TRIBAL POLITICS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN

THE GOLDEN HORDE


ULI SCHAMILOGLU


Submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

of Doctor of Philosophy

in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences


COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

1986

ABSTRACT


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This dissertation proposes a new model for the organization of
the Golden Horde and the other states of the Mongol world empire. It
discusses the "four-bey system" (the four *qaraçı* beys) in the successor
states to the Golden Horde (termed here the Later Golden Horde,
including the xanates of the Crimea, Kasimov, and Kazan), and proposes
that it may be used as a paradigm for understanding the organization of
the Çingisid states.

Chapter I includes a statement of thesis, a discussion of the
method used in this work for evaluating the conflicting evidence of
various categories of official and unofficial sources, a definition of a
"ruling tribe", and a brief historical introduction.

Chapter II offers the first original survey of the "four-bey
system" in the Later Golden Horde since V.V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov (1864).
It defines an original set of characteristic features which may be used
to describe the role of the four *qaraçı* beys in these states.

Chapter III uses the same set of characteristic features to
propose that such a system (known as the four *ulus* beys) also existed in
the earlier Golden Horde as well as in the Ilxanate in Iran, in the

Çağatay xanate in Central Asia, in the Mongol Yüan dynasty in China, and in the Great Xanate of the 13th century.

Chapter IV re-examines the history of the Golden Horde in light of the "four-bey system". On this basis it is able to offer a new interpretation of the role of Noğay, Qutluq Temür, and a series of other figures in the Golden Horde. It also examines the problem of the two divisions of the White and Blue Hordes in the Golden Horde.

Chapter V traces the "four-bey system" from the time of Mamay in an effort to establish the continuity of the "four-bey system" from the Golden Horde to the rise of the states of the Later Golden Horde. It examines in particular the role of the Şirin "ruling tribe" in this series of events.

# CONTENTS

his association with colleagues at Indiana University, first as a visiting fellow with the Inner Asian and Uralic National Resource Center headed by Prof. Denis Sinor, then as a member of the Dept. of Uralic and Altaic Studies headed by Prof. Gustav Bayerle. They have supported the author's work and have provided a stimulating environment from which the author's work has greatly benefited.

There have been many persons and institutions which have assisted the author in his numerous periods of study abroad, all of whose help is acknowledged here. In particular, the author would like to thank the Center for Turkish Studies, Columbia University, which sponsored summer study by the author as an undergraduate. The author also spent the fall semester, 1982, as a visiting fellow with the Dept. of Altaistics, József Attila Tudományegyetem (Szeged, Hungary) sponsored by the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX). The author would like to thank both IREX for making this possible and Prof. András Róna-Tas and his department for their kind hospitality.

The author would also like to thank those persons who helped improve the present dissertation. T. Allsen was kind enough to supply the author with a copy of his forthcoming "The Princes of the Left Hand: An Introduction to the History of the *Ulus* of Orda in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries" for citation. H.-R. Kaempfe was kind enough to allow the author to consult galley proofs of the forthcoming work *Die Mongolen. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur*. (This work has since appeared, as has the author's own article in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* **4** [1984] discussing some of the same sources as this dissertation.)

This dissertation employs a unified transliteration system based on the Republican Turkish alphabet for non-Latin alphabets (excluding Chinese, which is given in Wade-Giles). Many common terms such as "vezir" are given in the convenient forms available in modern Turkish in preference to other available spellings in English. In the case of certain terms such as "bey" and especially *beylerbeyi*, the modern Turkish form is a convenient (though anachronistic and potentially misleading) alternative to the multiple forms one would have to use in order to be historically accurate. Certain other terms such as "xan" and "xanate" are given in forms following the transliteration system of this dissertation in preference to other available spellings in English. Given the difficulty in establishing a practical and consistent usage, the author asks for the indulgence of the reader. The following special usages in this system are indicated as they would appear in English or according to other common scholarly conventions:

| Transliteration | = | English and Other Scholarly Coventions |
|---|---|---|
| "c" | | *dj* |
| "ç" | | *ch* |
| "ğ" | | *gh*; Turkish "soft *ğ*" |
| "ı" | | Turkish and Turkic "back [dotless] *ı*" |
| "ï" | | Russian *yerï* |
| "j" | | *zh* |
| "q" | | velar or uvular *k* |
| "ş" | | *sh* |
| "x" | | *kh* |
| "'" | | Arabic *'ayn* |

Most of the other characters will be easily recognized by Islamist and Slavist alike. Long vowels are indicated by a circumflex, except in the case of direct quotations of other works using a macron . Arabic wâw is transliterated "w" for Arabic, but "v" for Persian and Turkic. In the same way Arabic ḍ corresponds to Persian ż and so on. The medieval Turkic words and names appearing in this work are transliterated according to this system as though they were in Çağatay, but without diacritical marks or indication of vowel length. Therefore, Tatar words and names are not indicated in their modern vocalization. Ottoman Turkish is rendered by modern Republican Turkish orthography.

PREFACE

This dissertation is first and foremost an interpretative essay covering the history of many regions of the world over many centuries. Since a dissertation must be a finite presentation of scholarly research and analysis and at the same time be submitted within a specified amount of time, this work does not nor can it claim to be an exhaustive treatment of its broad subject. The individual topics discussed in this work are each worthy of monographic treatment, but it is hoped that the results achieved in this work will more than justify the comparative approach used here stressing breadth over detail.

It is difficult for one person to consult even the readily-available printed sources for the history of the Mongol world empire, let alone master their languages, within the limits established for one's career as a graduate student. For this reason this work will limit itself to sources already published and rely heavily on a vast body of secondary literature in order to be able to present a cogent and complete argument within the time period allotted. This is especially true for Chapters II and V, which deal with the Later Golden Horde. These chapters defer to the work of earlier scholars who have studied the Slavic sources in depth simply in order to enable the project to reach completion in its present form. The focus throughout this dissertation will be the Islamic sources, which is the author's field of primary interest and training. At the same time it is these very sources which have been subjected to the most serious mishandling and misinterpretation by earlier scholars.

Though the archives of many states offer abundant material, the introduction of additional data and the fleshing out of the contours outlined in this work will remain for future stages of the project of which this dissertation is hopefully only the beginning. It is the presentation of a concept, the identification of a system of state and social organization in a number of states and an analysis of its bearing on Çingisid history as a whole, which is the main goal of this dissertation.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.    Statement of Thesis

This dissertation has as its focus a single important Çingisid institution which it tries to identify in a number of Çingisid states. This institution, which shall be called the "four-bey system", is known from the successor states to the Golden Horde as the four *qaraçı* beys. The first task of this dissertation is to further refine the definition of this system for the successor states to the Golden Horde (a period which may be termed here the Later Golden Horde). It then attempts to establish its existence earlier in the Golden Horde and the other states of the Mongol world empire; in these states the "four-bey system" was represented by the four *ulus* beys. The final step is to apply the concept of this system to a re-interpretation of the history of the Golden Horde and the transition to the Later Golden Horde.

The states of the Later Golden Horde (including the xanates of the Crimea, Kasimov, Kazan, and others) were each ruled by a sovereign who was called a "xan" and was descended from Çingis Xan. What makes these states remarkable, however, is the "four-bey system", in which four beys or "leaders" of one of a group of four "ruling tribes" ("extraordinary" or "high-status tribes") shared power with the sovereign in the governing of the "state". (The "state" also included other "tribes" ["ordinary", "non-ruling", or "low-status tribes"], as well as the indigenous peoples who were subject to the Mongol states following their conquest.) The "leaders" of these four "ruling tribes", who were called the four *qaraçı* beys, constituted the "land" in each of

these states and acted together as a "council of state" in deciding many of the important matters of state.[1] The four beys were also responsible for the selection of a new xan or the removal of an undesirable xan. Additional aspects of the "four-bey system" in each xanate are examined in an effort to present a summary of the characteristic features of this system. This will be the content of Chapter II.

Chapter III will take the "four-bey system" known from the Later Golden Horde as the basis for the reconstruction of the same system in the earlier Golden Horde. The scholars who pioneered the study of the history of the Golden Horde and the other Mongol states were not aware of the existence of the system described here, since the only significant description of the four qaraçı beys prior to the fourth decade of the 20th century appeared in Russia in the 19th century.[2] Although a few scholars have taken into account some of the same sources for the "four-bey system" in the Golden Horde as does this dissertation, they have not considered the evidence for the Later Golden Horde in their descriptions of the organization of the Golden Horde in the 13th-14th centuries. Without a clear picture of the institution of the qaraçı beys of the Later Golden Horde as a model or guide, the sources for the Golden Horde itself seem confused or contradictory.

[1]     This description borrows some of its terminology from E.L. Keenan, Jr., "Muscovy and Kazan: Some Introductory Remarks on the Patterns of Steppe Diplomacy", *Slavic Review* 26 (1967), pp. 548-558; and "Muscovy and Kazan' 1445-1552: A Study in Steppe Politics", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard University, 1965), especially pp. 89-97.

[2]     The first and only overview of this system was by V.V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o kasimovskix tsaryax i tsareviçax*, ii, Trudï Vostoçnago otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago arxeologiçeskago obşçestva 10 (St. Petersburg, 1864), pp. 411-437. For subsequent scholarship on this question see Chapter II as well as the Historiographical Essay (Part II of the Bibliography).

On the other hand, students of the successor states to the Golden Horde have studied the institution of the *qaraçı* beys as a phenomenon limited to the Golden Horde (but only in the 14th century) and the Later Golden Horde, or to just the Later Golden Horde. When the sets of sources are compared, a similar set of characteristic features emerges, which seems to apply to both the system of the four *ulus* beys in the Golden Horde and to the later *qaraçı* beys.

It is also possible to document the very same institution in the Ilxanate in Iran, the Çağatay xanate in Central Asia, and the Yüan dynasty in China. The existence of this institution in the other Çingisid states lends further credence to the theory that the institution of the *qaraçı* beys in the Later Golden Horde represents the direct historical continuation of a Golden Horde institution. It may then be argued that the institution of the *ulus* beys—which is documented beyond any doubt for the first half of the 14th century— derives from an institution which existed or developed at the beginning of the Mongol world empire in the first half of the 13th century.

Chapter IV will apply what is now known about the system of the four *ulus* beys to a fresh examination of the history of the Golden Horde in the 13th-14th centuries. It will look for the earliest indications of a system of four *ulus* beys and try to place various important figures in the history of the Golden Horde within such a framework. This, in turn, will reveal a thread of continuity in the history of the Golden Horde, less certain for the 13th century but easily documented for the 14th. The result will be a new explanation of such events as the "civil war" at the end of the 13th century and give a much clearer picture of events at the end of the 14th century.

Chapter V will address the question of the disintegration of the Golden Horde from a state of one or two divisions to a group of smaller states. Here, too, various important figures will be placed within the framework established for the earlier and the Later Golden Horde. This chapter will also serve as the bridge to show not only how the institution of the *ulus* beys led, in effect, to the emergence of new xanates, but also to show conclusively that the "four-bey system" in the Later Golden Horde is the direct continuation of a "four-bey system" in the earlier Golden Horde.

The Bibliography will review the sources, the historiography, and the literature on "tribalism" in separate essays. This will be followed by an annotated bibliography of sources and a bibliography of works cited.

## 2.    Method

This dissertation presents a unique set of methodological and philological problems. These include the problems of the selection and treatment of individual sources (such as how to group the available corpus of sources and how to compare sources from different cultural areas), the resolution of a multitude of contradictions between the sources, and the explanation of phenomena which seem to be similar but are widely separated in both time and space. In the field of Çingisid history these are to be expected, but it is the true exercises in comparative history which have yielded the most important results to date.[3] Of course, such studies are also fraught with the greatest

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[3]    See for example H.F. Schurmann, "Mongolian Tributary Practices of the Thirteenth Century", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 19 (1956), pp. 304-389.

obstacles of all. The present dissertation, involving the recasting of the context within which the data in the diverse primary sources are to be interpreted, may be considered as falling into the same category.

The most important element in the approach of this dissertation is that the characteristic features of an institution are much more important than just the name of the institution or the title of a person involved within it. Too many studies in Eurasian history have emphasized the etymology and continuity in the usage of a particular term in disregard for the possible evolution of that particular institution or office or the application of the same term to a completely different office. In the study of the Mongol world empire it is especially important to realize that different terms in sources written in different languages often refer to one and the same office, title, or rank. There are studies of the Golden Horde which have postulated multiple institutions simply on the basis of different translations of one and the same original term. This dissertation therefore seeks common characteristic features rather than similarities in terminology to identify the "four-bey system" at different times in various states.[4]

It has also been necessary for this dissertation to adopt a strategy for dealing with the abundant and oftentimes contradictory primary source material in order to try and prove the major theses. The first consideration which must be made is that not all sources are of equal value when trying to establish the existence of a particular institution. Some are obviously better informed, others are clearly ill informed. It is obvious that both kinds of sources cannot have equal

[4]    For a similar approach to the problem of the *şeyh ül-islam* and the *şadr aş-şudûr* see R.W. Bulliet, "The Shaikh Al-Islām and the Evolution of Islamic Society", *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972), pp. 53-67.

utility under all circumstances to the historian. Two other sets of more subtle distinctions must also be drawn, however: first, whether a source is an indigenous or an external source; and second, whether a source is an official or an "unofficial" source.

An important consideration for primary sources which is not usually made in the study of the Çingisid states is between indigenous or external sources. Numerous scholars have tried unsuccessfully to understand the early period of the history of the Golden Horde on the basis of such external sources as the Russian chronicles and other Western sources for the 13th century. Until the Russians gradually come to play a greater role in the politics of the Golden Horde in the 14th century and then in the Later Golden Horde, they are not such valuable observers. On the other hand, indigenous sources such as dynastic histories and histories written for the non-dynastic interests always offer valuable inside information. These sources have been under-utilized, with the exception of certain well-known authors like Raşîd ad-Dîn who are available in translation. Many of the indigenous sources have yet to be incorporated into a synthesis of Çingisid history.

The Islamic sources from the Mamlûk states almost form a category of their own falling between the external sources and the indigenous sources. These narrative histories and other works for the history of the Golden Horde are often based directly on indigenous Golden Horde sources, be it native histories or the oral reports of embassies, merchants, and other travelers to and from the area. Until the Russian chronicles offer detailed information on the Golden Horde and especially the Later Golden Horde, the Mamlûk sources are the most informative on the internal events within the Golden Horde.

A second distinction that can be drawn is between official and "unofficial" sources. It will be a constant consideration in this work that indigenous "official" sources represent a particular point of view and thus often serve to filter events to represent such a point of view. For this reason, dynastic histories can be held as emphasizing the role of the dynasty, while those histories written by and for leaders of non-dynastic socio-political units can be seen as serving these non-dynastic interests. (Even the Russian chronicles should be viewed as official—though external—sources.) Often, persons, events, or institutions which are left out of one work can be easily documented from the other sources. One has simply to compare the accounts of Ilxanid history as contained in the official dynastic histories of Raşîd ad-Dîn and Cuvaynî with the descriptions of Ilxanid institutions in the chancellery manual of 'Umarî to appreciate how completely an important institution such as the "four-bey system" can be written out of the official histories. While a balance between the dynastic and non-dynastic perspectives is desirable, it serves a useful purpose to study particularly the perspective offered by non-dynastic indigenous sources for the purposes of this dissertation.

An important category of sources is that of impartial or "unofficial" sources. Two major genres fall into this category: travel literature and (arguably) chancellery handbooks. The accounts of Islamic and Western travelers usually are devoid of a strong political bias when discussing the characteristics of a political institution, although they are also apt as outsiders to be naïve or misinformed. (In this regard it is difficult to regard these sources strictly as external or internal sources, since they combine elements of both. What is more, there are

hardly any true indigenous "unofficial" sources for the Çingisid states, unless one wishes to include the manual of Naxçivânî, for example.) In the case of the chancellery handbooks, it is the position of this dissertation that the Mamlûk chancellery manuals especially are of unusual value in the study of the Golden Horde and the Ilxanate because they were written with objectivity and accuracy as their goal. Furthermore, their information on the Golden Horde came directly from embassies and merchants. Most importantly, however, they offer concise information for which they are the sole source in their own period, but which is fully corroborated by data from the later period. Perhaps it is just because their accounts are not always corroborated in the contemporary sources that earlier scholars have not emphasized these sources over other literary sources such as dynastic histories.

To recapitulate, one can consider a source as: an external source that is official (Russian chronicles, Mamlûk chronicles), an external source that is "unofficial" (travelers, [arguably] chancellery manuals), an indigenous source that is official (dynastic histories, "ruling tribe" histories), or an indigenous source that is "unofficial" (perhaps Naxçivânî). Added to this can be the criterion of whether a source is well informed or ill informed. This classification of sources should not be considered as a rigid categorization, but rather a tool for understanding why certain sources stress one set of facts while other sources do not stress that same set (or in fact suppress it). Such a tool is necessary since one major problem faced by students of Mongol history is that there are contradictions between some of the most basic sources. (This statement is not referring just to inconsistencies in genealogy, though these are sometimes involved.) Many of these

contradictions can thus be ascribed to the political filter through which the author presents his own point of view.

Many statements in the sources are completely fictional and contradict all other sources. One notorious work in particular by Naṭanzî has completely misled scholars for several decades about the most fundamental aspects of the organization of the Golden Horde, from the time it was first utilized by Yakubovskiy until Aubin and Safargaliev called attention to the inadequacies of this work around 1960.[5] Though most of the works dealt with here cannot be accused of gross fictionalization of history, the most severe cases will be treated only with great caution and skepticism. In most cases where contradictions exist, however, there is insufficient comparative evidence from other sources on which to base a definitive judgement.

