Chronicle of the Benedictine monk Matthew of Paris, who had access to the archives of the English king Henry III. The Franciscans brought to Europe a new picture of the Mongol Empire, which largely coincides with their own Mongol myth. The final chord of this theme will be especially pronounced in the book of Marco Polo. One of the paradoxes of the 1245 mission is that the Franciscans were aware of both paintings: "European" and "Mongolian". The mission's cultural task was to change the surreal picture with a new picture based on observations and information received on the territory of the empire. The Franciscans coped with this task.

A separate problem is the elucidation of the original ethnographic geographic nomenclature (Mongolian, Turkic, Persian, Old Russian and Latin), reflected in the List. In a sense, the List is a derivative of Genghis Khan's intention to conquer all accessible and inaccessible worlds.

Thus, the reports of the 1245 Franciscan mission are literary works designed to answer a number of key questions for the West, where the theme of divine sanction for the existence of peoples previously unknown to the West dominates. The material for them was the most diverse information received on the territory of the empire from very knowledgeable people, and only partially - their own observations of the Franciscans. The newly discovered culture was of a pronounced imperial character, where management was built along the military-administrative vertical.

We also note the small but very valuable work of the brilliant French Sinologist and Mongolian Paul Pelliot's "Mongody and the Papacy" (*Les Mongols et la Papauté*), the first chapter of which is devoted to the letter of Guyuk Khan brought to Plano Carpini by the paw Innocent IV. The letter was considered lost, and it was known only from separate references and the Latin translation preserved by the medieval author of the XIII century. Adam Salimbene in his Chronicle. But in 1920, the original script in Persian was discovered in the archives of the

castle of St. Angel in the Vatican. The study of this letter is devoted to the work of Pello. And in other works of Pello there are many valuable comments on the journey of Plano Carpini.

The same route in 1254 drove the Armenian king Letum, heading for the headquarters of the great khan in Karakorum. From the capital of Cilician Armenia, the city of Sis, the tsar drove to the Volga at Batu's headquarters. The French king Louis IX sent a special diplomatic mission to Mongolia, headed by the well-known minor minority monk, participant in the Sixth Crusade, energetic, intelligent and well-educated Guillaume Rubruck. The description of the trip to Mongolia in 1253-1255, compiled by him, is a very significant work, important not only for the history of the Mongols, but also for the history of geographical knowledge. Rubruk's voyage provided much new information for his time about the countries he visited, and his observation made him notice many valuable and important details from the life of the 13th-century Mongols. Rubruk's work on justice is considered one of the serious sources on the history of the East, available in Western European literature of the late Middle Ages.

More educated than his predecessor, Plano Carpini, Rubruk, moreover, was better prepared for his trip, if only because it was not the first, and the results of previous trips were probably known to him. Having landed in Soldaye, a large trading city of the Southern Crimea, Rubruk with his companions moved north already by land. Having passed through Perekop, the southern Russian steppes, he moved east to the Sartak camp, and then to the Volga to the Batu Khan camp, from where he was sent to Karakoram to Munke Khan. Batu did not consider himself entitled to allow Rubruk to preach Christianity among the Mongols, as Louis IX wanted, and sent him to resolve this issue to Munke Khan himself. At the end of 1253, Rubruk was already in Mongolia. Rubruk was the only European to describe the Karakorum in detail, although many residents of various European countries visited it.

The work of Guillaume Rubruk has been published many times. A few contemporary manuscripts have come down to us. One of them formed the basis of the earliest publication of Rubruk's travel descriptions, carried out only in 1600 by Hackleit. A quarter of a century later, another publication appeared, based on a more complete manuscript discovered in Cambridge - Rubruk's trip was included in Perksis' famous travel collection, called "His Pilgrims." A French translation of the journey was published by Bergeron in the 17th century. Since then, Rubruk's work has been published repeatedly in many European languages [2]

The "Book on the Diversity of the World" by Marco Polo tells of a journey which, according to the definition of the world's largest authority on the history of geographical discoveries of the German scientist Richard Henning, "is undoubtedly considered the most remarkable among all medieval travels" and "truly outstanding event." A more important, determining factor in the success of Marco Polo's work is the nature of the information contained in it, its volume and variety. Marco Polo describes not one, but two trips to China, the first of which was made by his father and uncle Niccolo and Maffeo Polo in 1254-1269, in the second (1271 - 1295) all three took part [3] From the Middle Volga, where the Volga points they visited were located - the temporary headquarters of the Golden Horde khan Berke and Uvek (Ukek), the Polo brothers moved southeast through the lands of the Golden Horde, crossed the Trans-Caspian steppes, and then passed through the desert plateau Ustyurt to Urgenchu.

The first editions of the Book appeared after the death of Marco Polo. The first Russian translation of the "Book" by Marco Polo, made by Shemyakin, was published in 1861-1862. in "Readings at the Society of History and Antiquities of Russia at Moscow University" and came out a year later as a separate publication. The first, truly scientific translation of the "Book" into Russian was made in the 1880s by Professor I.P. Minaev. Academician V.V. Bartold, was the editor and commentator of the best translation of the work of Marco Polo into Russian, made by I.P. Minaev and published in 1902 by the Russian Geographical Society under the title "Journey of Marco Polo".

Chinggis allocated western lands to the elder son of Jochi to the places where the hoof of the Mongolian horse sets foot. But the decision to march westward beyond the borders of Central Asia was made after the death of Genghis Khan in 1227. Judging by the text of the Yuan Shi, this happened during the reign of Ugedei on two kurultai - in 1234 and 1235. In the second half of the XIII century, geopolitics in the spaces of Eurasia began to be determined by a new factor - the collapse of the Mongol power and the rivalry between its components. First of all, between the Golden Horde and Iran, where the il khans ruled.

After the Sultan of the Egyptian Mamluks Beibars stopped the army of the Mongolian il Khan Abag in 1277, it became clear that the Mongols could no longer fight in all azimuths. Under the heir to Berke Mungke-Timur (1267-80), the Golden Horde entered into an open confrontation with Iran and supported the Egyptian Mamelukes. Sinor believes that the Turkic population of the Golden Horde had a decisive influence on the anti-Mongol and anti-Iranian orientation of this state, which was increasingly becoming the center of the Turkic world of Eurasia. Turkic nomads played an important role in the history of China, Iran, Central Asia and Russia. According to multilingual sources, primarily Persian-Arabic [4] and Chinese [5], the vast territories of modern Kazakhstan on the eve of the Mongol invasion at the beginning of the XIII century. occupied by the tribes of the Kypchaks, Kangly, Karluk neimans. Moreover, the area of their settlement covered other territories, the Kipchaks occupied the southern Russian steppes and the steppes of the North Caucasus, many of them along with the Kangly were in Khorezm.

One of the main sources on the history of the Golden Horde is the encyclopedic work of al-Kalkashandi [6]. The medieval Egyptian scholar, author of the last great encyclopedia of the Mamluk era, Shihab ad-Din Abu-l-Abbas Ahmad ibn Ali al-Kalkashandi (1355-1418) was widely known in the Muslim world for centuries. European scholars became fairly close acquainted with the main literary work of his life in the 19th century. In 1879, the contents of his encyclopedia were summarized by the German Arabist G.F. Wustenfeld. In 1884 extracts from the al-Kalkashandi encyclopedia related to the Golden Horde were printed in Arabic and translated into Russian by the orientalist V.G. Tizengauzen [7].

Only in 1913-1919. through the efforts of the Egyptian scholar Ahmed Zeki in Cairo, the 14-volume encyclopedia of al-Kalkashandi entitled "Subh al-asha fi sinaat al-insha" ("Dawn for the Blind in the Art of Writing") was fully published. The consequence of this publication was a monograph (1928) by the Swedish Arabist V. Björkman on the work of al-Kalkashandi. To this day, it retains its significance as a reliable key to a comprehensive analysis of the work of al-Kalkashandi.

Description al-Kalkashandi is divided into eight unequal in size arches. The opening statement is followed by "The first code, which tells about the borders and extent of this state." It is twice as large as the introduction and contains data from the works of al-Umari, Ibn Haukal and al-Muhallabi on the extreme limits of the Golden Horde. "The second vault, which tells about the well-known districts included in it," surpasses all other vaults combined in volume. This is primarily due to the fact that it consists of separate stories about ten districts known to the compiler of the annals (iklim). As a rule, the districts marked by al-Kalkashandi are fully consistent with the military-administrative units of the Golden Horde, which were controlled by temniks (commanders of 10,000 troops) and were called the Horde Tyumen, and the Russians - darkness.

The name of the third district - "the country of the Khazars", or Khazaria, was recreated by al-Kalkashandi based on the later processing of the works of al-Samani and Ptolemy. "District Four - Crimea" is a typical Horde tyumen, about which medieval Arab authors were well aware, for Mamluk Egypt since the creation of the Golden Horde has maintained all kinds of contacts primarily with Crimea. "Fifth district - the territory of Azov" in the description of al-Kalkashandi is only a quarter of the story of the fourth district. The compiler refers only to the information of Abu l-Fid. Essentially, the characteristic of two cities of the okrug - Azov and Kerch - is given

here. "The sixth district is the country of Cherkess," or Cherkessia, occupies half the space in the description of al-Kalkashandi than the story of the fifth district. A written source for the compiler was the Chronicle of Abu l-Fid. When describing the district, neither borders nor settlements were noted, only a few words were said about its population - the Circassians.

"The seventh district is the country of the Bulgar", or Bulgaria, according to the place occupied in the description of al-Kalkashandi, can be compared with the second and fourth districts. The compiler refers to the testimonies of al-Umari (in two of his works), Abu l-Fida, al-Masudi and Ptolemy. After reading the story, it becomes obvious that al-Kalkashandi devoted to the description of the Horde tyumen of the Bulgar, i.e. Volga Bulgaria, not more than a third of the declared place. "The eighth district is the country of Ulak," or Wallachia, described by al-Kalkashandi on the basis of the testimonies of Abu l-Fid and Ptolemy. "The ninth district is the country of As", or Alania, was the Horde tyumen in the west of the Crimean peninsula. The compiler was guided in his description only by the evidence of Abu l-Fid.

"The tenth district is the country of Rus", of course, will attract the attention of domestic historians. The compiler used the testimonies of al-Umari and both works of Abu l-Fid, from which it is clear that the Arab merchants known to them, who traded with the Muslim districts of the Golden Horde, had the most general idea of the borders of the country of Rus and its inhabitants. Not a single city is named on the territory of the country.

"The fourth code - about the paths leading to this state" - is four times less in volume than the third. Its sources for the compiler are the works of al-Umari and Abu l-Fida. "The Sixth Code - Concerning Money Circulation and Prices", compiled on the basis of the materials of the aforementioned work of al-Umari, is twice as large as the fifth code, and in content it fully corresponds to its name. The compiler begins by pointing out that the silver coins of the Golden Horde have the same circulation on the territory of the Hulaguid Iran. "The seventh code - regarding the news of the rulers of this state" - is three and a half times the volume of the sixth code. At first, al-Kalkashandi gives him a historical outline of the Khorezm district before the Mongol invasion. The sketch lists the supreme lords and their immediate representatives on the territory of Khorezm - governors.

The names of the Horde khans in the encyclopedia of al-Kalkashandi are often distorted. The correct spelling of the Mongolian and Turkic names of these khans is not so easy to restore. Their generally accepted spelling in science still does not exist. The final list of the names of the Horde khans named by al-Kalkashandi: Batu (1227-1255), Sartak (1255-1256), Berke (1258-1266), Mengu-Timur (1267-1280), Todan Mengu (1280-1287), Tolebug (1287-1291), Tokta (1291-1312), Uzbek (1313-1341), Jani-bek (1342-1357), Berdibek (1357-1359), Abdallah (1361-1370), El-bek (7- 1374), Urus (1374-1375), Kaganbek (1375-1377), Toktamysh (1378-1395).

The final "Code of the Eighth - regarding the size of the army of this state, the structure of its management, the size of the salary assigned to [his soldiers], and [the form] of their clothes" already fully reveals its contents in a lengthy title. This content is transmitted in the respective four sections. Al-Kalkashandi calls the encyclopedia of al-Umari as the only source of his information. The compiler makes it clear that the number of soldiers of the Horde army is so large that it can not be counted. Moreover, the Horde riders were well provided with clockwork horses, human service and food.

The vault ends with a short story about the Horde vestments. This concludes the compact description of the Golden Horde in the encyclopedia of al-Kalkashandi. In content, this description goes far beyond just geographical. It contains a lot of information of historical, ethnographic and many others.

A separate direction in Turkology is the study of the language of the Khan labels of the Golden Horde, literary monuments of that era, etc. In the XIV century. on the territory of Egypt

and the Golden Horde, not only literature of theological and didactic content is created, but also fiction, translations are made from Arabic and Persian, and regional literary languages developed. Researchers call the written monuments of this period “Yusuf and Zuleyha”, “Muhabat-name”, “Nahdh-alfaradas”, “Taashshuk-name”, Gulistan beat Turks”, “Khusrau and Shirin” and others. The study of the period of the Golden Horde sheds light to clarify many issues of history, culture and language of the Turkic peoples. Khan labels written in the fourteenth century belong to the same time. Since they were business papers by purpose, there are few of them both in quantity and volume. But the language of labels, from the philological point of view, is of great value due to the peculiar structure, ancient grammatical indicators and models. Certain lexical elements of this language have become obsolete or have lost their paramount importance, having acquired a different one, and have survived only in the form of root morphemes. The same applies to some affixes,

The language of the Khan's yards refers to the so-called "Medieval written Turkic language", it was not popular among all, accessible and understandable to all. It was a written language that was used only by educated people, common to a group of Turkic languages, which included Karluk, Oguz, Kipchak. Its development is attributed to the period between XI and XV-XVII centuries., I.e. to: creating nation-wide languages. Researchers divide the Khan labels written in the fourteenth century, according to time and place of occurrence, into four groups. To the first they include labels of Toktamys and Temir-Kutlug of the Golden Horde period, to the second group are labels of Ibrahim and Sahib-Gerey written in the Kazan Khanate, to the third are labels of Hazhi-Gerey, Menli-Gerey and others from the Crimean Khanate and, finally, labels, letters and business paper of the Kazakh Khanate [8].

The main body of information about ancient and medieval Mongols is contained in Chinese chronicles. "Yuan-shi" is the only source testifying to the history of the borrowing of the Uyghur written language by the Mongols, to which the rest of the Chinese works go back. "Xin Yuan-sha" (257 chapters) is divided in the same way as "Yuan-shi" into four large parts: - "Benji" (chapters 1-26), "Biao" (chapters 27-53), "Zhi" (Chapters 34-103) and Lechzhuan" (chapters 104-257). The structure of these 4 parts is slightly changed in comparison with Yuan-shi. In the "Biao" section, genealogical tables of the khans of three Mongolian states are re-compiled - the houses of Chagatai, the khans of the Golden Horde and the Ilkhan of Iran.

It must be pointed out that the Mongol invasion suspended the political growth of the Kypchaks within the framework of their own state development and interrupted the ethnic process leading to the formation of the feudal era people. The Mamluk era put forward a large number of chroniclers, biographers, historians, philologists, whose writings in one way or another reflected various facts and phenomena of an ethnic, social and cultural plan. The establishment of diplomatic, commercial and military-political relations with the Golden Horde further strengthened the mutual influence between the Mamelukes and Dasht-i Kipchak, from where slaves from the Mongol-conquered countries regularly came to Egypt.

Being at a high court post and having access to all necessary materials and documents, Abd al-Zahir (d. 1293) in his biographical essays "The Prominent Garden in the Biography of al-Malik al-3ahir" (Ar-Raud al-Zahir fi sirat al-Malik al-Zahir) provides information on the relationship of the Mamluks with the Golden Horde. It provides a short road-trip from Crimea to Itil, contains ethnographic information on the tribal composition of the Crimean population, where at that time quite a lot of immigrants from Dasht-i Kipchak lived, the religious and ideological situation in the Golden Horde is reported.[9] Significant factual material about the relations of the sultans of the Mamluk state with the khans of the Golden Horde, about the nomads of Desht-i Kipchak in the light of their ethnic, political and spiritual culture can be found in the writings of Ibn al-Furat (1334-1405), al-Kalkashandi (1355-1418), al-Makrizi (1364-1442), Ibn Tagriberdi (1411-1465), Ibn Iyas (1448-1524), etc.