Scholars of the Çingisid states have often viewed the Mongol xan as a severe autocrat, though the work done on the Later Golden Horde since the 19th century justifies a reconsideration of this a *priori* conception. Such a view has also entered into the discussion of the development of autocracy in Russia, since many scholars seek an origin for this in the Mongol period.[6] The conception of the xan as a Western-style sovereign determined the sets of facts which earlier scholars chose in preference to other possible sets and thus shaped the history which they wrote and which later authors used as a guide. This work does not base itself on a completely different set of sources (though it does

[5]    See the detailed discussion of this source in Chapter IV.

[6]    See for example M. Cherniavsky, "Khan or Basileus: An Aspect of Russian Mediaeval Political Theory", *The Structure of Russian History. Interpretative Essays*, ed. M. Cherniavsky (New York, 1970), pp. 65–79. For further references on this question see also the bibliography in J.T. Fuhrmann, "Absolutism", *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, ed. J.L. Wieczynski, i (Gulf Breeze, 1976), pp. 12–16.

combine sources which have hitherto not been examined together), but simply seeks to confirm from many of the same sources other patterns for the earlier states which are familiar from an alternative model available from the later states.

Finally, this dissertation argues that the presence of the phenomenon of collegial rule in a number of related states is to be explained by common descent from a parent state. There is no basis for presuming that there was any change in the fundamental aspects of the organization of the Golden Horde over the two centuries of its existence into the period of the Later Golden Horde; in fact, Chapter V will attempt to prove just the opposite. There is no documentary proof of the independent origin of this institution in each of the other divisions of the Mongol world empire.[7] Therefore, there is little justification for assuming that the existence of this form of government in the other states by the first half of the 14th century is purely coincidental, nor is there evidence for suggesting that the system was borrowed into one state from another.[8]

3.    Definition of "Ruling Tribe" in the Çingisid States
      (13th-18th centuries)

One of the difficulties encountered in the writing of this dissertation or any work dealing with medieval Eurasian history is the definition of one's terms. Many terms have been used in the secondary literature concerned with Eurasian history without regard for their implications. The most important of these is the concept of "tribe",

[7]    The views of Safargaliev and Manz relating to this point are discussed in Chapter IV.

[8]    Cf. B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland, 1223-1502* (Wiesbaden, 1965[2]), pp. 301-302.

though there are many others, too. Especially the term "tribe" is the subject of a great deal of controversy in the social scientific literature, with many scholars finding the term to be a hindrance rather than a positive tool in the study of societies.

Anthropology as a discipline has its own agenda and concerns which often have little in common with those of the historian of medieval Eurasia. Anthropologists usually base their conclusions on synchronic observation, while it is exactly the sources for the earlier periods which are of greatest interest to the historian. At best anthropologists offer an alternative definition of "tribe" which does not dovetail with the data for medieval Eurasia; at worst they completely deny the validity of the term. Though this criticism of the term may well be justified for studies on other areas of the world, anthropological studies completely disregard the abundant source material available for Eurasia documenting the existence of socio-political groups which function as the building blocks of state organization. One should not fall prey to fashions and completely ignore these units, for much insight is to be gained from their study.[9]

This section offers an empirical working definition of a "ruling tribe" as the basic social unit and building block of the Çingisid states. All the inhabitants of the lands of the Mongol world empire were either members of one of the constituent tribes of the empire, of which only the upper levels can be followed in the sources, or of one of the subject peoples. None of the definitions cited in the review of literature on "tribalism" can be used to explain the behavior of the

[9]    See Part III of the Bibliography for a review of the literature on "tribalism", including the views of other scholars on tribes in medieval Eurasian history.

four social units within the tribal tetrarchy that is the "four-bey system", since they concern themselves primarily with social organization on the level of the individual families, or with a vertical description of the organization of the tribe and supra-tribal entities. This information is not available from the sources for the medieval period.

There is clear documentation of a system whereby the leaders of four individual socio-political groups which shall be called "ruling tribes" played a rigidly defined role in the governing of the Çingisid states. Precisely because of the consistent and regular character of their roles, this system must have reflected the most basic aspect of state organization based on a regular system of four "ruling tribes". This organizing principle appeared regularly over many centuries in all the Çingisid states, even where it has not been identified previously by scholars. This system can therefore serve as a serious tool not only for the study of Çingisid history, but for the study of the notion of "tribe" and therefore of society in Eurasia. A "ruling tribe" may be defined as follows:

* * *

1.     In the Çingisid states of Eurasia in the 13th-18th centuries, any socio-political group which could act in concert with three other socio-political groups to constitute the "land" in a contract with the "sovereign" (a member of the ruling house descended from Çingis Xan) to form a "state" was by definition a "ruling tribe". The number of "ruling tribes" in a given state numbered four except in the rarest and most unusual circumstances.

2.      Each "ruling tribe" was a socio-political group united around a locus of power on the basis of a common ideology. A "ruling tribe" could be left or joined, so that the rank and file membership was fluid and dynamic, and not restricted, static, and immutable. A "ruling tribe" could also be created by a small group of individuals and expand in size as it attracted new members, calling itself either a new "ruling tribe" or the branch of an existing "ruling tribe".

3.      The locus of power in each "ruling tribe" was a separate hierarchy led by a leader or bey independent of the ruling Çingisid dynasty. The leader or bey was descended from earlier leaders of the "ruling tribe".

4.      The basis for unity within a "ruling tribe" was a common ideology.  This ideology may be defined as the shared belief in a bond of kinship between members of the "ruling tribe". The membership of the "ruling tribe" could also recognize that their "ruling tribe" was descended from an earlier "ruling tribe" of the same or a different name with whose members they may recognize some degree of kinship. The members of a "ruling tribe" below the level of the ruling elite led by the leader or bey did not necessarily share actual kinship bonds, nor are there sources to prove the case for or against actual kinship.

5.      Each of these four "ruling tribes" participated in the formation and governing of one "state" and that "state" alone. Each "ruling tribe" functioned independently of related "ruling tribes" or unrelated "ruling tribes" of the same name in other "states".

6.      There could be more than one "ruling tribe" by a given name owing to the great geographic expanses covered by the Mongol world empire. Thus, branches of the same "ruling tribe" with the same or a different

name may have existed at the same time in the territory of the Golden
Horde, in the Ilxanate in Iran, in the Çağatay xanate, and in Yüan
China, as well as in each one of the states of the Later Golden Horde.
Some "ruling tribes" carried the name of a pre-Çingisid socio-political
groups or "state" known to have had its own internal divisions, but
these internal divisions are no longer discernible in the Çingisid
period.

7.      One of the "ruling tribes" and the leader of that "ruling tribe"
within a "state" had special responsibilities in the governing of that
"state" as a *primus inter pares* functioning as the chief spokesman for
the "land".

* * *

In offering a definition of what can be called a "ruling tribe"
it should be noted that the sources for the Çingisid states do not allow
a universal definition of "tribe" for these states. The present
definition is limited in time and space to certain socio-political
groups within the Çingisid states of the 13th-18th centuries. It does
not apply to the earlier tribes of Eurasia, to those tribes outside of
the sphere of the Çingisid states, or to the post-Çingisid states.

The term "ruling tribe" also excludes groups subject to the
Çingisid states as well as member socio-political groups which did not
have the status of "ruling tribe" according to the above definition.
These may also be termed "non-ruling tribes" ("ordinary" or "low-status
tribes"), which together with the "ruling tribes" constituted the entire
class of "tribes. This is not to say that the "four-bey system" or all
varieties of tribalism arose as a reaction to creation of the Çingisid
state—if anything, the opposite is probably the case. This is simply

because there is no data to support a blanket definition for all "tribes" in this period. The same definition probably would apply, but this can only remain a hypothesis. Table I may be used to illustrate some of the points included in this definition.

Many of the points in this working definition are subject to revision pending the introduction of more information, though the present definition is based on a body of data from sources for the history of Eurasia in the Çingisid period combined with those conclusions of anthropologists which can be incorporated. There are certain difficulties, such as defining more specifically the relationship between various groups of the same name or groups otherwise purported to be related to one another. Another facet of this question which is difficult to define is the degree of coordination of effort, if any, between "ruling tribes" of the same name, or of "ruling tribes" with different names which nevertheless understood themselves to be related to another. Dardess has made the argument that, at least in the earlier period, there was a serious problem of communication between the far-flung divisions of the Mongol world empire as far as the central administration was concerned.[10] It is unlikely that the tribes had more resources at their disposal individually than did the dynasty.

Historians have traditionally used the term "tribe" when discussing these socio-political groups in the 13th-14th centuries and the term "clan" when discussing these exact same groups in the 15th century and beyond, which arises from the traditional separation of the

[10]   J.W. Dardess, "From Mongol Empire to Yüan Dynasty: Changing Forms of Imperial Rule in Mongolia and Central Asia", *Monumenta Serica* 30 (1972-1973), pp. 117-165.

TABLE I

THE LOCI OF POWER IN OPPOSITION TO THE XAN

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                   "Ruling      "Ruling      "Ruling      "Ruling
      Xan =====  Tribe 1"     Tribe 2"     Tribe 3"     Tribe 4" . .

                      *            *            *            *        .
 . . . . .O          ***          ***          ***          ***       .
 .        |         *****        *****        *****        *****       .
 .       | | |    *********    *********    *********    *********     .
 .      | | | | |  ***********  ***********  ***********  ***********  .
 .     | | | | | | | *****O*****  *****O*****  *****O*****  *****O***** .
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 .  ^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^^      *           *           *           *      .
 .                                                                    .
 . . . . .V                                                           .
            /^\                                                       .
           /^*^\      _____            .
          /^*^*^\    |        Other Tribes (no. 5, etc.)        | . . . . .
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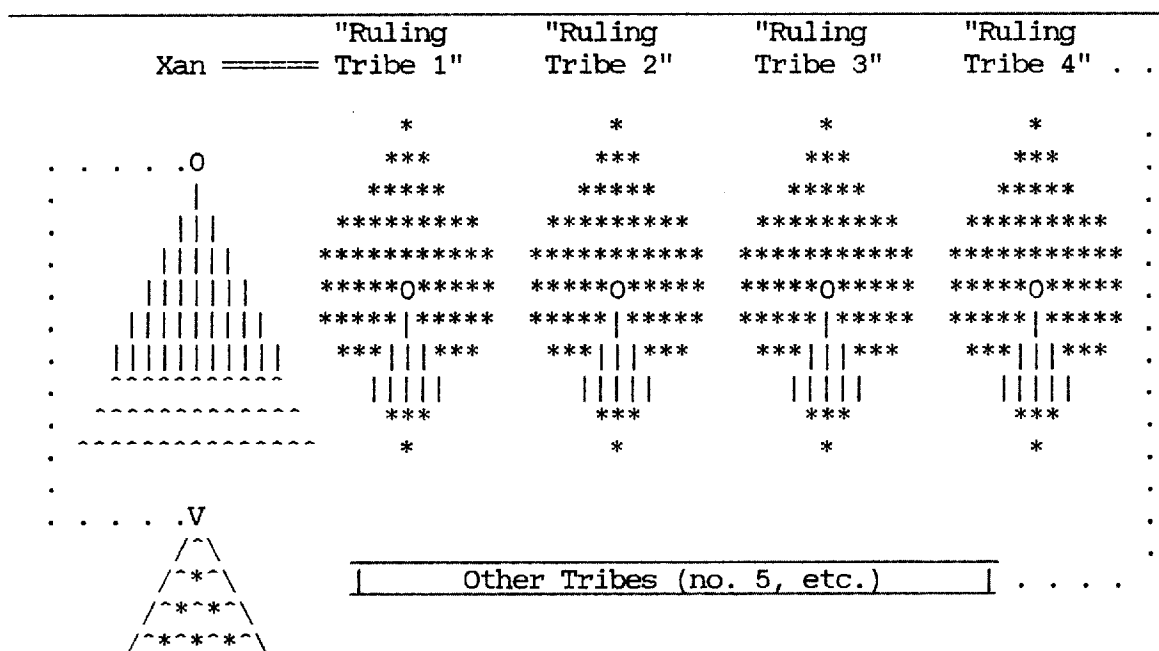
KEY:  O    represents the individual at the center, the xan or tribal
           leader who is the true locus of power;
      |    represents the ruling hierarchy extending below the locus
           of power open to the members of the dynastic or tribal
           ruling family;
      ^    represents the individuals outside the ruling hierarchy
           within the dynasty;
      *    represents the individuals outside the ruling hierarchy
           within the tribe who may shift from locus to locus or from
           tribal allegiance to dynastic allegiance;
      =    represents the relationship between the sovereign and the
           tribal leaders;
      V    represents the hierarchy of offices directly appointed by
     / \   the xan and led in certain states (the Ilxanate and the
           Çağatay xanate) by a vezir appointed by the xan. The
           holders of these offices could have come from any group.

study of the Golden Horde from the Later Golden Horde.[11] (The Russian

equivalents of these terms would be *rod* when describing the Later Golden

Horde and *plemya* when describing the earlier states.)[12] This

unconsidered use of terms is not limited to works dealing with Çingisid

history, since even the standard early works treating the Turko-Mongol

tribes have also left the question to the reader. The same term should

be used for both, and this dissertation will use the term "(ruling)

tribe". Even though the successor states to the Golden Horde (the

xanates of the Crimea, Kasimov, Kazan, and so on) were smaller in size,

they were miniature replicas of the parent Golden Horde. If the readers

will excuse the analogy, a worm cut into four becomes four little worms

which function in exactly the same way as did the one larger parent

[11]   A classic example of a scholar using the two different terms for
the earlier and later periods would be B.F. Manz, who in her "The Clans
of the Crimean Khanate, 1466-1532", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2 (1978),
pp. 282-309, used the term "clan" for the Later Golden Horde. She has
used the term "tribe" for the earlier period in her "Administration and
the Delegation of Authority in Temür's Dominions", *Central Asiatic
Journal* 20 (1976), pp. 208-221; "The Ulus Chaghatay Before and After
Temür's Rise to Power: The Transformation from Tribal Confederation to
Army of Conquest", *Central Asiatic Journal* 27 (1983), pp. 79-100; and
"Politics and Control under Tamerlane", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation
(Harvard University, 1983), especially pp. 42-53 for her definition of a
number of terms, including "tribe".

[12]   For the use of the term *rod* for the Later Golden Horde see V.E.
Sïroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego vassalï", *Uçenïe zapiski
Moskovskogo ordena Lenina gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. M.V.
Lomonosova* 61: Istoriya 2 (1940), pp. 3-71. For the use of the term
*plemya* for the Golden Horde see B.D. Grekov and A.Yu. Yakubovskiy,
*Zolotaya Orda i ee padenie* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950).

worm. Even the names of the "clans" often continue the names of the "tribes" (for example the Arğın, Barın, Calayir, and others).[13]

There are important conclusions by anthropologists of which historians of Eurasia should be aware. But there is a solid body of data for medieval Eurasia of which anthropologists should also be aware. The "four-bey system" has not been incorporated by those few anthropologists who have attempted to incorporate source material for medieval Eurasian history in their descriptions of Eurasian society. It is hoped that this definition and the discussion of the topic in this dissertation will contribute to a dialogue on this important question.

[13]   For the classic description of the "tribes" of the 14th century, see Raşîd ad-Dîn, ed. A.A. Romaskeviç et al., *Djāmi' at-tavārîx*, i/1 (Moscow, 1968²), pp. 233-569; and trans. L.A. Xetagurov, *Sbornik letopisey*, i/1 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1952), pp. 92-187. There were many indigenous as well as external terms for these socio-political groups in the various sources written in a number of different languages. As was the case with the nomenclature for the *qaraçı* beys and their various predecessors, the different terms for these socio-political groups (often simply translations of the original terms) only serve to mask the characteristics of the original group.

4.     Antecedents to the "Four-Bey System"

The working hypothesis that an organizing principle of "four" was an important universal aspect of state consciousness in Eurasian political culture might serve as one possible explanation for the existence of the "four-bey system" in the earliest Çingisid states.[14] It is difficult, however, to establish socio-political organization based on the number "four" as a regular organizing principle in pre-Çingisid Eurasian states on the basis of the available sources. One can only refer to the more general cultural significance of the number "four", such as in the well-known phenomenon of the four cardinal directions in Eurasia and in China.[15] Already in Han China, for example, the capital Lo-yang had four gates painted different colors facing the four cardinal directions.[16] This, however, is not the same as four independent units within the state representing four separate socio-political units as contrasted with the dynasty, as is the case in the Çingisid period.

The four "horns" among the Hsiung-nu can be considered one of the few examples of state administration (rather than organization) in pre-Çingisid Eurasia based on the number "four" as an organizing

[14]    It is still too early to establish whether this phenomenon of collegial rule arose in the main divisions of the Mongol world empire independently as a reaction to the imposition of a new ruling house led by Çingis Xan, or whether this system was already in place in the lifetime of Çingis Xan or earlier. Neither position, however,  is irreconcilable with a view affirming common descent from the *ulus* beys of the Golden Horde to the *qaraçı* beys of the Later Golden Horde.

[15]    See for example O. Pritsak, "Orientierung und Farbensymbolik", *Saeculum* 5 (1954), pp. 376-383 [reprinted in O. Pritsak, *Studies in Medieval Eurasian History*, London, 1981, I].

[16]    See H. Bielenstein, *Lo-Yang in Later Han Times*, Bulletin. Ostasiatiska Museet 48 (Stockholm, 1976).

principle.[17] This hierarchy among the leading officials may not,
however, correspond to larger socio-political units in the state, since
these officials seem to have been related to the leader of the Hsiung-nu
himself, the *shan-yü*. On the other hand, one might also note that they
were in charge of the army, as was the case with the "four-bey system"
in the Çingisid period. Among the later European Huns—who may or may
not be related to the Asiatic Huns, let alone the Hsiung-nu[18]—it is
difficult to find traces of such a system. The Akatziri, who revolted
against Attila's leadership, can, however, be considered a clear example
of a socio-political group with its own name forming a part of what
might be called Attila's "tribal confederation" (see below).[19]

Significantly more details are known about the organization of
the Türk empire, though this information is not traditionally organized
in a manner that can easily be fitted into the present discussion. The
usual practice is to describe the dual kingship among the Türk (the
ruler was called *qaǧan* and his second was called *şad*), a series of
lesser offices, the internal division of the state into an eastern and a

[17]    P.A. Boodberg, "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern
Dynasties", *Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg*, ed. A.P. Cohen
(Berkeley, 1979), pp. 265-349, especially pp. 300-305; and O. Pritsak,
"Die 24 *Ta-ch'ên*. Studie zur Geschichte des Verwaltungsaufbaus der
*Hsiung-nu*-Reiche", *Oriens Extremus* 1 (1953), pp. 178-202 [*Studies in
Medieval Eurasian History*, III]. For more general remarks see also T.J.
Barfield, "The Hsiung-nu Imperial Confederacy: Organization and Foreign
Policy", *Journal of Asian Studies* 41 (1981), pp. 45-61.

[18]    For a discussion of the connection between the Hsiung-nu and the
European Huns see most recently K. Czeglédy, trans. P.B. Golden, "From
East to West: The Age of Nomadic Migrations in Eurasia", *Archivum
Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 3 (1983), pp. 25-125, especially pp. 85-92.

[19]    O.J. Maenchen-Helfen, ed. M. Knight, *The World of the Huns.
Studies in Their History and Culture* (Berkeley, 1973), pp. 427-438.
(Maenchen-Helfen also refers to other known sub-groupings among the
Huns, pp. 427-443.) See also P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies. An Historico-
Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, Bibliotheca
Orientalis Hungarica 25 (Budapest, 1980), i, pp. 54-55.

western division, and a series of additional subject groupings such as
the Toquz Oğuz (i.e., the "Nine Oğuz") with its own internal
divisions.[20] There also exists, however, an unclear and little-
discussed reference in the Greek sources to a four-fold division of the
Türk in the 6th century.[21] In the same period one can also note the four
administrative and military units known as "horns" in Tibet in the 7th-
9th centuries. This, however, is said to have developed from a system of
three "horns" and to have later expanded to five.[22] Except for these
examples, the sources for medieval Eurasia consistently do not support a
principle of state organization based on the number "four".

Students of medieval Eurasia have traditionally studied what are
called the various "tribal confederations", which in many cases can be
considered as "states" consisting of more than one "tribe". Of course,
the sources for the pre-Çingisid period are  much more limited than for
the later period, and one cannot always distinguish the role of the
dynasty apart from the hypothetical "ruling tribes" of earlier states.
There are numerous examples of post-Türk Eurasian states with internal

[20]   A convenient summary may be found in Golden, *Khazar Studies*, pp.
37–42.  The names of many of these confederations or states incorporate
a form of the word *oq*, a word meaning "arrow" which many scholars also
interpret to mean "tribe". Thus, the name Onoğur is usually understood
to mean "Ten Tribes". For a survey of this question see P.B. Golden,
"The Migrations of the Oğuz", *Archivum Ottomanicum* 4 (1972), pp. 45–84,
especially pp. 45–48.  For a recent discussion of collegial rule in pre-
Çingisid Eurasia see also İ. Kafesoğlu, "The State Parliament among
Ancient Turks", *Studia Turcologica Memoriae Alexii Bombaci Dicata*,
Instituto Universitario Orientale. Seminario di Studi Asiatici, Series
Minor 19 (Naples, 1982), pp. 285–290.

[21]   E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux
suivi de Notes additionnelles* (Paris, 1941), p. 235. Cf. Golden, *Khazar
Studies*, i, pp. 37–42.

[22]   G. Uray, "The Four Horns of Tibet According to the Royal Annals",
*Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 10 (1960), pp. 31–57.

divisions. Rather than going into a lengthy survey, one can simply

mention the successors to the Türk (the Qırğız, Basmıl, Qarluq, etc.),[23]

the Uyğurs,[24] the Onoğurs ("Ten Oğurs"),[25] the Pechenegs,[26] the

Hungarians,[27] and the Qumans[28] as having amply documented socio-

political units which could disassociate individually or in groups from

the rest of the "confederation" to form a new "confederation" or

"state". Without exception in the post-Türk period there is no grouping

organized on the basis of the number "four" until the "four-bey system"

of the Çingisid states. (These confederations are organized on the basis

of, for example, three, seven, nine, twenty-four, etc. units.) This

[23]    P.B. Golden, "The Migrations of the Oğuz", pp. 48-72; and I.
Ecsédy, "A Contribution to the History of the Karluks in the T'ang
Period", *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 34 (1980), pp. 23-37.  Many of the
"tribes" of this period are surveyed by Kâşğarî: R. Dankoff,
"Kāšğarī on the Tribal and Kinship Organization of the Turks",
*Archivum Ottomanicum* 4 (1972), pp.   23-43.

[24]    See most recently K. Czeglédy, "On the Numerical Composition of
the Ancient Turkish Tribal Confederations", *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 25
(1972), pp. 275-281; and "The Foundation of the Turfan Uyghur Kingdom",
*Tibetan and Buddhist Studies. Commemmorating the 200th Anniversary of
the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Körös*, ed L.  Ligeti, Bibliotheca
Orientalis Hungarica 29 (Budapest, 1984), i, pp.   159-163; and A.G.
Malyavkin, *Uygurskie gosudarstva v IX-XII vv.* (Novosibirsk, 1983)

[25]    Gy. Moravcsik, "Zur Geschichte der Onoguren", *Studia Byzantina*
(Budapest, 1967), pp. 84-118; and Golden, *Khazar Studies*, i, pp. 3-48.

[26]    For references to studies on the Pechenegs, see U. Schamiloglu,
"The Name of the Pechenegs in Ibn Ḥayyân's *Al-muqtabas*", *Turks,
Hungarians and Kipchaks. A Festschrift in Honor of Tibor Halasi-Kun*, ed.
P. Oberling, Journal of Turkish Studies 8 (1984), pp. 215-222.

[27]    On the rich literature for this topic see most recently T.
Lewicki, "Madjar, Madjaristan", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[2], v (Leiden,
1984), pp. 1010-1022; and *Magyarország története*, i/1-2: *Előzmények és
magyar történet 1242-ig*, ed. A. Bartha (Budapest, 1984).

[28]    On the Qumans, see J. Marquart, "Über das Volkstum der Komanen",
*Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der
Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-his. Klasse, N.F. 13:1 (Berlin,
1914/Göttingen, 1970), pp. 25-238; and O. Pritsak, "The Polovcians and
Rus'", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1982), pp. 321-380.

leaves the rise of the Mongol world empire as the first clearly

documented example of the "four-bey system" in the historical sources.[29]

Otherwise, one can only ask whether the existence of different

varieties of quadrapartite organization in the neighboring states in the

same or earlier periods can be related to this phenomenon at all. In

Sasanid Iran there was certainly a quadrapartite division in the state,

while in Armenia there were similar institutions one could also

compare.[30] Unfortunately, studies of such phenomena do not offer

sufficient comparative material, for which reason this point must remain

open for future research.[31]


5.     Historical Introduction

This brief survey is not a historical introduction in the usual

sense. It is intended rather to enable the non-specialist reader to

follow the chronology of the many states and periods to which reference

is made in the course of this work. A general survey of the

historiography of the Mongol world empire will be found in Part II of

the Bibliography. Most of this historical introduction is based upon the

available secondary literature, though it also draws on original

interpretations.

[29]   Of course, one could speculate on further antecedents among the
Cürçen (Chin) and other peoples, but the traditional secondary
literature dealing with these peoples does not present sufficient data
which can be used in this discussion.

[30]   See the discussion and references in N. Adontz, ed.-trans. N.
Garsoïan, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian. The Political Conditions
based on the Naxarar System* (Lisbon, 1970), pp. 167 ff. and 222-223 and
notes.

[31]   See also A.M. Hocart, who discusses ancient forms of social
organization based on the number four as an organizing principle in his
*Kings and Councillors. An Essay in the Comparative Anatomy of Human
Society*, ed. R. Needham (Chicago, 1970$^2$), Index (under "Four").

*The Great Xanate in the 13th Century*

Temücin, later to be better known under the title Çingis Xan, was born in the second half of the 12th century. By the time his successive victories against neighboring groups such as the Merkit, Nayman, and Kereyit allowed him to call a *quriltay* (or "assembly") in 1206, he was already the leader of a powerful confederation centered on the Onon River and extending from the Altay Mountains to the Xingan Mountains. He conducted further victorious campaigns against the Chin dynasty in northern China, which fell in 1234. An important landmark in world history, no doubt, occurred when two years later Çingis Xan decided to send an army (perhaps in revenge for the slaying of his emissaries) against the Xwârazmşâh Muhammad II. Not stopping in Xwârazm, the invading army passed through Iran into Azerbaycan, the steppes north of the Caucasus, the steppes of southern Russia, and finally rejoined the rest of Çingis Xan's army, which was in the process of pillaging Transoxania. Çingis Xan finally died in 1227 while redirecting his attentions to matters further east.

The death of Çingis Xan marked a new phase in the history of the Mongol world empire in which there was now a question as to who would succeed to become the next Great Xan. Çingis Xan was followed in accordance with his wishes by his son Ögödey, who ruled as xan from 1229-1241. Following the death of Ögödey, Güyük ruled as Great Xan from 1246-1248.

An important series of events began in the reign of Möngke, who ruled as Great Xan from 1251-1258. Möngke directed Hülegü to conquer Iran, and he directed Qubilay to conquer China. Until this time, a

number of the territories had been ruled by direct appointees of the
great xan.

With the selection of Qubilay, who was now in China, as the next
Great Xan, the split in the Mongol world empire became a more
significant factor. Distances were too great to continue ruling the
whole territory directly, and each individual state developed its own
independent policies. More importantly, it will later be seen that each
state probably had its own group of four "ruling tribes" participating
in direct government. As long as the great xan ruled over these
territories through appointees, they were under his direct control, but
it must be considered for the purposes of our analysis here that from
this point on four independent Çingisid states were in operation: the
*ulus* of Coçi (together with the *ulus* of Orda), the *ulus* of Çağatay, the
*ulus* of Hülegü, and the *ulus* of Qubilay (which also continues as the
seat of the Great Xan).

*The Yüan Dynasty in China*

Part of the territories which became Yüan China was intially
administered by a direct appointee of the great xan, Maḥmūd Yalavaç, as
was just noted. Upon his elevation, Möngke ordered that Qubilay march on
China, and in this manner the lands of China came to be governed as the
fourth of the semi-independent territories of the Mongol world empire.
Once Qubilay was in China, he also succeeded to the position of great
xan, and the title remained within his state for his successors to
claim.

A number of dates can be taken as the starting point of Mongol
rule in China: 1215, when Çingis Xan seized Peking from the Chin

dynasty; 1260, when Qubilay became great xan and established his capital in Peking; or 1279, when Qubilay decided to proclaim the inception of his Chinese-style reign, which he called the *Yüan* (southern China was brought under Mongol control only in 1279). The Yüan dynasty continued past the death of Qubilay in 1294 and lasted till 1368, when the Mongol leadership had to finally retreat back into the steppe as the next dynasty, the Ming, was coming into being.

## *The Çağatay Xanate*

The Çağatay xanate also seems to have come into existence during the lifetime of Çingis Xan. Some of the nearby territories of Transoxania, however, were ruled at the same time by a direct political appointee (a subordinate rather than a vassal) of the great xan in the Mongol capital Xanbalıq, namely Mas'ûd Bey, son of Maḥmûd Yalavaç.

After the death of the great xan Möngke, Qaydu (a grandson of Ögödey) established rule between the Kipchak steppe and Mongolia despite rivalries from other Çingisids. Qaydu also confirmed the rule of Maḥmûd Yalavaç and his three sons in Buxara and Samarqand. There continued a series of rulers, ending with Tarmaşirin (r. 1326-1334). Following his rule, however, the xanate split in two. The eastern section seceded, and in the western section, Transoxania, the tribes gained the upper hand. The xan Qazan was overthrown in 1347 by the emir Qazğan. Qazğan appointed members of the house of Çağatay and Ögödey as xan, but was murdered in 1357. This allowed Tuğluq Temür, a real or supposed member of the line of Çağatay who had seized power in 1345 in the eastern territory of Moğolistan to profess Islam and seize the throne of Transoxania in 1360. Tuğluq Temür thus was able to reunite the *ulus* of

Çingis Xan's son. In 1361 Tuğluq Temür appointed his son Ilyas governor over Samarqand, and appointed as his "vezir" one Temürleng, who was to then come to prominence. Termürleng was, as will be seen, one of the four beys in the Çağatay xanate.

Following the reign of Temürleng (d. 1405) the political situation in these lands deteriorated again, and his successors had to go on to India to continue their brilliant reign. Back in Transoxania, there was a great tribal realignment, when the fate of the tribes of the erstwhile Çağatay xanate became entangled with the history of the successor states to the Golden Horde.

*The Ilxanate in Iran*

The territories of Iran were initially administered by appointees of the great xan, first Körköz and then Emir Arğun. Shortly after his elevation, however, Möngke decided to send Hülegü to conquer Iran in what was the second Mongol campaign into Iran. Hülegü began his attack in 1259, and by the time of his death in 1265 he had established Mongol rule in Azerbaycan, founding a capital at Marâğa.

His successor, Abağa (r. 1265-1282), had to face battles with both elements of the Golden Horde and the Çağatay xanate. He also won victories against the Crusaders and fought the Mamlûks. He was succeeded by Ahmad for two years, but after that Arğun was able to take over (as he was willed to do by Abağa himself), reigning 1284-1291. While Ahmad had encouraged a policy of Islamization, Arğun followed a more liberal policy.

The next xan was Abağa's younger son Geyxatu, who was best known for introducing paper money into Iran; but this also cost him his life

in 1294. For a brief period he was replaced by Baydu, after which
Arğun's other son Ġâzân converted to Islam and seized the throne. (He
ruled 1295-1304.) His right-hand man, Nawrûz, participated in the severe
persecution of Christians and Buddhists, who until then had been
tolerated.

Ġâzân was followed by Ölceytu (or Xudâbanda), who reigned from
1304-1316, and then Abû Sa'îd (r. 1316-1335). The Ilxanid state then
disintegrated in the 1330s, when the foundation of the Calayirid state
in western Iran sealed its fate.


*The Golden Horde*

It seems that a vassal state, the *ulus* ("appanage" or
"patrimony") of Çingis Xan's eldest son Coçi, was created during Çingis
Xan's own lifetime. As Coçi died before his own father, the western half
of these lands were administered at the time of the death of Çingis Xan
by his second son Batu (d. 1255-1256). The eastern half of the *ulus* of
Coçi, as this entire territory was known, was given to Coçi's oldest son
Orda.

The *ulus* of Coçi came to be known in the West as the Golden
Horde. (The western and eastern halves or flanks of the Golden Horde
were known as the White Horde and the Blue Horde respectively.) Though
the term "Golden Horde" usually includes the *ulus* of Orda as well, the
*ulus* of Orda is usually not taken into consideration in surveys of the
Golden Horde, in part because there is so little data on it in the
sources. This dissertation will consider the events in the western half
of the *ulus* of Coçi in its discussion of the Golden Horde and will treat
the *ulus* of Orda separately in Chapter V.

During the reign of Batu, the Russian principalities were subjugated and the limits of the expansion of the Golden Horde into Eastern Europe were reached in Hungary. Following his death, his brief successor was Sartaq. Since Sartaq died on the way home from visiting the great xan, however, a new ruler was again needed. This was Berke (r. 1257-1266), under whom further raids were conducted against Poland and the border feud with the Ilxanate began. Diplomatic exchanges in this regard were begun with the Mamlûk state. Berke also founded a new capital (known as New Saray or Saray Berke), which became an important urban center.

Berke was succeeded by Mengü Temür (r. 1266-1280). Mengü Temür continued diplomatic relations with the Mamlûk state, made peace with the Ilxanids, maintained friendly relations with the Byzantine Paleologues, and interfered in the Çağatay xanate.

His successor, Tuda Mengü (r. 1280-1287) is most notable for his interest in mystical Islam, which caused him finally to abdicate and seek a life of quiet contemplation. His successor, Telebuğa (r. 1287-1290), was ambushed and killed through a conspiracy of Noğay and the person who was to become the next xan, Toqta (r. 1290-1313). The most notable feature of the rule of Toqta is his struggle with Noğay (d. 1299), which many have characterized as a period of civil war in the Golden Horde.

Toqta's successor, Özbek Xan (r. 1313-1341), is perhaps the best-known of the rulers of the Golden Horde. He was a Muslim and under him Islam achieved new importance in the Golden Horde. He continued friendly relations with the Mamlûks, the Byzantines, the Genoese, and the Venetians. The Russians continued to be a subject people. The

dissolution of the Ilxanid state into tribal confederations eased the tensions on the southern border.