One of the important sources on the history of the Kypchaks should be considered travel notes of the famous traveler of the Maghrebian Ibn Battuta (1304-1377), which traveled almost the entire inhabited Muslim world, - "A gift to the contemplating about wonders cities and the wonders of travel" (*Tuhfat al-Nuzzar fi Garaib al-Amsar wa Ajayib al-Asfar*). Especially valuable are the pictures of everyday life in the Golden Horde, information about the social structure, economy of the Kypchaks, their ethnic characteristics, descriptions of the steppe settlements and cities, and much more relating to the history of the Turkic peoples [10].

Another author of Turkic origin who wrote about the events in the Kypchak steppes after the Mongol invasion was the historian Kadir Ali Jalairi (1530-1605). The localization of the Kypchak tribes given by Jalairi gives an idea of the ethnic map of Central and Western Kazakhstan between the invasion of Genghis Khan and the collapse of the Golden Horde. Codex Cumanicus (CC) - Code of laws of the Coman language. In his analysis, he relies on the publication of G. Kuun, who published in 1981 the full text of the SS with a large introduction, notes, appendix, and corrections. It is noted that the publication of Kuun caused a lot of controversy in the scientific world, which led to the emergence of new scientific research. However, despite the abundance of work related to the SS, a number of problems remain unresolved [11]. The study describes the trade routes, relations of the Italian colonies with the Golden Horde, which was the main trading partner of the Genoese and Venetians. Various trade agreements described in the SS indicate that Italians used the command language not only for commercial purposes, but also for diplomatic contacts.

In the middle of the XVII century. Abdullah Celebi Rizvan Pasha-zade wrote "Tavarikh-i Desht-i Kipchak" (Chronicles of Desht-i Kipchak), which is a brief chronicle of the reign of the Crimean khans until 1637. For the history of the Nogai Horde, mention is made here of the war of Muhammad Girey I with her 1523, about the legs in the North Caucasus in the 1630s. "Tavarikh-i Desht-i Kipchak" was studied by A. Zayonchkovsky and was published by him in Warsaw with a French translation (1966). Around the middle of the XVIII century. Crimean historian Said-Mohammed Riza created "As-sab as-siyar fi ahbar-i muluk-i Tatars" (Seven planets in the news of the Tatar kings) - a description of the reign of the seven khans from 1445 to 1745. It also describes the problems that most worried about knowing the peninsula due to kicking.

Of great value are the sources left by the Kalmyks - a division of the Western Mongol-Oirats who resettled in the Volga region in the first half of the 17th century. Chronicles composed at the headquarters of khans and noyons described, in particular, Kalmyks occupying the steppes of the Volga-Yaitsk interfluvium, crowding out and partial subjugation of the legs - the former rulers of this territory. The starting point for the Kalmyks staying in their new homeland was considered by historians to enter the Volga and defeat the Nogai on its banks in 1628. Observers from European countries did not dedicate a single special composition to the legs. This nation and its nomadic empire remained on the periphery of the attention of Western contemporaries. They remembered and wrote about kicking mainly in connection with Russia or in the course of describing the route of travel, if it happened to pass through the steppes.

In 1394, a Bavarian soldier Johann Schiltberger fell into Turkish captivity (1380 - not earlier than 1438). Over the next thirty-three years, he and his masters traveled to many countries, including the Golden Horde, and in 1427 fled to his homeland, where he described his wanderings. Another European, Rui González de Clavijo (d. 1412), Ambassador of the Castilian King Henry III to Timur in 1403-1406, heard about Edige's career and power [12]. The next noteworthy Western emissary was Martin Bronevsky (d. At the beginning of the 17th century), sent in 1578. by the Polish king Stefan Batory to the Crimea to Khan Muhammad Girey II. Bronevsky lived in the Crimean yurt for more than nine months and upon his return described his impressions of the local affairs ("Tartariae Descriptio", Description of Tatarstan). In

particular, he showed the role of the Nogais in the Crimean dynastic feuds of the XVI century. and the nature of the relationship between Bakhchisarai and the Nogai Horde.

Dominican monk Jean de Luc (Giovanni Lucca) in the mid-1620s traveled the Crimean Black Sea region, the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia. In the story of his journey (the original name is unknown, the original is lost), he showed the resettlement, occupation, and lifestyle of the Nogais, obeying the Girey, as well as the Budzhaks (Luke 1879). A colleague de Lucas of the order of Emiddio Dortelli d'Ascoli during the same period observed the life of Crimea from the inside, as he settled there for more than a decade. Upon his return to Italy, on the basis of personal observations and questions, in 1634 he drew up *Descriptione del Mar Negro e della Tartaria* (Description of the Black Sea and Tartaria), where he shared information about the rebellion of the Mangyt leader Hantimur against the Bakhchisarai monarchs and generally about the political the role of the Nogai in the Khanate, reflected their ethnographic features.

Around the time d'Ascoli left the Black Sea region, the French engineer Guillaume de Beauplan (ca. 1600-1673), hired by the Polish government to build fortresses in southern Ukraine, appeared there. He was engaged in fortification affairs for eighteen years (1630-1648) on behalf of his patron, King Sigismund III, returned to France and proceeded to *Description d'Ukraine* (Description of Ukraine). During his life in the steppes, Boplan mainly encountered the feet of Bujak and gave them many pages in his work.

In the middle of the XVI century. active diplomatic and trade contacts of Moscow Russia with England began. After the first British visitor - Captain Richard Chansler (mid-1550s) - over the course of several decades, Moscow was visited by a galaxy of brave, curious and purposeful Englishmen who were exploring the possibilities of the Russian market and routes to Persia and India. Let us single out among them Anthony Jenkinson (d. C. 1611), who came to Russia four times, and in 1558-1559 and 1562-1564, traveled from Moscow to Maverannahr and Persia, reflecting it in his *Voyage* (Journey) Following the Volga past Nogai nomads, he was vividly interested in the condition of the local population.

The status of the Nogais in relation to Russia, their political independence in the second half of the 16th century. vividly appear in the work of the Swedish diplomat and historian Peter Petreus de Erlesund (1570-1622). He repeatedly visited Moscow, starting in 1601. For the sake of completeness of his story about Muscovy, he tried to describe the peoples neighboring it.

The last years of the existence of the Great Nogai Horde were found by the German scientist and traveler Adam Olearii (Elsleger, 1603-1671), who visited Russia as part of the Schleswig-Holstein Embassy in Moscow in 1633-1634. and to Persia in 1635-1639. His "Vermehrte Moscovitische und Persianische Reisebeschreibung (Description of the trip to Muscovy and Persia) is generally based on his own observations. Those foreigners who were in the royal service were, of course, more knowledgeable about the steppe affairs. However, in their writings, the main emphasis was on domestic Russian problems, and there is very little data on the legs compared to reports and memoirs of visiting ambassadors and merchants.

The early medieval history of the region is touched upon in the chronicle "Jahan-name" of the 17th century Ottoman author. Haji Khalifa He writes that at the mouth of the Yaik River (Dzhanku) there is the city of Swanj (or Svayh), which was previously the capital of the Kumans, and then was rebuilt and populated with legs, whose "khans" now live there [13]. D.Deviz believes that Saraichuk was the pre-Islamic cultural center of Desht-i Kipchak. Researchers studying the history of the Kipchaks of the 9th-12th centuries came to the conclusion that the settlement on Yaik served as the center of Desht's right wing (the center of the left was Sygnak on Syr Darya). At the same time, there is some evidence that the region belongs to the settlement zone of the ancient Bashkir tribes. This zone reached the river basins of the Greater and Lesser Uzeni, Chagan, Chizhinsky spills.

The material monuments of the Golden Horde are known from finds in ancient Tatar cities, such as Saray-Batu, Saray-Berke, and in a number of Crimean settlements. They owed their wealth to trade, tribute and labor of captives. According to medieval descriptions and modern excavations, Sarai Berke is best known. It is estimated that once its population exceeded 100,000 inhabitants. Historians receive some information during excavations of settlements in the Crimea, on the site of the Old and New Sarajevs (the capitals of the Golden Horde on the Volga), as well as the Karakoram in Mongolia.