Following Özbek's death, he was briefly succeeded by his son Tinibek, and then Canıbek took over (r. 1342-1357). It was in this period that Mamay, whom we will discuss later, came into prominence. Following the death of Canıbek, there began a long period of turmoil which many have seen as the darkest period in the history of the Golden Horde. That is the case only if one looks at the history of the succession of the xans. That is extremely complicated, but when the tribal patterns are studied, a completely different picture emerges.

As mentioned previously, the *ulus* of Coçi had been divided into two halves or flanks since the death of Coçi. Though the sources for the eastern or Blue Horde (in contrast to the western or White Horde) are quite sparse, there is little that went on in that division that is of major importance in so far as political history is concerned until the end of the 14th century. At that time, though it is still not completely clear how the two flanks related to each other, "ruling tribes" from the eastern division came to dominate over the western division. This is the period of the xan Toqtamış, his rival Temür Qutluq with his bey Edigü, the interference by Temürleng, and the beginning of the disintegration of the Golden Horde following the re-unification of the Blue and White Hordes.

*The Later Golden Horde*

The successor states to the Golden Horde were formed in the wake of the creation of multiple loci of power in the second half of the 14th century and this process continued through the 15th century. What was

possibly the remaining nucleus of the Golden Horde, called the "Great Horde" in the Slavic sources, continued till the beginning of the 16th century. The other successor states, however, played a more important role in this period.

The Crimea was one of the first distinct centers to emerge, but it is only in the 1440s that a continuous dynasty was founded by Haci Giray, who was invited to come from Lithuania to rule in the Crimea by the leadership of "ruling tribes" of the Crimea. This state came to be known as the Crimean xanate and continued as a part of the Ottoman Empire until the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, by which the Crimea became a part of the Russian Empire.

The xanate of Kazan was also formed in the first half of the 15th century, though there is some controversy over exactly when in the 1430s or 1440s. The xanate was finally conquered by Muscovy in 1552, the first foreign, non-Slavic state to be incorporated into the emerging Russian Empire centered in Moscow. The century of relations between Muscovy and Kazan has its own literature focusing on which state had the upper hand and when.

Though it was not the most prominent of the successor states, the xanate of Kasimov is important in terms of the data it offers for the analysis offered in this dissertation. It was founded in the middle of the 15th century by the sons of the founder of the xanate of Kazan who were in the service of one of the Russian rulers.

The Noğay Horde was, in fact, one of the Mangit "ruling tribes", though most historians have understood it to have formed an independent state. It can be argued that the various branches of the Mangit—that is, different Mangit "ruling tribes"—were affiliated with other states

including the xanates of Kazan and the Crimea, as well as the Şeybanid state.

There were a number of other states in this period about which much less is known, such as the Siberian xanate, centered around present-day Tyumen'. It was probably formed in the 15th century and continued until its conquest by Muscovy in the 16th century in the well-known campaigns of Ermak. There were also other xanates about which much less is known and and which do not enter into the the analysis of this dissertation at all.

CHAPTER II

THE LATER GOLDEN HORDE AS A PARADIGM FOR THE

ORGANIZATION OF THE MONGOL WORLD EMPIRE


The very first question which must be addressed is why a study of

the tribal politics and social organization of the Golden Horde should

concern itself with the history of the Later Golden Horde. The first of

a number of reasons for this is that the states of the Later Golden

Horde represent a direct continuation of the parent Golden Horde. There

is no basis for assuming—either on the basis of the primary sources or

the standard secondary works—that the demise of the Golden Horde and

the subsequent emergence of successor states involved any change in

either the basic organization of these states or the fundamental notions

of statecraft in the Mongol states in this period. In fact, subsequent

chapters will present evidence to suggest that there was a very strong

continuity in the institutional history of the Golden Horde throughout

its existence and well into the period of the successor states.

The second reason is that there is a relative wealth of primary

source material available for the Later Golden Horde as compared to the

earlier Golden Horde. It is only at the end of the 14th century that

genuine specimens of *yarlïqs* ("diplomas" or documents) first become

available and form a substantial corpus of source material together with

the diplomatic correspondence preserved in Russian translation.[1] For the

earlier Golden Horde there is only a limited amount of correspondence

[1]     For a bibliography of Turkic documents from this period see M.A.
Usmanov, *Jalovann'ie aktï Djuçieva Ulusa XIV-XVI vv.* (Kazan, 1979).

preserved in Russian[2] and Arabic translation.[3] (While some of the Russian translations are reliable, Keenan has attempted to show that those preserved in the Russian chronicles must be utilized with the greatest caution.)[4] Another example of a genre of historical source which is available for the period of the Later Golden Horde but non-existent for the Golden Horde itself is narrative dynastic and non-dynastic histories (the latter written from the perspective of the "ruling tribes"), which are well known for the later period.[5] These works offer an inside perspective which cannot be compared with the laconic reports often found in the Russian chronicles.

Finally, there is a whole body of secondary literature dealing with the states of the Later Golden Horde. One may draw profitably on this literature to propose institutions for the Golden Horde that have otherwise not yet been described. In the case of the "four-bey system" described in Chapter I and known in the Later Golden Horde as the four qaraçı beys, this system can be directly applied as a working hypothesis

[2]    See especially M.D. Priselkov, *Xanskie yarlïki russkim mitropolitam* (Petrograd, 1916); and *Pamyatniki russkogo prava*, ed. A.A. Zimin, iii (Moscow, 1955), pp. 463-491.

[3]    For a survey of Arab sources on the Golden Horde see S. Zakirov, *Diplomatiçeskie otnoşeniya Zolotoy Ordï s Egiptom (XIII-XIV vv.)* (Moscow, 1966). Examples of correspondence emanating from the territories of the Golden Horde preserved in works such as Qalqaşandî's *Subḥ al-a'şâ fî sinâ'at al-inşâ'* have not yet been studied as far as is known here, Zakirov's work not withstanding.

[4]    E.L. Keenan, Jr., "The *Jarlyk* of Axmed-Xan to Ivan III: A New Reading", *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 11 (1967), pp. 33-47.

[5]    On the dynastic histories see Z.V. Togan, "Zentralasiatische türkische Literatur. II: Die islamische Zeit", *Turkologie*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, ed. B. Spuler, I, v/1 (Leiden-Köln, 1963), pp. 229-249; J. Eckmann, "Die kiptschakische Literatur. I: Die Literatur von Chwarezm und der Goldenen Horde", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, ed. P.N. Boratov (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 275-296; and M.A. Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoriçeskie istoçniki XVII-XVIII vv.* (Kazan, 1972).

for the organization of the Golden Horde and the other states of the Mongol world empire.[6] This dissertation is the first work to bring such evidence from the Later Golden Horde to bear on the governing and organization of the Golden Horde and the other Mongol states.[7]

A detailed description of the organization and social structure of the states of the Later Golden Horde is unfortunately beyond the immediate scope of this dissertation, whose main focus must remain a new examination of the history of the Golden Horde. It will, however, briefly sketch the organization of the successor states to the Golden Horde in this chapter. In particular, it will examine in greater depth the main features of the "four-bey system"—that is the qaraçı beys—as the fundamental feature of the governing and organization of the states of the Later Golden Horde. A more detailed description of the states of the Later Golden Horde should be a priority for future research.

The states of the Later Golden Horde each consisted of a number of different elements. At the bottom of the social order of the state was the subject population. In the xanate of Kazan, for example, there were indigenous Turkic and Finno-Ugric groups who were not considered a part of the Çingisid state. Examples of this are the Bashkirs, the erstwhile Hungarians (the Mâcâr of the Islamic sources),[8] who

[6]     For references to the most important literature on the Later Golden Horde and the four qaraçı beys see A. Bennigsen et al., Le khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı (Paris-The Hague, 1978); A.W. Fisher, The Crimean Tatars (Stanford, 1978); H. Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy: The Crimean Khanate under Sahib Giray I", Harvard Ukrainian Studies 3-4/i (1979-1980), pp. 445-466; and Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate", pp. 282-309.

[7]     The statements V.D. Smirnov, M.G. Safargaliev, and B.F. Manz in reference to the earlier Golden Horde will be discussed in the course of this work.

[8]     Lewicki, "Madjar, Madjaristan", Encyclopaedia of Islam[2], v (Leiden, 1984), pp. 1010-1022.

consistently remained a separate entity according to the sources, the

Cheremis (Mari), Chuvash, Votyaks (Udmurt), Mordvins, and other groups.[9]

The next step above them would have to be those "tribes" (or former or

potential "ruling tribes") who were members of the Çingisid state but

who did not form a part of the "land" in any of these states. In the

Crimean xanate, for example, certain tribes are represented in the

sources in addition to the obvious example of the "ruling tribes" who

later lost their high status in that xanate.[10]

At the highest level of society was the individual identified

most closely in the secondary works with the "state" in the Later Golden

Horde: the xan, who was descended from Çingis Xan and possessed of what

scholars dealing with Eurasia have often called "charisma". Like any

figure presiding over a state, the xan always had a hierarchy of

subordinates. Many of the important officers in the government were

direct appointees serving his will. Into this category one can probably

place the members of the chancellery, some of the administrators of

territories over which the xan had direct control, collectors of certain

taxes, and so on.[11]

[9]     There is a rich literature on this question: see the references
in J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan. Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438-
1560s)* (The Hague-Paris, 1974), pp. 4-8 (but cf. p. 56); and A.
Kappeler, *Russlands erste Nationalitäten. Das Zarenreich und die Völker
der Mittleren Wolga vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Beiträge zur Geschichte
Osteuropas 14 (Cologne-Vienna, 1982).

[10]    See for example Siroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego vassalï",
pp. 38-39; and Table II listing the "ruling tribes" of the Crimean
xanate later in this chapter.

[11]    See for example Siroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego vassalï",
pp. 21-28. Cf. Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate", pp. 285 and
288, for the example of the office of *tudun* of Kefe, who was appointed
by agreement of the xan and the "ruling tribes". On this office see
also V.D. Smirnov, *Krïmskoe xanstvo pod verxovenstvom Ottomanskoy Portï
do naçala XVIII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1887), p. 39 ff.

A number of earlier scholars have focused on these various offices and the "feudal" relationships which they discern therein from the perspective offered by the extant Turkic *yarlïqs*.[12] Such an approach does not result in an overview of society as a whole, but rather selected glimpses of a narrow portion of the upper strata of the ruling elite without regard for how they might fit into a broader concept of the administration of the successor states to the Golden Horde. Nevertheless, many positions are known from some of these documents which have been preserved. One particular document, the *yarlïq* of the xan of Kazan Sahib Giray (1523),[13] contains a list of various officials who served the xan as judges, postal servicemen, customs officers and collectors of duties as well as other high-level administrators. According to Pelenski, who believes that the most important administrative function in the Mongol states was the collection of taxes, this implies that in the period of the Later Golden Horde the xanate's bureaucratic apparatus was effectively organized to conduct the administration of towns and the countryside.[14]

The xan was not necessarily the most important figure in the state, however. The most important segment of the population of the "state" was the "land" consisting of the four (later sometimes five) "ruling tribes". They constituted the identifiable portion of the citizen population (as opposed to the subject population) in the Çingisid state. The leaders of the four "ruling tribes"—the four *qaraçï*

[12]    See the discussion in Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, pp. 56-57.

[13]    On the *yarlïq* of Sahib Giray see Ş.F. Muxamed'yarov, "Tarxannïy yarlïk kazanskogo xana Saxib-gireya 1523 g.", *Novoe o proşlom naşey strani. Pamyati akademika M.N. Tixomirova* (Moscow, 1967), pp. 104-109; and Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, p. 55.

[14]    Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, p. 55.

beys—constituted a "council of state" serving interests diametrically opposing those of the xan. This "council of state"—and not those direct appointees of the xan—constituted the xan's divan.[15]

The *qaraçı* beys of the "four-bey system" served an important role in the governing of each these states through the removal, selection, and investiture of Çingisid xans, as well as through their active part in the foreign and military affairs of the state. No decree of the xan was legal unless these four *qaraçı* beys approved it, often by applying their seal to the document in conjunction with the xan's own seal. It was also these four *qaraçı* beys who controlled the army. The leader of the four *qaraçı* beys was arguably as powerful as the xan, if not even more powerful at times. The xan could play off factions of the "land" against one another and when powerful, he could influence the selection of tribal leaders, even kill existing ones. Such an act, however, required courage, just as the attempted murder of a sovereign was a very bold act carrying great risks.[16]

Between the *qaraçı* beys and the dynastic hierarchy of officials there were numerous other officials such as the various "inner beys" (*içki beyler*), the *oğlan kiyün*, and the religious hierarchy together with various other titles which appear in the sources. Their exact roles are not understood very well owing to a lack of adequate source material, and conflicting interpretations (however brief) have arisen in the secondary literature concerning this gray area between the

[15]   Cf. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, pp. 54-55.

[16]   See for example Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", pp. 453-466.

leadership of the "ruling tribes" and the dynasty.[17] Their role may

coincide regularly or only occasionally with the hierarchy subordinate

to the xan described above.

Despite all the documentation available, the "four-bey system"

has not yet received general acknowledgement as one of most basic

aspects of the government and social organization in the states of the

Later Golden Horde. Studies are still written in which the implicit

model for the governing of the Later Golden Horde and the earlier states

is autocracy or a less sinister Western model of kingship.[18] An

appreciation of this institution is an important basis for the argument

posed in the following chapters of this dissertation, since it will form

the basis of the model to be used to reconstruct the organization of the

earlier Golden Horde itself. A satisfactory explanation of the

organization of the Golden Horde is not possible in any other way.

The study of the "four-bey system" in the Later Golden Horde was

pioneered in the 19th-century by V.V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov, who devoted a

lengthy description to the qaraçi beys in his study of the xanate of

Kasimov.[19] He utilized a number of diverse Western, Slavic, and Oriental

sources for documenting the existence of this system in the xanates of

[17]   See for example M. Xudyakov, *Oçerki po istorii Kazanskogo xanstva*
(Kazan, 1923), p. 130; Sïroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego vassali",
especially pp. 34-39 and 42-49; Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, pp. 53-61;
Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate", pp. 293-297; and Inalcik, "The
Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", pp. 451, 455, and 461-462.

[18]   See for example the discussion of the views of Pelenski at the
end of this chapter.

[19]   *Izsledovanie o kasimovskix tsaryax i tsareviçax*, ii, pp. 411-437.
All references—when available to modern editions—of the sources which
Vel'yaminov-Zernov was the first to utilize will be followed by a
reference to the appropriate pages of his work (hereafter abbreviated
*IKTsTs*). A number of "bibliographic rarities" were unfortunately
unavailable for the purposes of this discussion and it has been
necessary to cite Vel'yaminov-Zernov in such cases.

the Crimea, Kazan, Kasimov, Siberia, and the Noğay Horde. Since
Vel'yaminov-Zernov saw the institution in much more limited terms than
this dissertation proposes to do, he was satisfied for the most part to
simply attest the presence of four beys called qaraçıs in these states.
This has remained the basis for almost all the theoretical work done on
the qaraçı beys since. This chapter will take his work as a starting
point and include many of his references, though it is not appropriate
to completely recast all of his work here by cataloging his references,
since the original work is available for scholars to consult. The
discussion of differing interpretations of the role of the qaraçı beys
is relegated to the end of this chapter.

Though Vel'yaminov-Zernov did a remarkably thorough job for his
day of collecting references in the Western and Oriental sources to the
qaraçı beys, there remain a number of sources which were not available
to Vel'yaminov-Zernov in his time. For this reason there are additional
characteristic features of this system not discussed by Vel'yaminov-
Zernov, but according to which the description in this dissertation is
organized. The following list of characteristic features of the "four-
bey system" highlights those features in the Later Golden Horde which
are crucial for the application of the "four-bey system" to the earlier
Golden Horde:

0.    Etymology;

1.    Four in number;

2.    Leader of a "ruling tribe";

3.    Deputies of the leader;

4.    Beylerbeyi is chief of the four;

5.    Beylerbeyi is head of the army;

6.    The four *qaraçı* beys choose the xan;

7.    The four *qaraçı* beys elevate the new xan;

8.    Correspondence with foreign rulers;

9.    Approve documents and seal them with a *tamğa*;

10.   Religious *qaraçı*s.

It is necessary to turn first to the term *qaraçı*, since it has served as a stumbling block in the path towards a better understanding of the "four-bey system" in the Later Golden Horde. Numerous scholars have insisted on explaining this system strictly on the basis of their understanding of the meaning of the term *qaraçı*. The preference of this dissertation is to explain this system and its antecedents on the basis of its characteristic features.

Vel'yaminov-Zernov was the first to discuss the meaning of the word *qaraçı*. According to him, this term was used to mean an "underling, subject, or citizen" among the Kazakhs and Kirghiz. He also cites Abu 1-Ğazi to show that among the medieval Uzbeks the term was used to mean "servant".[20] Most scholars in this century have taken the meaning of the medieval term *qaracu* to be connected with a Mongol etymology meaning 'black people'.[21] Some have taken this to mean that the term *qaracu* came

[20]   *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 436-437.

[21]   See for example B.Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Obşçestvenniy stroy mongolov* (Leningrad, 1934), Index.

to have a derived meaning referring to those members of the state who were not a part of the ruling Çingisid dynasty.[22] A few have further tried to connect the *qaraçı* beys in the Later Golden with such earlier references to the *qaracu*.[23]

There are other possible etymologies suggested by alternative forms of this word in the sources for the Later Golden Horde. For example, some sources actually give the alternate form *qaraça*,[24] while others give the form *karapçï*.[25] The latter form *karapçï* of this term in Russian-language sources might suggest a labial consonant, which does exist in one possible etymology of this word. Vel'yaminov-Zernov has already pointed out, without drawing any conclusion, that there exists in Kazan Tatar the verb *qara-* meaning to "look at, watch".[26] (This verb

[22]   A good survey of the meaning of this word as the 'black people, common people, *i.e.*, non-Çingisid' is given by G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i (Wiesbaden, 1963), pp. 397-398. (This work is hereafter abbreviated *TMEN*.)

[23]   See for example E.L. Keenan, Jr., "Muscovy and Kazan: Some Introductory Remarks on the Patterns of Steppe Diplomacy", *Slavic Review* 26 (1967), pp. 548-558, especially p. 551; and Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", p. 448 n. 8.

[24]   See for example some of the Russian sources cited in *IKTsTs*, ii, pp. 428-429; and *Yermak's Campaign in Siberia*, trans. T. Minorsky and D. Wileman, ed.   T.   Armstrong, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, II, 146 (London, 1975), Index.

[25]   See N.I. Veselovskiy, "Neskol'ko poyasneniy kasatel'no yarlïkov, dannïx xanami Zolotoy ordï russkomu duxovenstvu", *Zapiski Imperatorskago Russkago geografičeskago obşçestva* po otd. étnogr. 34 (1900), pp. 525-536, especially p. 535.

[26]   *IKTsTs*, ii, pp. 436-437.

is considered to be of Mongol origin in Turkic.)[27] A noun derived from this verb, *qarawçı* "watchman, guard", also exists in Kazan Tatar, though the modern dictionaries list a separate entry *karaçı* for the actual *qaraçı* beys.[28] An etymology based on this verb is equally justifiable and more in line with the responsibilities of the four *qaraçı* beys.[29] In this case, there should be a distinction in meaning between *qaraçı* and terms related to *qaracu* referring to the common people or any non-Çingisids.[30]

The term *qaraçı* is also used in conjunction with a number of other terms from different languages. (This serves to demonstrate as well as anything else that different terms in different languages often

[27]   G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p. 645. L.V. Clark offers additional evidence in favor of the argument that this verb, which is known in the later Turkic languages, was not known in Old Turkic: "Mongol Elements in Old Turkic?", *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 75 (1977), pp. 110-168, especially pp. 144-146. See also Doerfer, *TMEN*, i, pp. 399-403, for a discussion of the term *qaravul*—derived from this same verb—which appears in the sources for medieval Mongol history as a certain kind of guard corps.

[28]   See W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte (Opït slovarya tyurkskix nareçiy)*, ii (St. Petersburg, 1899/ 's-Gravenhage, 1960), pp. 142-143; *Tatarsko-russkiy slovar'* (Moscow, 1966), pp. 231-232; and *Tatar teleneŋ aŋlatmalı süzlege*, ii (Kazan, 1979), pp. 55-56. The last dictionary lists a separate entry *karaçı* on p. 57 referring to the *qaraçı* beys. (Modern Kazan Tatar orthography does not distinguish between *k* and *q*, representing both with "k".)

[29]   This point is also made by Xudyakov, *Oçerki*, p. 182. Xudyakov follows Vel'yaminov-Zernov for the most part in his discussion of the etymology of this term.

[30]   The *Tatar teleneŋ aŋlatmalı süzlege* includes the following proverb as a part of the entry *karaçı* : *akıllı karaçı karanı [gadi keşene] xan itär* "a wise *qaraçı* will make a black (person) [i.e., a common person] (into) a xan" (ii, p. 57), which is an example of the term *qara* referring to a commoner in the same sentence that the term *karaçı* refers to the leader of a "ruling tribe". Vel'yaminov-Zernov actually considers that in the Crimea this term had a second meaning extending to all the persons close to the xan, which is unlikely (*IKTsTs*, ii, p. 419).

represent the exact same title, dignity, or office.) The usual noun
which the term *qaraçı* modifies is the Turkic term "bey".[31] A number of
the Ottoman-period sources also interchange this term with "emir" (*amīr*
in Arabic and Persian), and this is what is often referred to as *knyaz'*
in Russian.[32] The term *bey* also takes on specific administrative ranks
within the tribal or state hierarchy when used with the appropriate
modifier. In this regard, though many sources speak of only the highest
officials and call them *beys*, they are not considered here to always
mean the leader of a "ruling tribe".

On the basis of the description of the functioning of the office
of *qaraçı*—and not on the basis of the identity of the term—there is no
need to connect the system of the four *qaraçı* beys with earlier
references to the *qaracu*. The predecessors of the *qaraçı* beys were
simply referred to as beys, *ulus* beys or emirs, and possibly as *noyons*
in Mongol. It is time to proceed with the description of these important
characteristic features.

[31]    This term is rendered here in an arguably anachronistic manner in
the Republican Turkish spelling, as is the case with all terms of
Arabic, Persian, and Turkic origin where there is a convenient Turkish
form available. There is no single form in the sources and uses of *bek*,
*bi*, and numerous other variants occurs at random. The various forms in
the literary sources in a final *-k* or *-g* possibly reflect archaisms
already for the 15th-16th centuries. What is more, the modern Kazan
Tatar form in *bi* can go back either to a form *\*bäy* or *\*bäk* (> *\*bik* >
*bi(y)*; cf. the feminine form *bikä*) prior to the vowel shift of this
period, another justification for this usage. On the origins of this
term see Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 322-323.

[32]    The Russian term *knyaz'* is most properly translated "duke" when
referring to the rulers of the medieval Russian principalities. The
usual translation "prince" as in "princes of the land" or "prince of
princes", etc., by English-speaking scholars can be confused as a
reference to a member of the Çingisid dynasty, which it most definitely
is not. In such cases it is obviously a calque of Turkic expressions
incorporating the term "bey". This dissertation retains the translation
"duke" as the least confusing, though the term "prince" will be used
when discussing the interpretations of others.

One of the most important characteristic features of the system of the four *qaraçı* beys is the consistency with which the number "four" is operative as an organizing principle. All of the successor states to the Golden Horde began with a system of four "ruling tribes"; only in the Crimea did this number change. The change to five "ruling tribes" was not a minor development for the Crimean xanate, but a major departure from earlier patterns. Just as telling is that while the number four (and later five) remained constant, the participating tribes did not. This can be understood as a series of tribes plugging in and out of a system, which is taken here to mean that this aspect of the organization of the successor states, the tetrarchy of the "ruling tribes", was of far greater importance than the identity of the individual "ruling tribes" themselves. This was the fundamental feature of state organization in the western Eurasian steppe in the late Çingisid period.

The presence of four *qaraçı* beys can be attested for the xanates of the Crimea, Kasimov, and Kazan.[33] It is best to examine first the situation in the Crimea in a chronological order before going on to the other xanates, since the most abundant evidence—including a series of indigenous narrative histories—is for this state. The interpretation of the "four-bey system" in the other states can then be based on the data available for the Crimea. In this manner a number of facts and isolated references for the other xanates can be understood within a broader context.

Systematic documentation of the number of "ruling tribes" in the Crimean xanate (founded in the 1440s under Haci Giray) begins in the

[33]    According to Keenan it was the case in the Astraxan xanate as well as in the Siberian xanate ("Muscovy and Kazan", p. 551).

early 16th century. Two of the earliest examples are found in the diplomatic correspondence of the Crimean xanate with Muscovy. One document from 1508 includes what are interpreted here to be references to the four "ruling tribes" in the Crimea as the Şirin, Barın, Arğın, and Qıpçaq.[34] The same "ruling tribes" are repeated in a similar document dating from 1517, except that this includes an explicit reference to the *qaraçıs* of these "ruling tribes".[35]

The well-known traveler Sigmund von Herberstein, who traveled to Russia in 1517-1526, lists four councilors to the Tatar kings, "whose advice they mainly take in matters of importance". According to him the first of these is called *schirni*, the second *barni*, the third *gargni*, and the fourth *tztizpan*.[36] (These forms clearly refer to the Şirin, Barın, Arğın, and Qıpçaq.) It is not certain, however, if Herberstein is referring to the Crimea or one of the other states, and whether he himself is referring to affairs that are of his own or an earlier time.

According to one native Crimean chronicle, the *Es-seb üs-seyyar*, the Şirin, Barın, Arğın, and Qıpçaq were the "ruling tribes" of the

[34]   *Pamyatniki diplomatiçeskix snoşeniy moskovskogo gosudarstva s krïmskoyu i nagayskoyu ordami i s Turtsiey*, i-ii, ed. G.O. Karpov, Sbornik Imperatorskago russkago istoriçeskago obşçestva 41 and 95 (hereafter abbreviated SIRIO) (St. Petersburg, 1884 and 1895/Nendeln, 1971), ii, p. 20; and Sïroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego vassalï", p. 38.

[35]   SIRIO 95, p. 388; and Sïroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego vassalï", p. 39.

[36]   *Notes upon Russia: Being a Translation of the Earliest Account of that Country entitled Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, ed.-trans. R.H. Major, ii, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society 12 (London, 1852), p. 82; and *IKTsTS*, ii, p. 412, comparing this account with Guagnini, *Sarmatiae Europeae Descriptio Alexandri Guagnini* (Spirae, 1631), p. 110.

Crimean xanate in the reign of Sahib Giray (r. 1532-1551).[37] Finally,
the 19th-century Russian historian Karamzin also mentions the four
*qaraçıs* of the Şirin, Barın, Arğın, and Qıpçaq tribes on the basis of
the *Krïmskie Dela* or "Crimean Acts".[38] Although a date is not given for
this document, it clearly falls in the same category as the above
references, since the "ruling tribes" named are the same.

The sources covered thus far all give ample proof of the presence
of four *qaraçı* beys and the four "ruling tribes" they represented in the
Crimea. The regularity of the number "four" as an organizing principle
is not important in and of itself; but it is a crucial characteristic
feature in establishing the existence of the "four-bey system" in the
Golden Horde. This is why it is necessary to explain the rise of the
number of "ruling tribes" in the Crimea alone from "four" to "five" as
the exception--so to speak--which proves the rule. The position taken
here is that such a change could only have come about as a result of a
major transformation or upheaval within the xanate, which in this case
was provided by the final demise of the "Great Horde" in about 1502.[39]

From the reign of Sahib Giray on there is disagreement in the
sources as to which four or five "ruling tribes" constitute the "land"
in the Crimea. According to the *Es-seb üs-seyyar*, during his rule other
tribes were added to the "land" in reward for their service. This

[37]    Seyyid Muhammed Rıza, ed. M. Kazembek, *Asseb a-sseyyar ili sem
planet* (Kazan, 1832), p. 75; trans. M. Kazimirski and ed. A. Jaubert,
"Précis de l'histoire des khans de Crimée, depuis l'an 880 jusqu'à l'an
1198 de l'hégire", *Journal Asiatique* 12 (1833), pp. 349-380 and 428-458,
especially p. 353; and *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 412-413;

[38]    N. Karamzin, *Istoriya gosudarstva rossiyskogo*, (St. Petersburg,
1892/The Hague-Paris, 1969), vii  note 413, citing the *Krïmskie Dela*,
no. 8, 1. 97; and *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 411-412.

[39]    Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 185-208.

version states that the Şirin, Arğın, Barın, and Qıpçaq were the four
"ruling tribes" (as discussed above) until the elevation of the Sicivut
and the Mansuri (that is, the Mangıt).[40] The *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han*
goes into even greater details on the incorporation of the Mangıts, led
by Baqi Bey, into the Crimean xanate.[41] This work states on numerous
occasions that the *qaraçı* beys numbered four during the reign of Sahib
Giray Xan and on other occasions explicitly mentions the Şirin, Barın,
Mangıt, and Qıpçaq.[42] But on one occasion it also includes the Arğın as
a fifth "ruling tribe",[43] as does the *Umdet üt-tevarih*.[44] If the various
sources accurately reflect the confused events of this period, there was
a long period of realignment among the "ruling tribes". This is an

[40]    Muhammed Rıza/Kazembek, p. 93; "Précis de l'histoire des khans de
Crimée", pp. 367-368; and *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 414-416 n. 56.

[41]    Remmal Hoca, ed.-trans. Ö. Gökbilgin, *Tārih-i Şāhib Giray
Hān (Histoire de Sahib Giray, Khan de Crimée de 1532 à 1551)* (Ankara,
1973).  See also Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", pp.
456-458.

[42]    Remmal Hoca/Gökbilgin, pp. 21/156, 27/165, 37/177-178, and
124/256. (All references to text editions incorporating both text and
translation will refer to the two corresponding sets of pages separated
by a slash in the order text/translation, whether the pagination is
continuous throughout the whole work or not.)

[43]    Remmal Hoca/Gökbilgin, pp. 112/245.

[44]    Abdülgaffar Kırımi, ed. N. Asım, *Umdet üt-tevarih*, Türk Tarih
Encümeni Mecmuası, İlave (Istanbul, A.H. 1343), p. 103. Abdülgaffar
also lists a word *VKVYAN* as the fifth word in the sequence: *asker-i
Kırım tertib üzere Şirin, Barın, Arğın, Kıpçak, Mangıt VKYAN beyleri ve
kapı halkı* .... Rather than seeing this as the name of a sixth tribe, it
would be better to see this word as referring to another category of
beys as discussed earlier in this chapter. Gökbilgin reads this term in
the *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han* as *oglangiyun* and relates it to Uyğur
*oglangu* "gracieux, fragile" with a plural suffix *-yun* (Remmal
Hoca/Gökbilgin, p. 288 and Index). (On this term in Old Turkic see
*Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*, ed.  V.M. Nadelyaev et al., Leningrad, 1969, p.
363.) Inalcik reads this term in the same source as *oghlan kiyun* ("The
Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", p. 451).  Since there is no need to
see this term as one word, it can be read in the *Umdet üt-tevarih* as *ve
KYAN beyleri* with a different vocalization, since minor orthographic
differences are not unusual for this corpus of sources.

obvious example of a time when the xan was able to exercise very great power, since such a realignment meant that certain "ruling tribes" lost their position in the "land" if the number of "ruling tribes" was to remain four or even five.[45] It is in this period that the Qıpçaq are no longer mentioned as a "ruling tribe", while the Arğın, Sicivut, and Barın constantly change status.

The account of the Polish writer Broniewski (1590) also falls into this period of new "ruling tribe" alignment, since he refers to the presence of four "ruling tribes" identified as the Şirin, Barın, Mangıt, and Qıpçaq: *Sirinenses, Bachinienses, Mangutenses, caeterosque Kiuazios vel Duces, ex quibus Caiacei.*[46]

Haci Mehmed Senai is another author who provides a brief description of the *qaraçı* beys, the "pillars of the state", in his *Tarih-i Islam Giray Han* (1601). Senai, who describes himself as a member of the aristocracy,[47] makes special reference on numerous occasions to the leading "ruling tribe", the Şirin. According to the author, the four "ruling tribes" of the Crimean xanate were the Şirin, Mangıt, Sicivut, and Arğın.[48]

[45]    Cf. Bennigsen et al., *Le khanate de Crimée*, pp. 11-12, who feel that the number of "ruling tribes" rose to six. On this complicated period see also Smirnov, *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, especially pp. 120-122 and 413 ff.; and Ö. Gökbilgin, *1532-1577 yılları arasında Kırım Hanlığının siyasî durumu* (Ankara, 1973).

[46]    Martini Broniovii de Biedzfedea, bis in Tartariam nomine Stephani Primi Poloniae Regis legati, *Tartariae Descriptio* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1590), p. 14, cited in *IKTsTS*, ii, p. 414. See also the further references to this work in Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate", p. 285 n. 17; and Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", p. 449 n. 9.

[47]    Haci Mehmed Senai, *Tarih-i Islam Giray Han*, ed.-trans. Z. Abrahamowicz, *Historia Chana Islam Gereja III* (Warsaw, 1971), pp. 7/92.

[48]    Haci Mehmed Senai/Abrahamowicz, pp. 3/89.

Some sources in this period simply mention that there were five qaraçıs without explicitly naming the "ruling tribes". There are such examples dating from 1680 and 1682 among the Crimean documents which Vel'yaminov-Zernov has edited in a separate work.[49] Another document in this collection dating from 1632 does name these tribes as the Şirin, Mangıt, Arğın, Sicivut, and Barın.[50] One must conclude on the basis of these sources that there were five "ruling tribes" in the Crimea in the 17th century.

An important source for the Crimean xanate mentioned earlier, the *Umdet üt-tevarih* (1740s), gives a description of the qaraçı beys to which reference will be made on a number of points.[51] An enumeration in this source of the "four pillars" who are collectively known as the four qaraçıs lists them in the following order: first the Şirin, second the Mansuroğlu, third the Barın[52], and fourth the Sicivut. Another description of the role of the qaraçı beys is found in the history

[49]    *Materialï dlya istorii krïmskago xanstva. Izvleçeniya, po rasporyajeniyu Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk, iz Moskovskago glavnago arxiva Ministerstva inostrannïx del*, ed. V.V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov (St. Petersburg, 1864), no. 252: p. 653, no. 264: p. 691; and no. 266: p. 695; and *IKTsTS*, ii, p. 413. (This work, which will hereafter be abbreviated *MIKX*, is also known by the French title *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du khanat de Crimée*.)

[50]    *MIKX*, no. 20: p. 87; and *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 413-414.

[51]    Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 193-194. H. Inalcik has already drawn attention to this passage in his "Kırım", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vi (Istanbul, 1955), p. 753; and "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", p. 448 n. 8, where he offers a liberal translation of the first portion of this description. An abridged translation of a longer portion of this description (including this reference) may be found in U. Schamiloglu, "The *Qaraçı* Beys of the Later Golden Horde: Notes on the Organization of the Mongol World Empire", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevii* 4 (1984), pp. 283-297, especially pp. 284-285.