Classical historiography of the Golden Horde. As was repeatedly noted, the problem of the “empires of the steppes” in world science was the first at a high academic level to be raised by the outstanding French researcher Rene Grusset. The scientist proceeded from the postulate that “great barbarism suddenly invaded the area of developed historical civilizations and within a few months turned the Roman, Iranian or Chinese world into a pile of ruins”[14]. The internal history of the steppes consists of, Grusse concluded, that hordes of Turkic-Mongols clashed with one another because of better pastures, and from endless migrations from pasture to pasture, occurring mainly due to the needs of the herd. The primary factor in human history is the pressure exerted by these nomads on the civilized empires of the south, pressure constantly repeating until the moment when the capture of these empires was carried out. The origin of the nomads was dictated by the conditions prevailing in their native steppes.

Thus, R. Grousse put the climatic factor at the forefront in unraveling the phenomenon of nomadic empires. However, a closer reading of his work reveals that this would be an oversimplified approach [15].

The initial conquests of the Mongols outside of the Indigenous Yurt, Mongolia proper, the forcible annexation of the Turkic peoples of South and Western Siberia, Kazakhstan, and East Turkestan were veiled in nature, accompanied by the use of the slogan of the association of “peoples living behind felt walls”, that is, propaganda of the imaginary the unity of all the nomads of Central Asia. A significant role was played by the Turks in the Golden Horde and the Chagatai ulus, where there were few Mongols, and the area in which they chose their nomads was limited. The Mongols on the western outskirts of the vast empire of Genghis Khan, which were part of the Golden Horde and the Chagatai ulus, mingled with the local Turkic nomadic population - mainly Kipchaks, perceiving their customs and language.

Here the Mongols did not form a compact mass of the population, where their traditions, language, customs and mores would be preserved. Distributed over the vast expanses of Eastern Europe, Kazakhstan and Central Asia, members of the ruling houses of Genghisides and their entourage from among the Mongol aristocracy quickly lost their ethnic features, as evidenced by the Arabic author of the 14th century. al-Omari. Although the highest aristocracy, the khan's house, members of the reigning family, large nomadic feudal lords remembered and were proud of their Mongolian origin, even being largely Turkic. They made up a small percentage of the population of the Golden Horde and the Chagatai ulus.

The conceptual development of the history of the Mongol conquests was presented by the English scientist J. Phillips in his books “Royal hordes: nomadic peoples of the steppes” and especially in the monograph “Mongols”. Phillips sees the history of the Mongol empire consisting of four periods, each of which is correspondingly devoted to a section of his book. In the first section, the author considers the Mongols and Mongolian society at the beginning of the XII century as carriers of the nomadic tradition of the steppe. The second part of his book is devoted to the history of the conquests of Genghis Khan, his career and the creation of a single Mongolian state. In the third part, Phillips examines the situation in the Mongolian state with the closest successors to Genghis Khan - Ogedei, Guyuk and Munk. And finally, the last part is devoted to the development of the successor states of the Mongol Empire - China under the Yuan, Iran under the Ilhans, Central Asia under the Chagataids and the Golden Horde.

Under Abu Saeed (1316-1335), the state of il khans collided with internal feuds. This was used by Janibek (1342-1357), who extended the power of the Golden Horde south of the Caucasus. In 1357, he captured Tabriz, where he soon died, probably from the plague that spread at that time in the Middle and Middle East on its way to Europe. B. Brentjes and L. Albaum propose to consider the official date of the termination of the existence of the Mongol Empire in 1368, when the power of the Mongols in China was overthrown, and they were replaced by the Ming dynasty [16].

In the second half of the XIV century, the Golden Horde loses its dominant position in Eastern Europe. In order to oppose the strengthening of Moscow, the Golden Horde was forced to make an alliance with Lithuania, however, the Grand Duke Dmitry Donskoy managed to defeat the forces of Mamaia on the Kulikovo field on September 8, 1380, before their connection with Jagiello. For some time, the Golden Horde managed to restore its power under Tokhtamysh, but the subsequent defeat was all the more terrible [17]. This author believes that Tokhtamysh was able to become the greatest ruler of the Golden Horde; its political horizon stretched from the Baltic Sea to Egypt and Iran. He established friendly relations with Poland and Lithuania, sought to create an alliance with the Egyptian Mamelukes and eliminate the strategic threat to the Horde from Turkestan (Samarkand) and Iran, which fell under the control of Timur. The first step in this direction was the subjugation of the White Horde in the lower Syr Darya.

In 1382, he regained power over Moscow. However, his strategic mistake was the support of Tamerlan, or Timur, with whom he came into conflict over the Caucasus. In 1395, he was defeated by the latter and lost control of the Horde, and power passed to the Necingizid, like his patron Timur, to Edig. The death of this de facto ruler of the western ulus of the former Mongol power in 1419 marked the beginning of the end of the Golden Horde. On the ruins of the state created by Batu Khan, the Crimean, Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates arose. Under Mengi Girey, the Crimea got rid of the influence of the Genoese and annexed the former capital of the Golden Horde, Sarai in 1502.

This moment is considered the official end of the history of the Golden Horde, from which the Kazan Khanate had fallen earlier, and in 1438 the so-called Great Horde. Crimean rulers regarded themselves as the legal successors of the Golden Horde and thus its successors in relation to Russia. Assessing the historical role of the Crimean Khanate, Sinor concludes that for more than two centuries it played an outstanding role in international relations in Eastern Europe. The Crimean cavalry was widely and effectively used by Turkey and Poland against Russia, Sweden, the German states and Hungary. But the Crimean khans were not only rulers of soldiers, but also the patron of sciences and arts.

Kazan Khanate arose as a result of civil strife inside the Golden Horde in the middle of the XV century. The official date for the institutionalization of Kazan can be considered as 1445. Sinor believes that these states, the heirs of the Golden Horde, had little chance of survival. The last ruler of Astrakhan, Dervish Ali was only a nominal ruler, "a puppet in the hands of the Russian tsar."

The Mongol era became the foundation for the creation of the so-called Eurasian theory G. Vernadsky, a famous scientist, scientist, professor at Yale University. This concept was presented by him in the third volume of his *History of Russia* (1953), which is dedicated to the Tatar-Mongol period (XIII-XV). This fundamental study, based on excellent knowledge of sources and Russian pre-revolutionary, Soviet and Western literature, originally interprets the influence of Mongolian, or Mongol-Turkic rule on the formation of the Russian state. The essence of Vernadsky's concept lies in the recognition by the Mongols of priority in creating a Eurasian historical community. The author formulated the main aspects of the impact of the Mongols on statehood, economy, social relations and the culture of the conquered Russian principalities.

Vernadsky proceeds from the fact that during the Mongol invasion, the city democratic institutions of Eastern Russia, which flourished during the Kiev period, were destroyed. Cooperation between the Mongols and princes against the political institute of the *veche* in cities led, according to Vernadsky, to the formation in Russia of a new, more authoritarian and despotic type of government that was adequate to the Horde form of statehood. However, the Horde, Vernadsky notes, stubbornly resisted the strengthening of any principality, and only extraordinary circumstances forced Tokhtamysh, and then his successors to agree to a territorial increase in the Moscow principality.

Another important step for strengthening Russian statehood, the author concludes, was the recognition by the Mongols of the dynastic rights of the Russian princes (Rurikovich, Gediminovich, etc.) in accordance with the principle of one ruling house. It was supported by the Khan's conferment (label) and facilitated the recognition by the Russians of Mongolian suzerainty. In addition, the khans had supreme judicial power over the Russian principalities; The Russian Orthodox Church was protected by the Khan's label from any encroachment on its rights and privileges. All these elements of the political life of the Horde and Russia gradually formed like bricks into the foundation of what Vernadsky calls the "Eurasian community". After the weakening of the Horde, the great autonomy of the Russian lands became natural, but the Russian princes considered the Mongol system of government convenient for themselves and left it unchanged. Based on Mongolian principles, it was created in the late XIV-early XV centuries. the great-tax system of taxation and the organization of the army [18].