[52]    Read *salisen* "third" for *rabian* "fourth" in the text.

written by Halim Giray Sultan.[53] This description, which is explicitly

based on the *Umdet ül-ahbar* (another title for the *Umdet üt-tevarih*),

enumerates the exact same "ruling tribes" as the description in the

*Umdet üt-tevarih*. Thus, these two sources from the mid-18th century list

four "ruling tribes" in the Crimea. It is not certain, though what

point in time these sources are describing. The *Umdet üt-tevarih* gives

the description apart from any chronological sequence in an appendix to

the history. The *Gülbün-i hanan* similarly inserts this entire

description into the middle of the text.

Yet another set of data regarding this complicated question is

provided by Peysonnel (1753-) and Baron de Tott (1767-). According to

them the "ruling tribes" included the Şirin, Mansur, Sicivut, Arğın, and

Barın. In the words of de Tott: *Après la famille souveraine, on compte*

*celles de Chirine, de Mansour, de Sedjoud d'Arguin & de Baroun.*[54]

Finally, this chapter would like to quote yet another source

which follows almost verbatim the first part of the description cited in

the *Umdet üt-tevarih*. Laşkov published this in Russian as document no.

[53]  *Gülbün-i hanan, yahut Kırım tarihi*, ed. O. Cevdi (Istanbul, A.H.
1327), p. 40. A comparison of the two versions shows that the Halim
Giray version is a somewhat liberal variation of the text upon which the
printed edition of the *Umdet üt-tevarih* is based, including minor
orthographic differences in the spelling of certain words.  See also the
problematic description in the *Telhis ül-beyan* cited by Smirnov,
*Krïmskoe xanstvo*, p. 323. This source lists the "ruling tribes"
(probably incorrectly) as the Şirin, Ar(ğ)ın = Yaşlaw, Barın = Sicivut,
and Mangıt.

[54]  Peysonnel, *Die Verfassung des Handels auf dem schwarzen Meere*,
trans. E.W. Cuhn (Leipzig, 1788), p. 31, cited in *IKTsTs*, ii, pp. 414-
416 n. 70; and Baron de Tott, *Mémoires du baron de Tott sur les Turcs et*
*les Tartares*, i-iv (Amsterdam, 1784), ii, p. 156; and *IKTsTs*, ii, pp.
414-416 n. 70. Although the overwhelming evidence is that the two names
actually referred to the same "ruling tribe", according to Vel'yaminov-
Zernov the Mangıt replaced the Mansur: *Rod Mangït ustupil v posledstvii*
*mesto rodu Mansur.*

55 (dating from 1820) in his study of Crimean land tenure.[55] According

to this source the descendants of "Dangï Bey"[56] always had power over

the control of the peoples, whom the xans composed from four clans (*rod*)

of beys. This source goes on that these four clans were the Şirin,

Mansur, Barın, and Sicivut, in that order; they were called the four

*qaraçı* beys (in the Russian text simply *dort-karaçi*). Though this source

dates from a more recent period, its reference to an earlier period is

probably based on a similar (if not identical) Crimean source as the

*Umdet üt-tevarih* and the *Gülbün-i hanan*. It clearly confirms that the

*qaraçı* traditionally numbered four, though not a word is said about

their having numbered five.

The task of following which "ruling tribes" formed the "land" in

the Crimean xanate at any given point in time is quite difficult. Table

II based on the references already cited is intended to help clarify

this picture.

There are a number of references in the Russian sources to *qaraçı*

beys in the xanate of Kazan, though the source material is not as

[55] F. Laşkov, *Sbornik dokumentov po istorii krïmsko-tatarskago zemlevladeniya* (Simferopol', 1897), p. 38; and Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate", p. 285.

[56] This is a reference to Dangı Bey, who according to a Crimean source is the father of Örek Temür, father of Tegine; this Tegine is called the father of the Şirins in the Crimea in the *Umdet üt-tevarih* (Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 46). On Tegine see also Smirnov, *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, pp. 202-203, 205, and 216-217; Sïroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego vassali", p. 30; and Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate", p. 284; as well as the discussion in Chapter V.

## TABLE II

### THE "RULING TRIBES" OF THE CRIMEAN XANATE

| Year | Source | Şirin | Barın | Siciut | Arğın | Qıqçaq | Mangıt= Mansur, Mansuroğlu |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1508 | SIRIO 95 | Ş | B | | A | Q | |
| 1517 | SIRIO 95 | Ş | B | | A | Q | |
| 1517– 1526? | Herber- stein | Ş | B | | A | Q | |
| ? | Karamzin | Ş | B | | A | Q | |
| 1532– 1551 | *Es-seb üs-seyyar* | Ş | B | (+S) | A | Q | (+M) |
| 1532– 1551 | *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han* | Ş | B | | (A) | Q | M |
| 1532– 1551 | *Umdet üt- tevarih* | Ş | B | | A | Q | M |
| 1590 | Broniewski | Ş | B | | | Q | M |
| 1601 | Senai | Ş | | S | A | | M |
| 1632 | *MIKX* #20 | Ş | B | S | A | | M |
| 1680 | *MIKX* #252 | | | (five "ruling tribes") | | | |
| 1682 | *MIKX* #264, #266 | | | (five "ruling tribes") | | | |
| 1740s | *Umdet üt- tevarih* | Ş | B | S | | | Mğlu |
| 1740s+ | *Gülbün-i hanan* | Ş | B | S | | | Mğlu |
| 1753– | Peysonnel | Ş | B | S | A | | Mğlu |
| 1767– | de Tott | Ş | B | S | A | | Mğlu |
| 1820 | Laşkov | Ş | B | S | | | Mğlu |

explicit or as plentiful as for the Crimea.[57] For this reason some of the passing references can only be interpreted as referring to the four *qaraçı* beys.

One well-known source, Kurbskiy's history of Ivan IV ("the Terrible"), mentions the *qaraçı* beys of the xanate of Kazan, but he does not mention their number.[58] Another source which does list four "ruling tribes" has been published by Vel'yaminov-Zernov. This is the translation of a document issued by the xan of Kazan Abd ül-Latif (r. 1497-1502), which specifically states that the "ruling tribes" in the xanate of Kazan were four: the Şirin, Barın, Arğın, and Qıpçaq.[59]

Vel'yaminov-Zernov cites as another example the four "dukes" (*knyaz'*) Kel Ahmed, Urak, Sadïr, and Agïş, whose names occur together in the sources in connection with their support for the Şeybanid ruler Mamuq's attempt to wrest Kazan away from Muhammed Emin in 1496.[60] Once Mamuq took the city, however, he imprisoned the four dukes of the Kazan "land" who had defected to him and confiscated the property of the merchants and of all the *zemskie lyudi* "people of the land".[61] (The *zemskie lyudi* here refers in all probability to the four *qaraçı* beys representing the "land".) Vel'yaminov-Zernov ventures the opinion that

[57] *IKTsTs*, ii, pp. 420-429. See also the references in E.L. Keenan, Jr. "Muscovy and Kazan' 1445-1552: A Study in Steppe Politics", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard University, 1965).

[58] A.M. Kurbskiy, ed.-trans. J.L.I. Fennell, *Prince A.M. Kurbsky's History of Ivan IV* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 40-41 and 64-65; and *IKTsTS*, ii, p. 420.

[59] *IKTsTs*, i, Trudï Vostoçnago otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago arxeologiçeskago obşçestva 9 (St. Petersburg, 1863), p. 209 n. 70; and ii, p. 427. Vel'yaminov-Zernov also discusses the later role of the Mangıts in this xanate (*IKTsTs*, ii, pp. 427-428).

[60] *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 420. See also Xudyakov, *Oçerki*, pp. 46-47.

[61] Pelenski, *Russian and Kazan*, p. 30.

this Urak is the same Urak who is called *knyaz' Kazanskix knyazey* "duke of the Kazan dukes" elsewhere in the sources in connection with his cooperation with a brother of Mamuq.[62]

On the basis of these sources Vel'yaminov-Zernov concludes that, at least in the beginning, the number and identity of the "ruling tribes" in Kazan were exactly the same as in the Crimea. Since the episode with Mamuq took place before Abd ül-Latif became xan, one may conclude that the "ruling tribes" continued to number four throughout this period of conflict. Vel'yaminov-Zernov also concludes on the basis of these sources that the *qaraçı* in Kazan had the same number and function as in the Crimea.[63] All of these conclusions are quite plausible.

For Kasimov there is less evidence in the various sources than for the xanate of Kazan. The evidence that does exist, however, is from the only extant indigenous Later Golden Horde chronicle outside the Crimea, the *Cami üt-tevarix*. The author/translator of this work, Qadır Ali Calayir, was himself a *qaraçı* bey (of the Calayir "ruling tribe").[64] This highly condensed translation into Tatar of the famous work of the same title by Raşîd ad-Dîn has a separate section at the end devoted to events in the xanate of Kasimov. According to this work there were four "ruling tribes" in Kasimov in the reign of Uraz Muhammed (r. 1600-1610). These four "ruling tribes", which were listed as constituting the right

[62] See also *IKTsTS*, ii, p. 421; and Xudyakov, *Oçerki*, p. 183. This title and its variants referring to the head of the four *qaraçı* beys are discussed below.

[63] *IKTsTs*, ii, p. 426. Pelenski cites additional sources referring to the very same "princes [i.e., dukes] of the land" Kel Ahmed, Örek, Sadır, and Ağış (*Russian and Kazan*, p. 29).

[64] On Qadır Ali Calayir see Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoriçeskie istoçniki*, pp. 40-51. On Uraz Muhammed see *IKTsTs*, ii, pp. 97-498.

and left flanks of the state, were the Arğın, Qıpçaq, Calayir, and Mangıt.[65]

On the basis of the sources presented thus far, it is clear that the "ruling tribes" were traditionally organized in groups of four. The sources describe such a situation for a number of different states in the Later Golden Horde over long periods of time.[66] Even where the sources give evidence for an increase in this number to five in the Crimean xanate, later historians still recount the traditional number four. Having established this, it is now time to examine the role of the individual qaraçı beys.

The first characteristic feature of the individual qaraçı beys themselves is that each led his own "ruling tribe". This is one of the most important aspects of the role of the qaraçı beys, but also one of the most difficult to prove. The sources do not extend coverage to the rank and file membership of a "ruling tribe", only to the ruling elite. For this reason it is easier to recognize the leader of a "ruling tribe", since this office carries a number of *ex officio* responsibilities within the state.

For the most part one must draw on ambiguous passing references in the sources. For example, one source for the Şirin "ruling tribe" prior to the foundation of the Crimean xanate, the *Umdet üt-tevarih*, has

[65]   *Cami üt-tevarix*, ed. I. Berezin, *Biblioteka vostoçnïx istorikov*, ii/1: *Sbornik letopisey. Tatarskiy tekst* (Kazan, 1854), pp. 170-171; and *IKTsTs*, ii, pp. 403-407. According to Vel'yaminov-Zernov, the Calayirs were a later replacement for the Şirin (*IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 431-435 n. 58).

[66]   For Vel'yaminov-Zernov's data on the Siberian xanate, see *IKTsTS*, ii, p. 431. It would be premature to offer a definitive opinion on the organization of this state, on which there is a dearth even of secondary literature, other than to state that the term qaraçı is known in the sources for this state. (See also *Yermak's Campaign in Siberia*, trans. T. Minorsky and D. Wileman, ed. T. Armstrong, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, II, 146, London, 1975, Index.)

the leader of the Şirin making an explicit reference to himself and his entire *uruğ*.[67]

Certain documents also allow one to venture the conclusion that each *qaraçı* bey led his own "ruling tribe". One of the Crimean documents,     written in 1632 to the Polish king, speaks of the "Şirin bey and all of his people, the Mangıt bey and all of his people, the Arğın bey and all of his people, and the Sicivut bey and all of his people".[68] It is less likely that such a reference would mean just the hierarchy of the "ruling tribe". Additional documents published by Bennigsen also support this. In 1476 Eminek Bey of the Şirin referred to his own "close ones and 'clans' (*aşair*)" and in 1478 the same Eminek speaks of his own people and those of the other beys.[69]

Many studies have treated the Noğay Horde as an independent state, but modern scholars have traditionally ignored a fact which Vel'yaminov–Zernov documented: one of the titles of the ruler of the Noğays was *qaraçı*.[70] There are a number of sources for the problem of what the *qaraçı* represented in the Noğay Horde, but at the same time the Noğay Horde falls into a special category.

According to Vel'yaminov–Zernov, the meaning of *qaraçı* among the Noğays was: 'close one, servant, underling (citizen)'. He concludes that Noğay leader İsmail bey's use of the term *qaraçı* in describing himself

[67]   Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 47. This period will be the focus of Chapter V.

[68]   *MIKX*, no. 20: p.87; and *IKTsTS*, pp. 413–414.

[69]   Bennigsen et al., *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 61/62 and 72–73/70–71. The term *aşiret* (broken plural *aşair*) is used in the *Umdet üt-tevarih* as well (for example Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 69).

[70]   *Prodoljenie drevney rossiyskoy vivliofiki* (hereafter abbreviated *PDRV*) vii–xi (St. Petersburg, 1791–1801), vii, p. 287; xi, p. 128; vii, p. 318; xi, p. 123; ix, p. 74; xi, p. 257; and *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 429–431.

(in 1553) meant that he understood himself to be a servant of the
Muscovite ruler.[71] This reflects a misunderstanding by Vel'yaminov-
Zernov of the fact that the Noğay leader was not a leader on the level
of the Çingisid xan, even though he describes the sources according to
which the Noğay "dukes" were descended from Edigü (leader of the Mangıt
"ruling tribe" during the period of transition from the Golden Horde to
the Later Golden Horde at the turn of the 15th century). For example,
the Noğay mirza Belek Bulat wrote Ivan IV in 1556 that Ismail became
"duke" like Edigü in earlier times, and Yunus the *nur ed-din*.[72] In fact,
there were a number of Mangıt *uluses*, which suggests that each was a
separate "ruling tribe" according to the definition given in Chapter I,
since each acted in a different "state".[73]

The mention of the name of Yunus the *nur ed-din* leads to the next
point, namely a discussion of the deputies of the *qaraçı*. The *qaraçı* bey
was the head of a separate hierarchy of "ruling tribe" officials
independent of the dynasty and subordinate to him alone. These included
a vice-leader and so on. Thus, while scholars have usually discussed the
hierarchy of officials subordinate to the xan, the xan's was not the
only hierarchy. This discussion of subordinate officials is important
for the additional reason that it bolsters the argument according to
which the *qaraçı* bey led a "ruling tribe", since such an extended
hierarchy must have ruled over a larger number of persons.

[71]   *IKTsTs*, ii, pp. 430.

[72]   *PDRV*, ix, pp. 248-249; and *IKTsTs*, ii, p. 418-419.

[73]   See Smirnov, *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, p. 334 (citing the *Telhis ül-
beyan*); and A. Bennigsen and Ch. Lemercier-Quelquejay, "La Grande Horde
Nogay et le problème des communications entre l'Empire Ottoman et l'Asie
Centrale en 1552-1556", *Turcica* 8/ii (1976), pp. 203-236. This will also
be discussed below in the section dealing with the selection of the xan.

The sources do not offer sufficient evidence to conclude that the hierarchy was called by the exact same titles in all the xanates, though many of the names are shared. For the Crimean xanate the names of a number of positions of the hierarchy within the "ruling tribe" such as the *qalğa*, *nur ed-din*, and others are known. Vel'yaminov-Zernov was the first to discuss these titles for the Crimea based on documents he himself edited. According to one of these the Şirin and the Mangıt had a *qalğa*, a *nur ed-din*, and a *kik bui*.[74] Two of these titles, *qalğa* and *nur ed-din*, were also used for the dynastic hierarchy. The term *qalğa* (Turkish *kalğa*) was used to refer to the heir to the Crimean throne.[75]

Baron de Tott writes that the Şirin bey has his own *Calga*, *Nouradin*, and ministers, just like the xan.[76] In the document published by Laşkov and cited earlier, the eldest of the Şirin "clan" (*rod*) is said to have the title of bey, the second after him to have had the title of *kalga*, and the third after him to have had the title of *nuradin*. Below them were the *murzas*, and though they were all respected, according to this document the Şirin *murzas* had pre-eminence. This source goes on further to state that the *kalga* and *nuradin* had their own "clans", one of the xans and the other of the Şirins. According to this document, the other "clans" did not have such a title.[77]

[74]    *MIKX*, no. 21, p. 91; and *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 416–419 n. 56.

[75]    On these terms see J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Chane der Krim* (Vienna, 1856), pp. 38–39 and 58–59; *IKTsTS*, p. 417; Smirnov, *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, pp. 322 and 350–360; H. Inalcik, "Kalgay", *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, vi (Istanbul, 1955/1977), pp. 131–132; J. Matuz, "Qalğa", *Turcica* 2 (1970), pp. 101–129; and Bennigsen et al., *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 395–396.

[76]    *Mémoires du baron de Tott*, ii, p. 157.

[77]    *Sbornik dokumentov po istorii krïmsko-tatarskago zemlevladeniya*, pp. 37–38. Vel'yaminov-Zernov also discusses the titles of bey and *mirza* before he discusses the *qaraçıs* (*IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 410–411).