Y. Phillips in his book devotes a special chapter to the Golden Horde. Having replaced his father, Jochi, as a Kipchak khan, Batu inherited vast possessions stretching from the Aral Sea to Eastern Europe. By the time of his death, as a result of all military campaigns, the western border passed from the mouth of the Danube to the north through the Carpathians to the Hill (present Helm in Poland) and Lublin, and then to the northeast to the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga. An indefinite northern border ran along the forests until he annexed the upper Ob. The eastern border went south from the Ob through the Irtysh to the lower reaches of the Amu Darya and Syr Darya. The southern border went from the Amu Darya to the west to the shore of the Caspian Sea of Kara-Bogaz-Gol Bay, and from the western coast of the Caspian Sea from the Terek to the south and then north to the Black Sea. Not all of these territories were directly subordinate to the khan.

The book of two prominent Soviet historians - academicians B.D. Grekov (1882-1953) and A.Yu., is considered classic. Yakubovsky (1886-1953) "The Golden Horde and its fall" (1950). Despite the fact that the book was first published in 1950 and did not escape the ideological attitudes of that time, many of the provisions of this work remain relevant to this day [19]. Researchers concluded that as a result of Mongol campaigns in the vast territory of Desht-i-Kypchak and a number of regions adjacent to it, a large state was formed, referred to in the eastern sources as *Ulus Juchi*, or the Blue Horde. In Russian chronicles, the state is called the Golden Horde, although it is still not clear how and why this last name arose.

Muslim sources (Arabic, Persian, Turkic) have three terms - "*Ulus Juchi*", "*Kok-Horde*" and "*Ak-Horde*" - each of which either coincides with the Golden Horde, or is part of it, or overlaps it. It is difficult to establish the exact boundaries of the *Ulus Juchi*, especially along the vast steppes that made up the bulk of the *Juchi yurt*. In the northeast, the Golden Horde was part of the Bulgar with its region, in the north the border passed through the Russian principalities, in the south the Golden Horde owned on one side the Crimea with its coastal cities, on the other - the Caucasus to Derbend, and sometimes to Baku, also northern Khorezm with the city of Urgench, in the west - the steppes from the Dniester and further, and in the east - to Western Siberia and to the lower Syr Darya.

The Golden Horde khans, starting with Batu, the de facto founder of the new Mongolian state, were well aware of the economic aspect of the southeast of Europe where they came as conquerors and organizers of the new state. Batu took part in all the main military enterprises of the Mongols (Tatars), sending his troops to help the main army and hoping, of course, to get his share of the booty. Batu Khan did a lot to restore all the conquered areas to their former trading life, which was cut short so quickly due to the devastation as a result of the Mongol conquest. And in all this Batu showed a lot of cruel skill and foresight. Under Batu, the relations of the Golden Horde with the center of the Mongol empire were completely established.

Following the example of the organization of Genghis Khan's troops, the Golden Horde khans apparently had a guard, mainly from the feudal aristocratic elite (mainly youth), called the *cache*. Holding in their hands command places in the army, which consisted of the feudally dependent nomadic and semi-nomadic population of *Desht-i-Kypchak*, the feudal lords of *Ulus Jochi* could actually feel like masters of the state and, in case of discrepancy with the policy of their khan, oppose their firm will to him. With such military force, they could not but give the entire state of the Golden Horde a military-feudal character. And this is all the more true that the Golden Horde continuously waged military operations against its neighbors, or even simply against some *Noyons* or *Emirs*: for example, a long struggle in the second half of the 13th century. Golden Horde khans against the famous *Temnik* of *Nogai*.

In the Golden Horde, the khanate handed out a huge amount of land with peasants sitting on them, and in some cases gift labels were accompanied by *tarhana* labels, that is, letters that freed the population of this land from all or most of the duties in favor of the state and, thus, provided most of the surplus product of the direct producer in favor of the feudal owner. The highest point of the military power of the Golden Horde was the time of the *Uzbek Khan* (1312-1342). His authority was equally authoritative in all the lands of his vast possessions. The first signs of decline appeared already under *Janibek Khan* (1342-1357). *Ak-Orda*, i.e., the *White Horde*, which from the military point of view was the left wing of the troops of *Ulus Jochi*, is called the *Blue Horde* in Russian sources. It's hard to pinpoint the borders of *Ak Orda*. In *Desht-i-Kypchak*, including in the steppes of *Ak-Orda*, the majority of the nomadic population were *Kypchak* tribes. The Mongols did not make fundamental changes in the ethnic composition of the *Kypchaks*; on the contrary, the Mongols themselves were jailed; on the example of two large Mongol tribes - *Kungrats* and *Mangits*, which later became known as *kicking*. The fall of the Golden Horde, scientists associate with the campaigns of *Timur*.

The 1st volume of the *Cambridge History of Islam*, was created by the efforts of an international team, including *B. Shpuler*, *A.N. Kurat*, *A. Bennigsen*, *S. Lemersier-Kelkezhey*, *K. Lambton*, *B. Lewis* and others. The general background to the parts related to the history of Central Asia was set by the German orientalist *B. Shpuler*, who proposed to consider the Islamic civilizations of the Golden Horde and Central Asia as self-valuable phenomena, and the role of nomads in the history of the region as a destabilizing element. This concept of the civilizing role of Islam in the Turkic world was eagerly supported by his colleagues [20]. *Bertold Shpuler*, known as an "ostforsher" (that is, a participant in a research program to study the USSR and socialist countries), still remains one of the largest figures in 20th Century German Orientalism. In 1939, *Shpuler* entered Mongolian studies with the monograph "Mongols in Iran," which reflected the century and a half history of the *Ilkhans* in Iran. But for us, first of all, is another prominent work by *Shpuler* - "The Golden Horde: the Mongols in Russia in 1223-1502" [21].

In fact, *Shpuler* created a truly scientific concept of studying what was mythologized under the name of the so-called "Tatar-Mongol yoke." *Shpuler* considered the history of Russia XIII-XV centuries. an integral part of the history of the Golden Horde based on the political, economic, cultural and genetic synthesis of nomads and their protagonists - sedentary inhabitants of Eastern Europe. Subsequently, these ideas of *Shpuler* about the symbiosis of nomadic and sedentary societies were developed in his numerous works devoted to both the Mongolian era

and the history of Central Asia in the Middle Ages. One of the enduring advantages of the first and subsequent editions of the Golden Horde is the detailed genealogy of the Golden Horde khans. Among the other important works of Shpuler on Mongolism are the books "Mongols in History" (1961), "History of the Mongols in Eastern and European Testimonies of the 13-14th Centuries" (1968) and his report at the XIV International Congress of Historians in 1975 "Mongolian nomadism" in settled society: The Golden Horde. "

The book of the English media scientist Charles I. Halperin "Russia and the Golden Horde: the contribution of the Mongols to medieval Russian history" (1987) provoked a mixed response in its time, both among specialists in medieval history and in circles who were fond of reading literature about the past. Interest, first of all, was fueled by an extraordinary approach to the problem, caused by a radical breakdown of the old ideas about the almost three hundred-year-old dominance of the Mongolian model of government in Eurasia. The author abandoned the orthodox understanding of one of the longest periods of the redivision of the world according to the parameters of the sources and causes of imperial conquests, as well as their consequences from the point of view of further development. As an independent researcher, free from "torture by patriotic criticism," Halperin in a comparative series analyzes both the sources of ancient Russian literature and the vast array of works of Orientalists of the Golden Horde period from the position of correlation between the strengthening of the Mongol power and the socio-political evolution of its provinces, completely rejecting the racist concept in against the "nomad barbarians." Using the method of comparative comparison, as well as linguistic analysis, Halperin gives an exhaustive picture of the functional capabilities of the "ideology of silence" used by medieval chroniclers.

This is how Halperin sets forth the "Russian theory" of Mongol rule. He writes that the Mongol conquest and the years of oppression that followed led to a very sensitive issue for Christian authors and intellectuals in Russia. The non-standard nature of interstate and often business relations of Russia with hated religious enemies even before that, of course, created certain difficulties for the Eastern Slavs, who for many centuries traded, entered into marriages and unions with the steppe counterparts. For a long time, Russian chroniclers learned to bypass risky conclusions about the situation using the ideology of silence, as Christian and Muslim scholars did in similar circumstances around the perimeter of medieval ethno-religious borders. With the implementation of the Mongol conquest, the Russians faced a new and much greater threat to the religious and intellectual foundations of their culture: they, the support and representatives of the invincible god, were quickly and without problems conquered by pagan hordes, whose power for the foreseeable future seemed insurmountable. The solution of this second intellectual problem on the part of the Russians proceeds from the same approaches as in the solution of the first problem [22].

The ambiguous status of Russia as part of the Golden Horde, the absence of a regime of permanent presence of the Mongolian troops, as well as the legacy of contacts with the steppe nomads since the Kiev period, all this gave the Russians the opportunity to avoid both deep rethinking and the widely publicized nature of the relationship between Russia and the Mongols . Two points contributed to this: the rule of Russia outside its borders, as well as the prevailing Kiev ideological tradition [23]. The English scholar J.E. Boyle (Cambridge) investigated the title of founder of the Golden Horde Batu Khan [24]. He came to the conclusion that the common Batu title "Sain Khan" epithet does not mean "good" or "smart", but simply "deceased".

Among the states-heirs of the Golden Horde should include the Astrakhan Khanate. The first turned to a special study of the history of the state in Astrakhan H.Howors (Howorth). "Among the fragments of the Golden Horde, the Astrakhan Khanate had every reason to be considered the rightful heir to its ancient power. In reality, it was the Golden Horde with significantly reduced territory, limited to the modern (Howors) Astrakhan and Caucasian

governorates, but it was under the rule of princes of the same kind and, obviously, controlled Caspian trade. It is possible that after the death of Kuchuk Muhammad, his two sons - Mahmud Khan and Ahmed Khan somehow divided the Horde among themselves, and the lower Volga turned out to be part of Mahmud Khan". Almost all subsequent scientific (and unscientific) literature relating to the Astrakhan Khanate was, in fact, the development (or repetition) of these provisions of the British orientalist.

One of the heirs of the Golden Horde - along with the Kazan, Astarakhan and Crimean khanates - was the Nogai Horde. As the Soviet / Russian researcher V. Trepavlov wrote[25], the so-called Nogai period existed in the history of some peoples of Eurasia. The Turkic peoples of Eurasia (Nogais, Tatars, Bashkirs, Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, etc.) formed a common layer of heroic epic, the so-called Nogai cycle, which tells about Edig and his descendants. The very figure of the founder of the Mangyt biys, Edige, was sacralized by the Kazakhs and Karakalpaks, who revered him as the patron saint of horses.

For a long time, European and American researchers of nomadic peoples deprived the Nogai Horde of their attention. Stories related to it usually appeared in compilation works, where books, articles and publications of sources in translations into Western languages were retold. The largest of these compilations was the four-volume History of the Mongols by H. Howors, first published in 1876-1927 [26]. Without knowing the oriental languages, the author compiled in the corresponding section all the information available to him from N.M. Karamzin, J. Hammer-Purgstahl, other historians, European translations and paraphrases of Muslim writings and outlined the history of the Nogaev, which he imagined very vaguely. However, for a long time the book of H. Howors was for European readers one of the main manuals on the history of Desht-i Kipchak.

At the same time, work was underway in the West on translations and publications of Oriental sources related to our topic. We note the work of Polish historians on Crimean written monuments [27]. Of great importance for the study of Turkic Yurts of the XV-XVI centuries. had many years of searching in the Turkish archives, undertaken by A. Bennigsen, his students and colleagues. A series of their publications has helped those researchers who do not have access to the documents of the Sultan's office or do not read in Turkish.

As for Turkish historiography, it attracts a number of developments related to Ottoman politics in the south of Eastern Europe, in the Northern Black Sea region. Thanks to the efforts of several generations of scientists, extensive material has been accumulated for analysis and research on the history of the Nogai Horde. At the same time, only in isolated monographic works did the legs act as the central object of study. For most authors, they were only the background for the main theme - the history of Russia, Kazan or the Crimean Khanate, Turkey.

History of the Golden Horde in modern Mongolian studies. This article is caused by the explosive growth of interest in the medieval history of Central Eurasia, in particular - the emergence, expansion and decline of the Mongol power and its heirs. Modern Mongolistics is characterized by the reprint of classical works, substantially revised, expanded and updated, taking into account new sources, research methodologies and the expansion of scientific tools. A remarkable contribution to the development of Mongolistics and Turkology was made by Russian scientists, who until recently belonged to a single Soviet scientific school with us.

One cannot but pay attention to the recent surge of interest in world oriental studies towards the Mongol era as a historical and geographical phenomenon. The foundations of modern Mongol studies, of course, were laid back in the twentieth century; modern science leaves no attempt to study this phenomenon from various angles. All this is understandable, taking into account the influence of the Mongol conquests, the Mongol Empire and its successors in the person of the Golden Horde, Ilkhanid Iran, the empire of Timur, Yuan China and other epigonal entities had on the history of the Eurasian continent and the peoples inhabiting it for several centuries.

The Mongolian period in the history of nomadic civilizations is the most studied in world historiography, and at the same time it is the most brilliant era in the history of Eurasian nomads, who through collective efforts created an empire unprecedented in size, power and influence in the history of mankind. The interest in studying the phenomenon of the Mongol Empire, which has become a geographical prototype of other Eurasian formations colossal in the territory, is still not waning. The history of Kazakhstan and Central Asia is naturally associated with this period.

The basis for any historical research is source study. To understand the Mongolian era, such a source of primary significance remains the “Secret History of the Mongols” - a well-studied apocryphal legend of a not entirely clear origin. In 2005, in the West, it was published with research comments by the Mongolian scientist O. Urgunge. In Russian, the legend was reprinted in 2018. The publication was based on a modern translation of the text (V. Minorsky and G. Vernadsky), supplemented by fragments of laws (from Yasa) and statements (biliks) of Genghis Khan himself. The appendix contains extracts from Turkic (Abul-Gazi), Persian (Rashid ad-Din), Chinese and European sources (J. Karpini and G. de Rubruk). At the moment, this is the most complete and fundamentally prepared edition of the famous source in Russian, which is recommended to everyone who is interested in the Mongolian theme [28].

After almost three decades after the collapse of the USSR and, accordingly, the unified Soviet science and its ideology, the paths of historical schools in different post-Soviet republics inevitably diverge. Nationalism, as part of ideology, naturally takes the place of Marxism, working in favor of the formation of national states in their place. In this case, Russian and Kazakh historiography are no exception.

In this regard, the fate of the Eurasian idea is of interest. If in modern Russia it serves as the foundation for building the concept of Eurasian unity in the person of the Russian Empire (which supposedly was in its difficult history a model of ethnic and religious tolerance) and the USSR, in which internationalism, even if fictitious and deliberate, was nevertheless the basis of ideology, then in Kazakhstan, Eurasianism appeals to the concept of the Great Steppe, the unity of the Turkic (Turkic-Mongolian) world and the contribution of nomadic Eurasian civilization to world history.

Naturally, the field of Mongolian studies (including the history of its constituent parts and epigone states) could not but touch upon such trends. However, still in Russia, Kazakhstan and a number of other republics of the former USSR there remains a group of veteran scientists who continue to work in a paradigm set in the Soviet era and determined by their then formed worldview, preferences and experience. Among these historians, without any doubt, should be attributed Vadim Vintserovich Trepavlov - the author of many monographs on the history of Polovtsy, Mongols, Turkic and other nomadic peoples, as well as on the history of the great steppe empires of Eurasia.

In 2018, his comprehensive monograph “The Steppe Empires of Eurasia: Mongols and Tatars” was reprinted. The story of the creation of the monograph itself is interesting: it includes three works published in different years. This study is about the state system of the Mongol Empire, the history of the (unpublished) Russian principality in the Tatar-Mongolian era and the Battle of Kulikovo, and part of the “History of the Tatars” (including work on the Golden Horde and the Great Horde) [29].

In his new work, a remarkable Soviet historian supplements and revises a number of established ideas about the history of nomadic Eurasia. So, in particular, he addresses the issue of so-called The Eternal Ele (change of dynasties, but not the population), questions the total dominance of the Turks in the pre-Mongol era and raises the question of the role of Persian-speaking tribes (Alan-Ases, Shirin tribe) in the Mongol Empire, cites the example of the Naiman phenomenon (a synthesis of the Mongolian and Turkic). The scientist puts at the forefront the

thesis of a constant trend towards the unification of the nomadic world in the political sense and the parallel institution of atomized small nomadic economic groups. V. Trepavlov came to the conclusion that the organization of the ulus traditional for nomads, who had been in a kind of lethargy between the emergence and disappearance of the steppe powers, always contained the potential to turn it into a nomadic empire under favorable conditions.