The traveler Herberstein gives his own understanding of the
ranking of the various officials in the Tatar states. He first gives the
*khan*, whom he calls a "king", next comes the *sultan* ("the son of a
king"), then *bii* ("duke"), *mursa* ("the son of a duke"), *olbond* ("a noble
or councillor"), *olboadula* ("the son of a nobleman"), and *said* ("a chief
priest"). A private man is called *ksi*, the post of rank next to that of
the king is called *ulan*, and then he finally mentions the four
councilors, i.e. the four *garaçı* beys.[78] Here it must be considered that
Herberstein was somewhat misinformed, since he mixes together various
positions from different categories, such as the xan, bey, and chief
religious leader. Therefore there is no obstacle to positing that the
four councilors whom he lists should have actually been listed as a
category within the larger groups known as the beys (his *bii*).

Vel'yaminov-Zernov also established that these terms existed
among the Noğays and among the Şeybanids in Buxara.[79] The most abundant
information on these titles is in the sources concerning the Noğays,
which document the titles *qalğa*, *nur ed-din*, *keykobad*, and *taybuğa*.
According to Vel'yaminov-Zernov, the title *nur ed-din* first came into
usage in honor of Nur ed-Din, son of Edigü, from whom the Noğay "dukes"
are descended.[80] To quote one source again, the Noğay mirza Belek Bulat

[78]    Herberstein, *Notes upon Russia*, p. 82.

[79]    *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 416-419 n. 56.

[80]    See *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 242-245 n. 32., and 417-419. The Yayık (Ural)
river was considered territory of Edigü, while the Volga was considered
the territory of Nur ed-Din (see *PDRV*, x, p. 67; and xi, p. 50; and
*IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 418-419).

wrote Ivan IV in 1556 that Ismail became duke like Edigü in earlier times, and Yunus the *nur ed-din*.[81]

Thus, it is clear that in the states of the Later Golden Horde there is substantial documentation of a series of officials subordinate to the "ruling tribe's" leader. Though these names are traced back to the person for whom the positions are named, it is likely that the leader of the "ruling tribe" must have had a hierarchy going back to the beginning of the "ruling tribe".[82]

Another feature of the "four-bey system" in the Later Golden Horde is that one of the four *qaraçı* beys was a *primus inter pares*. This was the leader of the chief among the four "ruling tribes", which in the Later Golden Horde was usually the Şirin. This leader had special *ex officio* authority as the chief spokesman for the "land". He was known in this capacity in the Russian sources *knyaz' knyazey* "duke of dukes", which is clearly a calque of the Turkic *beylerbeyi* (literally "bey of beys").

In the sources for the Crimean xanate there are a number of references to the head of the four beys. The *Umdet üt-tevarih* describes the ancestor of the Şirins in the Crimea, Örek Temür, as *emir-i kebir* "great emir" and *baş karaçı* "head *qaraçı*".[83] It also describes Eminek Bey, one of the heads of the Şirin "ruling tribe", as *mir-i miran-ı Şiriniyan olan *Eminek Bey* (using the equivalent *mir-i miran* from

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[81]   *PDRV*, ix, pp. 248-249; and *IKTsTs*, ii, p. 418-419. See also Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, "La Grande Horde Nogay", pp. 209-210 n. 9.

[82]   See *IKTsTs*, ii, pp. 417-419.

[83]   Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 79.

Persian).[84] According to Baron de Tott, the Şirin bey is the chief of the Tatar nobility and represents the other beys.[85]

There are no indigenous sources for the xanate of Kazan which would allow the documentation of this exact title in the original. The sources do list, however, a number of titles which are obviously Russian calques of the original Turkic terms. In the Russian sources there are numerous references to the *knyaz' kazanskix knyazey* "duke of the Kazan dukes".[86] Coming again to an example cited earlier, the sources published by Vel'yaminov-Zernov name one Urak as "duke of dukes", and then go on to mention the three other "dukes" with him by the name of Kel Ahmed, Sadïr, and Agïş in connection with the "treason" being committed by the Kazan "land" in 1496.[87] According to Vel'yaminov-Zernov this Urak is the same Urak who in other sources is called *knyaz' Kazanskix knyazey* "duke of the Kazan dukes".[88]

There seem to be a number of equivalents to the term *beylerbeyi*. The term *knyaz' knyazey* "duke of dukes" has already been mentioned as a

[84]    Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 97. See also the *yarlıq* of Haci Giray Xan (1453) in A.N. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler* (Istanbul, 1940), pp. 64-65.

[85]    *Mémoires du baron de Tott*, ii, p. 157. The text actually reads that the Şirin bey represents the five other beys; but only four of them represent other "ruling tribes", while the remaining bey represents the *familles annoblies* (*Mémoires du baron de Tott*, ii, p. 156).

[86]    *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 421-422. On Turkic calques in Slavic see most recently P.B. Golden, "Turkic Calques in Medieval Eastern Slavic", *Turks, Hungarians and Kipchaks. A Festschrift in Honor of Tibor Halasi-Kun*, ed. P. Oberling, Journal of Turkish Studies 8 (1984), pp. 103-111. (The terms discussed here are not included in such studies.)

[87]    *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 420. Pelenski cites additional sources referring to the very same "princes [i.e., dukes] of the land" Kel Ahmed, Ürek, Sadır, and Agïş (*Russian and Kazan*, p. 29).

[88]    See also *IKTsTS*, ii, p. 421.

calque of *beylerbeyi*. Another title in the Crimean sources referring to the chief of the four *qaraçıs* is *baş karaçı* cited above. This would be identical to the office of *beylerbeyi*. At the same time, there are references to the *bol'şoy karaça* "great *karaça*" in Kazan without references to the other *qaraçıs*.[89]

Additional titles have led at the same time to a certain amount of confusion. According to certain sources each of the four beys is also called *ulu(ğ) qaraçı*, "great or elder *qaraçı*".[90] Vel'yaminov-Zernov offers the explanation that all the persons close to the xan were called *qaraçı* and that these four were called *uluğ qaraçı* in order to distinguish them from the rest of the people who were known as *qaraçı*.[91] He also writes that in Kazan the regular "dukes" were separate from the four *qaraçıs*, in support of which he cites the example *i knyazem i vsem knyazem kazanskim* "and to the (Kazan) dukes and to all the Kazan dukes".[92] It therefore seems that the term *uluğ qaraçı* did not refer to the head of the four beys, but to each of the *qaraçı* beys. Vel'yaminov-Zernov's explanation of this is not, however, convincing.

Another important facet to the role of the chief of the four *qaraçı* beys is that he was a military leader and perhaps the head of the whole army of the xanate. There are no explicit descriptions of the *beylerbeyi* as the head of the army, but the *qaraçı* beys and especially

[89]   *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 428-429. According to E.L. Keenan, Jr., the term *bol'şoy karaçi* referred to the head of the Şirins ("Muscovy and Kazan' 1445-1552: A Study in Steppe Politics", Ph.D. dissertation, p. 93).

[90]   *MIKX*, no. 209: p. 609; no. 261: p. 677; no. 286: p. 747; and no. 115: p. 401; and *IKTsTS*, ii, p. 419.

[91]   *IKTsTS*, ii, p. 419. Note also the term *baş beyleri* "head beys" used in the *Telhis ül-beyan* cited by Smirnov, *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, p. 323.

[92]   *IKTsTs*, ii, pp. 421-422.

the *beylerbeyi* are often depicted in the narrative sources as leading the army in campaign.[93] A number of documents also bear this out. For example, the very first document in the collection edited by Bennigsen et al., names the Şirin bey Eminek as head of the army.[94]

There are some indications that the various beys were related to the division of the state into two flanks (according to which the army was also divided), but there is too little evidence to incorporate such data into an argument for all the states of the Later Golden Horde. According to one Crimean chronicle, the *Es-seb üs-seyyar*, the Şirin were the leading "ruling tribe" constituting the first in the army, and the Barın, Arğın, and Qıpçaq were the other "ruling tribes" constituting the left (eastern) flank. The original is as follows:[95]

> *dört nefer karacu tabir olunan ümeradan mirliva-yı*
>
> *Şirin kendi kabilesi halkı ile talia-yı leşker*
>
> *olmakla ... ve yine ümera-yı karacudan madud Arğın*
>
> *ve Barın ve Kıpçak taraf-ı yesar leşkerde ...*

This may be translated as:

> From the four emirs called *karacu* the Şirin
> commander is the head of the army with his own
> tribe, and the Arğın, Barın, and Kıpçak who are
> counted among the *karacu* emirs are in the army of
> the left flank.

[93]   See Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", especially pp. 447-451; but cf. Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate", pp. 294-295. See also Sïroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego vassali", p. 37.

[94]   *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 36/33.

[95]   Muhammed Rıza/Kazembek, p. 75; and *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 412-413. Cf. the French translation of this chronicle, which reads as follows: "Les chefs des tribus de *Karadjou*, qui comprenaient celles de *Baryn*, d'*Argyn* et de *Captchak*, obtinrent le commandement de l'aile gauche, et les émirs de *Chiryn* celui du centre." ("Précis de l'histoire des khans de Crimée", p. 353.)

The documentation for the xanate of Kazan is not as abundant as for the Crimea. Kurbskiy mentions the *qaraçı*s in connection with a military role, writing that the xan of Kazan "shut himself up in the city with his thirty thousand picked warriors and with all their spiritual and secular *karachi* and with his bodyguard". He soon refers to them again, stating that Christian forces "drove back the *karachi* and all their forces".[96]

This data is enough to support the conclusion that the *qaraçı* beys, and in particular the chief among them, were in charge of the army, or certainly at least a part of it.

Yet another feature of the role of the *qaraçı* beys was their well-documented involvement in the selection of a Çingisid to rule as xan.[97] The first important ruler of the xanate, Haci Giray, was invited to the Crimea by the Şirin and Barın clans.[98] The narrative sources also relate other instances when a new xan was invited to rule over a state by the "land".[99] In this regard there are samples of diplomatic correspondence between the Crimean "land" and the Ottoman Porte that have been preserved which concern the attempts of the "land to secure a new ruler.[100] The *qaraçı* beys were able to assert their will against the

[96]   *History of Ivan IV*, pp. 40-43; and *IKTsTs*, ii, p. 420. See also the discussion of the "spiritual" *qaraçı*s later in this chapter.

[97]   Smirnov, *Krimskoe xanstvo*, pp. 392-393; Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate", p. 286; and Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", pp. 448-449.

[98]   Smirnov, *Krimskoe xanstvo*, p. 211 ff.

[99]   On the invitation to Mengli Giray to rule the Crimean xanate see Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 97; and Halim Giray Sultan/Cevdi, p. 16.

[100]  See for example Bennigsen et al., *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 72-73/ 70-71.

xan, and sometimes the four *qaraçı* beys even took part in the murder of a sitting xan or another member of the ruling dynasty.[101]

It is clear from the sources that the same practice was in effect in the xanate of Kazan. According to the Russian sources the grand duke of Muscovy took an active role in the selection of the xan of Kazan in conjunction with the "dukes of the land", i.e., the *qaraçı* beys.[102] According to the sources cited by Pelenski, "prince" (i.e., *qaraçı* bey!) Abd ül-Mümin invited Qasım to be xan over Kazan.[103] Another passage, to which reference has already been made on more than one occasion, mentions one Urak as "duke of dukes", and then continues that the three other "dukes" with him by the name of Kel Ahmed, Sadïr, and Agïş of the the Kazan "land" were committing "treason". When the dukes of the land were accused of treason, this meant, of course, that they were cooperating with the Şeybanid Mamuq rather than with the Muscovite puppet Muhammed Emin.[104] Even the Crimean chronicles confirm that the beys of Kazan invited Sahib Giray to rule in Kazan.[105]

It is also possible to fit the Noğays into this scheme. There is the misconception, or perhaps the alternative view, that the many *uluses* of the Noğays (*i.e.*, the Mangıt "ruling tribes") formed a separate state, which is reinforced by the Muscovite practice of sometimes

[101]  Smirnov, *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, pp. 202-203; and Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", pp. 456-458; but cf. Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate", pp. 298-302.

[102]  See the works of Keenan, Pelenski, and Manz.

[103]  Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, p. 26.

[104]  Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, pp. 29-30.

[105]  Halim Giray Sultan/Cevdi, pp. 33 and 37. See also Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, p. 34; and Bennigsen et al., *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 110-117, for another example.

referring to their rulers as *tsar'*, though the sons of the same *tsar'*
were then called *knyaz'*.[106] As mentioned above, at least one of the
Noğay groups was led by a *qaraçı*, though it should be possible to
document that more than one of their leaders was called a *qaraçı*. Since
the Mangits or Noğays participated as a "ruling tribe" in more than one
of the xanates, the Noğay Horde consisted, as far as can be determined,
of a number of Mangit "ruling tribes".[107]

One aspect to the Noğays which is not usually included in
discussions of the Later Golden Horde is their role in the selection of
the Şeybanid rulers, that is in the selection of the Uzbek xans. Semenov
notes that Abu l-Xayr Xan (r. 1429/30-1468/9) and his successors were
chosen by the beys, though many more tribes are mentioned than just four
"ruling tribes".[108] Axmedov also notes that Abu l-Xayr united with the

[106]  Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, "La Grande Horde Nogay", pp.
205-210.

[107]  See *IKTsTS*, ii, pp. 416-419 n. 56; and above.

[108]  A.A. Semenov, "K voprosu o proisxojdenii i sostave uzbekov
Şeybani-xana", *Materialï po istorii tadjkov i uzbekov Sredney Azii*, i,
Trudï instituta istorii, arxeologii i ètnografii AN Tadjikskoy SSR 12
(Stalinabad, 1954), pp. 1-40, especially p. 28. Cf. also V.V. Bartol'd,
"Otçet o komandirovke v Turkestan", *Soçineniya*, viii (Moscow, 1973),
119-210, especially p. 168, for a reference to the four leading "ruling
tribes" (?)--the Quşçi, Nayman, Büyrek, and Qarlıq--according to Maḥmûd
b. Valî in his *Baḥr al-asrâr*.

Mangits.[109] In fact, the beys who chose the later xans were known in the
sources as the *qaraçi* beys.[110]

After the four *qaraçi* beys selected a xan, the next step was a
ritual investiture or installation of the xan. Their role in the ritual
of elevation as a part of the installation of the xan can be considered
another characteristic feature of the "four-bey system" in the Later
Golden Horde.[111] The traveler Schiltberger made note of such a ritual
for the Tatar xans, though he may have been referring to an earlier
period.[112] According to his account, "when they choose a king, they take
him and seat him on white felt, and raise him in it three times. Then
they lift him up and carry him round the tent, and seat him on a throne,
and put a golden sword in his hand. Then he must be sworn as is the
custom."

Some of the sources for the Later Golden Horde make it clear that
it was the four *qaraçi* beys who were the ones involved directly in this
ritual elevation by holding the corners of the felt blanket (sometimes

[109]  B.A. Axmedov, *Gosudarstvo koçevix uzbekov* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 45-
46.

[110]  See the translation of the *Tevarix-i güzide-yi nusret-name* in
*Materiali po istoriii kazaxskix xanstv XV-XVIII vekov* (Alma-Ata, 1969),
pp. 19 and n. 49 (p. 496). See also R.D. McChesney, "The Amirs of Muslim
Central Asia in the XVIIth Century, *Journal of the Economic and Social
History of the Orient* 26 (1983), pp.  33-70. On the participation of the
Mangits in the Şeybanid state, see also M.G. Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoy
Ordi*, Uçenie zapiski Mordovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta 11
(Saransk, 1960), pp.  228-231. There is a rich primary and secondary
literature relating to this topic which cannot all be included here.

[111]  For discussions of elevation ceremonies in general see M.
Fortes, "Of Installation Ceremonies", *Proceedings of the Royal
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for 1967*, pp. 5-
20.

[112]  Johannes von Schiltberger, trans. J.B. Telfer, *The Bondage and
Travels of Johann Schiltberger, A Native of Bavaria, In Europe, Asia,
and Africa, 1396-1427*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society 58 (London,
1879), p. 48.

white, sometimes black) used in this ceremony. In referring to the
earler period of the Later Golden Horde prior to the foundation of the
Crimean xanate, the *Umdet üt-tevarih* describes that Muhammed oğlan
(i.e., Uluğ Muhammed) was raised by the beys on a piece of felt
"according to Tatar custom".[113] This practice is also documented for the
xanate of Kasimov, as well as other states in this period.[114]

Sources for the xanate of Kazan do not explicitly describe such a
ritual of elevation. The elevation and the whole process of enthronement
was, however, the consummation of what can be described as a legal
agreement between the xan and the beys of the "land". The sources for
Kazan described by Pelenski do indicate that such an act took place,
such as the oath taken by the assembly of the land in 1516 and the oaths
accepting Şah Ali (r. 1518-1521, 1546, 1551-1552) and Can Ali (r. 1532-
1535) as xan.[115]

Another well-documented practice of the *qaraçı* beys was their
diplomatic correspondence with foreign rulers. This practice can now be
better understood thanks to the *Umdet üt-tevarih* and other sources which
make it clear that these emirs (referring to the *qaraçı* beys) were in
charge of foreign affairs.[116] The diplomatic correspondence with the
Ottoman Porte and the Muscovite grand duke, as well as with one another
carried out in connection with this function, is clear evidence of this

[113] Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 75.

[114] See *IKTsTs*, ii, p. 403; and N.I. Veselovskiy, "Perejitki
nekotorïx tatarskix obiçaev u russkix", *Jivaya Starina* 1912, pp. 27-38,
especially pp. 36-38. See also Abu l-Ğazi, *Histoire des mongols et des
tatares par Aboul-Ghazi Béhadour Khan*, ed.-trans. P.I. Desmaisons (St.
Petersburg, 1871-1874/London, 1970), pp. 189/201.

[115] Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, pp. 32-40.