V. Trepavlov is sure that the Mongol Empire, having completed the history of the great nomadic powers, has perfected the mechanism for combining nomads, which until then has been periodically put into effect for one and a half millennia. He believes that during the creation of the Mongol Empire, the phenomenon of "imriophilia" manifested itself, which usually accompanied the formation of young empires, i.e. the presence of a firm state order and the possibility of military protection from traditional opponents, as well as access to the huge resources of the conquered territories. According to him, the phenomenon of "Mongolophilia" was clearly manifested during the first campaigns of the voluntary entry of the Turkic peoples of southern Siberia and East Turkestan.

The tendency towards the unification of the Steppe after the Mongol Empire faded away along with the departure of nomadism from the world historical arena as a political and military force. In his book, the author criticizes the approach of Kazakhstani historians to the color designation and relative position of Ak-Orda and Kok-Horde - independent wing provinces of Ulus Juchi, which established that this division applied only to the eastern part of the Ulus (i.e., the left wing). In his opinion, the division into wings during the development of the ulus turned into an abstraction, or tradition - a simple designation of the rank of tribes and their leaders.

The second part of V. Trepavlov's monograph is devoted to the Golden Horde, which he characterizes as a historical phenomenon. Judging by the analysis of the author's text, the uniqueness of this state formation was primarily in the coexistence of two civilizations under one state roof - nomadic, Turkic-Mongolian and subsequently - Muslim, and sedentary - Russian-Slavic and Orthodox. The book closes with the third part, illuminating the historical site of the so-called The Great Horde (Takht Eli) - the last element of the Golden Horde in the south of Eastern Europe (mainly the interfluvium between the Volga and the Dnieper), which remained after its disintegration into various khanates, hordes and yurts. V. Trepavlov studies statehood, economy, territory, ethnic composition, political history and the international situation of this locally-temporary historical phenomenon.

Among the popular science publications on this subject should be attributed the work of M. Burgan "Empire of the Mongols" (2009). The conceptual scheme chosen by the author is extremely simple: Genghis Khan created a colossal empire from Korea to Eastern Europe in the history of Eurasia and all of humanity, controlled by just one family. The main content of the history of the Mongol power was the struggle between nomadism and settled civilizations. The Eurasian power united by the Mongols ensured a stable regime of international trade, created new forms of communication and demonstrated religious tolerance. In terms of the continuity of military tactics and strategy, as well as the structure of power, the author draws a line from Genghis Khan and Khubilai to Tamerlane to the Russian tsars [thirty].

Research by Peter Jackson is no exception. Back in 2005, his book "The Mongols and the West: 1221-1410" was published (that is, from the appearance of the Mongol army on the approaches to Europe to the Battle of Tannenberg). The main idea of the work of P. Jackson was the idea that the Mongols for the Christian world were also allies (saving Frankish principals from the Holy Land, Christian embassies and pilgrims from destruction by Arabs and Mamluks from destruction). The monograph of the specified scientist "Mongols and the Islamic world: from conquest to conversion" (2017) continues this topic. By conversion, the author understands the assimilation of the conquerors by more developed civilizations, in this case, Islamic. But the Western scholar pays more attention to the damage that the Mongol conquests brought to various parts of the Islamic world, including Iran, Iraq (i.e. the Caliphate), Turkey, Afghanistan, Central

Asia (Khorezm) and part of Eastern Europe. However, while the Mongols managed to establish political supremacy, the opposite happened in cultural terms: the adoption of Islam and the civilizational-linguistic conversion [31].

Earlier (2003) this topic was touched upon by J. Lane in his work "Mongolian rule in Iran in the 13th century and the Persian revival". The author proceeds from the fact that the so-called The Iranian revival was a long process, the beginning of which was laid long before the Mongols during the period of intensification of cultural, political and linguistic contacts of the Persian area with the Turkic world. J. Lane continued the Mongolian theme in the monograph "Everyday Life of the Mongol Empire" (2006). The scientist describes the everyday life of nomads in a yurt based on the analysis of traditional folklore, their food (based on meat) diet, the role of alcohol, everyday clothes and religious beliefs. It should be noted that plots so distant from the historical and chronological point of view at the junction with ethnography, based on scarce sources in the absence of the Mongols' own developed script and historical culture, are extremely rare in historical science [32].

The collective work *The Mongolian Middle East*, edited by Bruno de Nicola and Charles Melville (Cambridge, UK), continues the theme of the transformation of the Mongol invaders in conquered Iran, which in turn also underwent a political and economic transformation under the Mongolian Ilhans. The historical collection covers the period 1258-1335. The book consists of four parts, covering respectively the establishment of the Ilkhan government, domestic and foreign policy, and finally the completion of this chapter in the history of Iran. But individual chapters are devoted in general to the role of the Mongolian factor in the Middle and Middle East, and more broadly to the whole of medieval Eurasia and relations with China [33]. The study of Alexander Shirokorad "Russia and the Horde" (published in the World History series) is a typical example of a synthesis of history and relevant political science. The author, as a military historian, devotes almost all 26 chapters of his book to military campaigns of the distant and recent past. The progress of the conquest of Rus by the Tatar-Mongols is described in detail, the role of Prince A. Nevsky and the relationship of the conquered Russian lands with the Horde are analyzed. But gradually, the focus of research is shifting to the Crimean problems [34].

Among the reprinted classic works should be attributed primarily to the book of Prince N. S. Trubetskoy "The Legacy of Genghis Khan," one of the founders of Eurasian theory (based on the article: [The legacy of Genghis Khan. A look at Russian history not from the West, but from the East](#)).- Berlin, 1925. - 60 p.). The author proceeded from the fact that for him, Genghis Khan was not so much a conqueror, but first of all a great organizer. The main idea of the Eurasian philosopher boils down to the fact that the "Shaker of the Universe" fulfilled the grandiose historical task of state unification of a significant part of the continent. He did this through the union of the Steppe, and then on this territorial-state and military-material basis - of the entire Inner Eurasia [35].

Another reprint is the book of the notorious Murad Aji (Murad Eskenderovich Adzhiev - born 1944-2018) "The Saga of the Great Steppe", which was based on the sensational publication of the author "Without the Eternal Blue Sky" [36]. Unlike his other Eurasian predecessors, M. Aji focuses on the contribution to the history and culture of Eurasia not of the Mongols, but of the Turks. This idea runs a red thread through his famous works - "Wormwood of the Polovtsian Field", "Europe. Türks. The Great Steppe", "Kipchaks. The ancient history of the Turks and the Great Steppe", "Kipchaks. Oguzes", "Türks and the world: a secret story", etc. The author's hypothesis about the formation of the Türks as a people in Altai and their resettlement across Eurasia, about the life and life of the people, about its spiritual culture, about the traces of the Great Migration by the author in India and Persia, in the Caucasus and the Urals, in Byzantium and Rome, in Europe.

The author tried to show how, as a result of the resettlement and development of new territories, the country of Desht-i-Kipchak was formed, the territory of which in the 1st millennium supposedly extended from Baikal to the Atlantic and included a significant part of the territory of modern Russia. Adzhiev presented the results of his research in 1994 in the book "Wormwood of the Polovtsian Field. Many of the European and Asian peoples, such as Bulgarians, Hungarians, Koreans, Serbs, Russian, Cossacks Ukrainians, British, [the French](#) and others, according to Adzhiev, are descendants of the Turkic-steppes, dissolved among other peoples and forgetting their roots. The state of the steppes Desht-i-Kipchak lasted until the XVIII century and died after campaigns [Peter I](#), who conquered the free Cossack lands.

An augmented historical biography of A. Karpov "Batu" (2011) was again published in the ZhZZL series, which was clearly anti-Mongolian and hostile to the figure of the main character. According to the author, Batu's personality occupies a special place even among other bloody conquerors, because his name is associated with the terrible Mongol invasion that hit Russia in the late 30s of the XIII century. By the power of the destructive effect on the course of Russian history, it has no equal. This invasion claimed the lives of a huge number of people, obliterated hundreds, if not thousands of cities and villages, completely destroyed the country's economy, nullified entire industries, irrevocably ruined priceless cultural monuments, brought Russia to its knees for two centuries and almost destroying Russian statehood itself.[37]

Another reprint is the book of R. Rakhmanaliev "Empire of the Turks. The history of a great civilization" (2009). The book tells the story of large state formations, to which the term "empire" can be applied to one degree or another. The history of the Turkic world is described by the author in the following sequence: Turkic peoples from the 10th century BC. by V century A.D; Empire of Atilla; The Great Turkic Haganate. Uyghur Kaganate; Türks in the Muslim world; Empire of Genghis Khan; Empire of Amir Temur; Ottoman Empire [38].

The series of the Library of Military and Historical Literature published materials related to the Genghis Khan era, including the included texts "Yasa" and "Bilik" (Genghis Khan's sayings). The testimony of contemporaries of the conqueror from among Chinese intelligence ambassadors and European missionaries is also given. In the collection you can find a lot of information about the military art of the Mongols, their tactics and strategies and the organizational structure of the Mongolian army, the goals of the military doctrine of the "single autocracy" [39].

A study by Michael Pop (Yonsey University) of "Politics and Traditions in the Mongol Empire and Iran under the Ilkhanis" is an interpretation of the process that led to the evolution of the ulus of an early Mongol power into a successful Muslim state throughout the Middle East after 1258, known as the ulus ilkhanov. The author conducts a detailed study of the origin and essence of the differences between the two main carriers of the Genghisids political culture. In his opinion, the ideological contradictions logically arising from the political ones also led to the split of the Ilkhan powers from the Mongolian domain. The ideological split was further strengthened by the entry of the Mongol rulers of Iran into Islam, and in its Shiite form, which was reflected in the confrontation with other uluses that converted to Islam in the Sunni form, primarily with the Golden Horde [40].

In 2018, Francesca Fiachetti (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) launched a reprint of the classic work of Paul Buell (independent researcher, Seattle), The Historical Dictionary of the Mongolian World Power (2003). This dictionary covered the terminology on the history of the Mongols of the pre-imperial period, the Mongol Empire itself and the era of the heirs of Genghis Khan after the loss of the unity of the state. The second edition significantly expanded historical materials, going far beyond just a terminological interpreter. The collection includes a chronological part, various tables on cryptology, a glossary, curriculum vitae, essays on economics, politics, religion, foreign policy and culture of the Mongol Empire (900 in total).

Thus, the expanded reprint of P. Buell's work not only enriched the world Mongolism, but also became a first-class source for all researchers who are involved in the Mongol era [41].

The issue under consideration of the Proceedings of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences contains a collection of articles prepared by an international team of authors and devoted to urgent problems of nomadic studies. The book considers the contribution of nomads of antiquity and the Middle Ages to the culture of settled civilizations, analyzes the contacts of Turkic nomads with neighboring peoples, highlights a number of issues of their ethnogenesis, archeology, anthropology, ideology, and military affairs. The materials of the collection cover the period from the Hunnu era to the present and include data on Eastern Europe, Western, Middle and Central Asia [42].

A monograph by well-known Russian orientalists D.M. Timokhin and V.V. Tishin (Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences) is devoted to the consideration of the interaction of the state of Khorezmshah-Anushteginid with the tribes of East Desht-i Kipchak in the XI - early XIII centuries and involves the first special study on this issue. The subject of the work is related to the absence (with rare exceptions) of a full-fledged monographic study of the history of the relationship between the state of Khorezmshah-Anushteginids and the steppe world [43]. The monograph of Y. I. Drobyshev, an employee of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, is devoted to the role of the climate factor in the life and political history of the nomadic peoples of Central Asia, which is closely related to the concept of the sacred nature of the supreme power, which makes this work apart from numerous other studies of this kind. The central idea of the book is presented in the relationship of climate and military affairs. The book shows how the weather decided the fate of military clashes [44].

The study by Doris Behrens-Abuseif "Practical diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate" is interesting in that it draws attention to this period of the medieval history of the Muslim world not only by the fact that the Mamluks were in power in the sultanate - mainly immigrants from the great Eurasian steppes, mainly Kipchak Turks. Based on a detailed study of the nomenclature of diplomatic gifts to the Mamluk court, the author is convinced that this region (Egypt, Levant, Palestine, Syria) was an integral part of the Silk Road, culturally and civilizationally connected with Central Asia [45]. Erica Monaghan's book *Siberian Merchants* considers an attempt to revive the old meaning of the ancient Silk Road trade routes, but this time in the opposite direction - from the West (from Russia) to the East. In this case, the impetus was the conquest of colossal Siberian spaces by the Moscow, then the Russian state, starting from the end of the fifteenth century. The study is built, which is understandable, mainly on the materials of the Russian archives. The subject of the study directly affects the history of the Turkic world in the post-Mongol era in the form of fragments of the Golden Horde, the Siberian and Kazakh Khanates, Xinjiang and Central Asia [46].

The Silk Road research by Peter Frankopan (Dr. Center for Byzantine Studies at Oxford University), which seeks to be fundamental, is intended to illuminate the colossal period in the history of Eurasia, the Mediterranean and Africa and all of humanity, spanning about 2000 years. However, the focus of the book is aimed at the historical role of Inner Eurasia and its role in the establishment of the trade and economic paths of antiquity and the Middle Ages, and even more broadly - of the great religions and civilizations of the continent [47].

For us, of most interest is the study of J. Lee, "Kazaklyk, or ambitious robbery, and the formation of the Kazakhs: state and identity in post-Mongolian Eurasia". The term "Cossack" (Cossack), the author uses as a synonym for robbery vagrancy, so characteristic of Eurasia in the post-Mongol era. The researcher connects this phenomenon, which extends down to the Black Sea steppes among the mixed Slavic-Turkic population, with the political aspect. As a result of "political vagrancy," in the words of the author, the Kazakh nation emerged as a special

phenomenon, and not a breakaway part of the Uzbek ulus. The emergence of Kazakhs, the author believes, (as well as many other peoples and states of Eurasia) would have been impossible without the collapse of the rigidly centralized and hierarchized system of Mongolian rule, including as the political heritage of the Golden Horde [48].

Conclusion. Thus, the Mongol conquest of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, as well as other countries, was accompanied by the mass death of the nomadic population - Naimans, Kireites, Kypchaks and Kangles, who stubbornly resisted the invaders. The Karluks, Onguts, Uyghurs, and that part of the Kypchaks, Kangles, Naimans and Kireites, who obeyed the Mongols without resistance, but under the threat of conquest, also suffered serious losses as a result of the total mobilization of their human and economic resources. As for the Golden Horde and the Chagatai ulus, the Mongol ruling minority was gradually Turkized in the mass of the Turkic nomadic population close in terms of economic structure. Thus, the Mongol conquerors everywhere created a multi-ethnic administrative apparatus.

In the Golden Horde, the Mongols were assimilated by the Turkic local population, and the Batu power served as a source for the formation of such Turkic states as the Nogai Horde, Kazan, Astrakhan, Kazakh and Crimean Khanates after the collapse of the Golden Horde.

Nevertheless, as history testifies, the Türks played a significant role in the political and cultural life of China, Central Asia and Eastern Europe during the era of Mongol rule.

Thus, the history of the Golden Horde is a distant past, but it still causes controversy. Thus, the task of researchers, regardless of ethnic (Turkic or Slavic) affiliation, is to work for mutual understanding of peoples, and not for their division.

ИСТОРИЯ ЗОЛОТОЙ ОРДЫ В МИРОВОЙ ОРИЕНТАЛИСТИКЕ: КРАТКИЙ ОЧЕРК

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Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются проблемы становления и развития востоковедных школ в контексте изучения Золотой Орды, Центральной Азии и Внутренней Евразии. Изучаются основные направления в исследовании истории этого монгольского образования. К ним относятся такие направления, как концепции нomaдизма и культурологии кочевничества, тюркология, алтаистика и языкознание, кипчаковедение о ранней и средневековой истории Орды. Особое внимание уделяется изучению истории и этнографии казахов, преимущественно в западном востоковедении. Статья показывает помимо прочего преемственность и взаимосвязь востоковедения и политологии в контексте изучения Золотой Орды и Центральной Азии.

Ключевые слова: Золотая Орда, Казахи, Казахстан, Центральная Азия, востоковедение, тюркология, политология, куманология, кипчаковедение, монголистика, монголоведение.

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