[116] Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 194.

point. This correspondence is preserved in the Russian, Turkish, and other archives.[117]

A basic element in the relationship between the four *qaraçı* beys and the xan was that no decision of the xan was legal without their approval, which in the case of documents was indicated by affixing a seal. The *Umdet üt-tevarih* makes it clear that the *qaraçı* beys of the Crimean xanate approved the documents of the xan through the affixing of a seal to the document.[118] There are other sources for this as well. The *Gülbün-i hanan*, in its version of the passage also found in the *Umdet üt-tevarih*, says that the order of the xan was confirmed (*tasdik etdirirlerdi*).[119] Although the author of the *Umdet üt-tevarih* used Ottoman terminology in this description, it is possible to compare the term *mükaleme* "protocol" with the *yarlığs* (documents issued, usually by the xan) of the earlier Golden Horde, and the term *hitam* "seal" with the *tamğas*.[120] The *Umdet üt-tevarih* also makes the point, however, that this practice was common at the beginning, but did not continue in the same manner throughout the history of the Crimean xanate.[121]

The fact of the beys' approving the official documents issued by the xan was important not as an act, but because the orders of the xan

[117]   See Bennigsen et al., *Le khanat de Crimée*.

[118]   Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 194.

[119]   Halim Giray Sultan/Cevdi, p. 40. The document published by Laşkov states that without the consent of these four beys, the xan by himself could not undertake anything regarding the administration of the people (*Sbornik dokumentov po istorii krimsko-tatarskago zemlevladeniya*, p. 38).

[120]   On these terms in the Golden Horde see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 305-310; and Usmanov, *Jalovannie akti*.

[121]   Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 195. This particular passage also names the other seals associated with the leaders of the Şirin "ruling tribe".

were not legal without it.[122] On this basis the four beys can be considered as the equivalent of a legislative body. This also fits in with such descriptions of the *qaraçı*. For example Vel'yaminov-Zernov mentions that a marginal note in one of the manuscripts of Kurbskiy's account refers to them as the "Senate".[123] Such an interpretation is confirmed for the Crimea by Baron de Tott.[124] In a source for the Siberian xanate they are also referred to as *dumnïy*, that is as an advisor or legislator.[125]

The final point this chapter will make about the role of the four *qaraçı* beys, or rather about the characteristic features of the "four-bey system" in the Later Golden Horde, is how they relate to the religious officials in these states.[126] The sources offer clear documentation for the existence of a second category of four religious officials who are also called *qaraçı*s. Much less is known about this second category. According to a passage in Kurbskiy which has already been cited, "the khan of Kazan' shut himself up in the city with his thirty thousand picked warriors and with all their spiritual and secular *karachi* (*so vsemi karaçi duxovnïmï ix i mirskimi*) and with his

[122] Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 193.

[123] *IKTsTs*, ii, p. 429.

[124] *Mémoires du baron de Tott*, ii, p. 157.

[125] *IKTsTs*, ii, p. 431.

[126] On the religious officials in the Crimean xanate see Sïroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego vassali", p. 38; and Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", p. 462. For the xanate of Kazan see also Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, pp. 55-56.

bodyguard".[127] Vel'yaminov-Zernov refers to this passage, but only to document the existence of this institution in Kazan.[128]

The significance of this reference in Kurbskiy could easily have gone unnoticed except that parallel reports in the Crimean sources serve to bolster the notion that there was also a spiritual variety of *qaraçıs*. According to a problematic passage in the *Umdet üt-tevarih*, there were four main religious leaders in the Crimea who were invited together with the four *qaraçı* beys. This passage appears as follows in Ottoman Turkish:[129]

> *dört ocak tabir olunan ulema-yı ızam ve meşayih-i*
>
> *kiram ki evvelâ zaviye-yi Gölh*[130] *şeyhi ve saniyen*
>
> *Raven Kaçı*[131] *şeyhi ve salisen zaviye-yi Taşlı*[132]
>
> *şeyhi ve sair-i ulema-yı Kırım'ın \*eşbehleri*[133]
>
> *davet olunup...*

This passage may be translated as follows:

> [When a matter of state comes up] the noble ulema
> and the gracious şeyhs who are known as the "four
> lineages (*ocak*)"[134] (which) are the şeyh of the
> *zaviye* [home of a mystical fraternity] of Gölh,
> second the şeyh of Raven Kaçı, third the şeyh of
> the *zaviye* of Taşlı, and the other brave ones
> (*\*eşbehleri*) of the rest of the religious officials
> of the Crimea are invited...

[127] *History of Ivan IV*, pp. 40-41.

[128] *IKTsTS*, ii, p. 420.

[129] Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 194.

[130] This is written كولح in the printed edition.

[131] This is written راون قاچى in the printed edition.

[132] This is written طاشلى in the printed edition.

[133] This word is written either اشهلرى or اشــهلرى in the printed edition.

There were only minor differences between the *Umdet üt-tevarih* and the *Gülbün-i hanan* (quoting another version of the *Umdet ül-ahbar*) in the case of earlier citations. In this instance, however, there are major differences in the interpretation of the two versions of this passage. The following is a rendering of the version as given by the *Gülbün-i hanan* (the parentheses are in the printed edition):[125]

> *(dört ocak) tabir olunan ulema-yı ızam, meşayih-i kiram ki (1) Gölc[135] şeyhi (2) Kaçı[136] şeyhi (3) Çöyinci[137] şeyhi (4) Daşlı[138] şeyhi ile yukarıda zikr olunan dört sınıf karaçı beyleri, mirzaları ve kapı kulu ihtiyarları davet olunduktan sonra...*

This passage may be translated:

> [When a matter of state comes up] after the noble ulema known as the "four lineages"--who are the gracious şeyhs (consisting of) 1. the şeyh of Gölc, 2. the şeyh of Kaçı, 3. the şeyh of Çöyinci, and 4. the şeyh of Daşlı--are invited together with the above-mentioned four classes of *karaçı* beys, mirzas, elders of the Imperial household ...

In this second version there appear to be four separate *şeyhs* listed either as an improvement upon the version which is known from the printed text (citing four *şeyhs* but only naming three) or as an unfounded emendation. Whether founded on fact or not, this version gives a more distinct reading for the four separate religious groups and separating one of the toponyms given in the printed edition of the *Umdet*

[134]  Halim Giray Sultan/Cevdi, p. 40.

[135]  This is written  كولج  in the printed edition.

[136]  This is written  قاچى  in the printed edition.

[137]  This is written  چوينجى  in the printed edition.

[138]  This is written  طاشلى  in the printed edition.

*üt-tevarih* into two. The standard Ottoman geographical dictionaries do not include these toponyms. Abrahamowicz, however, does discuss a place called "Taşlıq" which might be     this same toponym.[139] Elsewhere he also discusses the toponym Kaçı.[140] The other *zaviyes* referred to in the passage above are not familiar from other sources.

This particular feature of the role of the *qaraçı* beys, or of a parallel set of *qaraçı* beys deserves further attention, since it poses a problem for the earlier Golden Horde or the other states Çingisid states. In other periods there are no other sources or examples with which to compare this phenomenon documented exclusively for the Later Golden Horde.

Now that the most important identifying features of the "four-bey system" in the Later Golden Horde have been described, it is possible to compare the above interpretation with the differing interpretations which have also been offered. The above discussion has incorporated the views of Vel'yaminov-Zernov and has referred to the main works by Sïroeçkovskiy, Manz, Inalcik, and Bennigsen et al. in the discussion of various points of fact. This final section will briefly review several of the important differing general interpretations of the role of the *qaraçı* beys in the states of the Later Golden Horde and how this relates to the organization of the "state" in the view of certain authors.

[139]  Haci Mehmed Senai/Abrahamowicz, pp. 50–51 and 58. The loss of the final -*q* does not pose a problem given the presence of strong Oğuz and Kipchak Turkic elements in the Crimea leading to great variety in such endings. See G. Doerfer, "Das Krimosmanische", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, i, ed. J. Deny et al. (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 272–280; and "Das Krimtatarische", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, i, pp. 369–390, especially p. 377.

[140]  Z. Abrahamowicz, "Turkic Geographic Names *Qačï* and *Qačï Sarayï* in Crimea", *Folia Orientalia* 6 (1964), pp. 244–247.

Xudyakov briefly discusses the role of the four "ruling tribes" in the xanate of Kazan, relying primarly on the citations of Vel'yaminov-Zernov.[141] He does not apply this system to his analysis of the history of the xanate of Kazan. One problem in his conception of the system is that he lists separately officials or groups which this chapter identifies with the *qaraçı* beys. For example, there are lists of groups participating in the *qurıltay*, which is the well-known medieval term he applies to the "assembly of the land" for the purposes of selecting a new xan.[142] The data in this chapter, however, suggest that the primary actors in this assembly were the four *qaraçı* beys. He also discusses various kinds of emirs, beys, and *mirzas* as three of the four kind of dukes in the xanate (the other category were the rulers of ethnic groups within the xanate).[143] These, however, can also be interpreted in many instances as words from different languages referring to one and the same position.

A specialist on the question of the *qaraçı* beys in Kazan, E.L. Keenan, Jr., bases his own interpretion of their role on Vel'yaminov-Zernov, supplemented by the results of his own research on the Russian sources. A number of his views are in keeping with the various views expressed above, namely that the state consisted of a xan invited by the "land", and that the relationship required a mutual confirmation. This was a dynamic relationship, and the xan required the backing of the *qaraçıs*, without which he could not survive. The relationship was quite

[141]  *Oçerki*, pp. 239-293, especially p. 182.

[142]  *Oçerki*, pp. 184-189.

[143]  *Oçerki*, pp. 192-197.

dynamic, and in times of disagreement, the qaraçıs were able to depose the xan.[144]

Keenan also expresses a number of views which diverge from possible conclusions based on the data presented above. He sees a limited number of traditional seats of sovereign power to which this system was limited: Kazan, the Crimea, Astraxan, and Tyumen' in Siberia.[145] On the role of the qaraçı beys he further writes that:

> Social and economic life in these centers was controlled by the aristocracy of the most important nomadic clans, trading dynasties, or agricultural communes. These magnates are known to the sources as "princes" (*beg* in Turkic, *kniaz'* in Russian); four of their number, who bore the title *karachi* (a term found throughout the Altaic world in the Mongol period), formed a state council.

Elsewhere he writes that the political and economic institutions of the xanates of Kazan and the Crimea seem to have been identical and that the same four "clans" seem to have occupied the leading positions in both xanates. He explains this not only by the shared Golden Horde traditions, but also by the agricultural rather than nomadic base of the power of the "clans".[146]

Keenan does not give any indication of exactly what he means by the traditions of the Golden Horde, since the secondary works on the Golden Horde do not cover any of the points covered in the present dissertation. What is more, he sees the agricultural role of the qaraçı beys as a main reason for the existence of the institution. It is possible to make the argument (probably correctly) that "ruling tribes"

[144] "Muscovy and Kazan", p. 551.

[145] "Muscovy and Kazan", p. 551.

[146] "Muscovy and Kazan' 1445-1552: A Study in Steppe Politics", Ph.D. dissertation, pp. 82 n. 2 and 95.

had their own specific territories, but it is a mistake to see the *qaraçı* beys as a strictly agricultural phenomenon. This could be used as an explanation for the system of the four *qaraçı* beys in Kazan alone and perhaps in the Crimea, too, where there was a long tradition of sedentary civilization, but it cannot be used to explain the universal presence of the "four-bey system" in all of the Çingisid states. Finally, the "clans" as he calls them (that is, the "ruling tribes") changed in each of the states. It has already been discussed in an earlier section how the number of "ruling tribes" in the Crimea rose to five, and already Vel'yaminov-Zernov discussed the later role of the Mangits in the xanate of Kazan.[147] It is also difficult to see how an agrarian system could afford such organizational flexibility, especially if changes in the composition of the four "ruling tribes" in a given "state" involved shifts in population or migrations.

In the view of Pelenski, the xanate of Kazan was a loose conglomeration of a variety of peoples, some of whom were organized under native rulers.[148] The Tatars were the dominant people of the xanate, and their central political system corresponded to those of the other "Mongol-Turkic" states. He goes on, however, to say that the xan, according to the rudimentary Mongol-Turkic political theory, was an unlimited ruler, though in actual practice only the powerful xans were such. Pelenski's view is a prime example of an *a priori* conception of the Çingisid xan as an autocrat (or at best a sovereign styled on some other Western theory of kingship).

[147]  *IKTsTs*, ii, p. 425.

[148]  Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*, pp. 54-56.

He writes that the nobility and the land frequently exerted their influence in Kazan politics and considerably limited the power of the xan who in the majority of instances could be invested or deposed only with the consent of the ruling elite. He feels that Sahib Giray tried to introduce reforms (whatever this might be a reference to) and found a centralized state, but that the aristocracy defeated him and preferred to transform the xanate into a province of Muscovy.

Pelenski describes separately the *qaraçıs*, whom he calls councilors forming a royal council and representing the four main families of the country. As yet another institution he describes the *vsya zemlya kazanskaya* "the entire Kazan land", sometimes also interchanged with *vse lyudi kazanskoy zemli* "all the people of the Kazan land", which he compares with the concept of the *qurıltay* in the various Mongol states.[149] Finally, he describes the upper class of the xanate of Kazan as the landed aristocracy, some members of which represented the major segment of the Kazan ruling elite. As just one more example, he writes that emirs, begs, and mirzas were the most privileged landowners. Many of these terms, however, are probably the identical title in various translations. Thus, Pelenski is quite confused as to the nature of these various institutions, which according to the evidence presented in this chapter represented different aspects of the the exact same institution under different names.

[149]  See also his "State and Society in Muscovite Russia and the Mongol-Turkic System in the Sixteenth Century", *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, ed. A. Ascher et al. (New York, 1979), pp. 93-109, especially pp. 98-99 and notes.

    With this ends this chapter's discussion of the characteristic
features of the "four-bey system" in the Later Golden Horde. This list
of features may now be compared with the data for the earlier Çingisid
states.

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CHAPTER III

ANTECEDENTS TO THE *QARAÇI* BEYS IN THE GOLDEN HORDE AND THE OTHER

STATES OF THE MONGOL WORLD EMPIRE (13TH-14TH CENTURIES)


The study of the various states of the Mongol world empire in the

13th-14th centuries has traditionally emphasized individual states, each

with its own characteristic set of available sources and facts, in

isolation from one another. The result of these independent studies has

been differing perspectives on each of these Çingisid states simply

because each earlier analysis has offered a different model of the

organization of these states based on the random selection of data from

the unique sources for each state. The aim of this chapter is to show

that the system of the four *qaraçı* beys in the Later Golden Horde can

serve as an alternative unifying model for understanding the

organization of the Golden Horde and the other states of the Mongol

world empire in the 13th-14th centuries.[1]

This chapter offers a point-by-point survey of the "four-bey

system" in the 13th-14th centuries based on the set of characteristic

features established for the Later Golden Horde. (Certain of the points

established for the Later Golden Horde, tangential as they may have

seemed to a discussion of the later period, are of paramount importance

[1]    The major studies of each of these states are briefly reviewed in
the Historiographical Essay in the Bibliography, though the differing
general interpretations of the organization of these states are
discussed at the end of this chapter. Although it would be possible to
extend this discussion to later periods, this chapter limits its
discussion of the organization of the states of the Mongol world empire,
and especially of the Golden Horde, to the 13th-14th centuries. For data
suggesting the applicability of the "four-bey system" to the Oyrat
confederation in the 17th century, see J. Miyawaki, "The Qalqa Mongols
and the Oyirad in the Seventeenth Century" *Journal of Asian History* 18:2
(1984), pp. 136-173.

in establishing this system in the earlier states.) The "four-bey system" serves as *the* working hypothesis according to which data is selected and analyzed for the Golden Horde and the other states of the Mongol world empire. In the case of the Golden Horde, this chapter focuses on the western half of the Golden Horde through the end of the 14th century. The western division of the entire Golden Horde, which is also known as the "White Horde", is that portion of the entire state which was synonymous in the primary sources with the Golden Horde. The problem of the eastern half of the Golden Horde, also known as the "Blue Horde", and the problem of its role in the rise of the successor states to the Golden Horde will be introduced in Chapter IV.

Even in the total absence of studies on the Later Golden Horde, a study assembling the data presented in this chapter would still be confronted with the problem of whether to approach the similarities in the organization of the Golden Horde, the Ilxanate in Iran, the Çağatay xanate in Central Asia, and Yüan China as a coincidence or as a related phenomenon. This dissertation proposes the theory that the "four-bey system" common to all these states did not arise independently in each of these states, but that it is a common inheritance from the parent state. Therefore, this theory assumes that there is a genetic or parent-child relationship to account for the presence of this institution so far across the boundaries of time and space.

The most noteworthy feature of the institution of the *qaraçı* beys in the Later Golden Horde and the first point to be discussed here is that the "ruling tribes", and hence their leaders, regularly numbered four; the change of the number to five in the Crimean xanate was a major event and an exception. The political or cultural importance of the

notion of "four" can be documented as an organizing principal in the Çingisid states of the 13th-14th centuries as well.

There are a number of sources which refer to the presence of four leading officials in the Golden Horde, though they are known by different names. A series of these references can be found in the Islamic sources written in Arabic originating in the Mamlûk states. The first source to be mentioned here is one of the important chancellery handbooks written by Qalqaşandî (d. 1418), who quotes an unidentified earlier source in stating that there were four *ulus* emirs (*amîr al-ulûs*) in the Golden Horde.[2] Another description is afforded by the author Muḥibbî, whose full work remains unpublished except in the extracts by Tizengauzen. According to Muḥibbî, Qutlubuğa was one of the four (emirs) of the xan Canıbek (r. 1342-1357) in "Uzbek's land", that is, in the Golden Horde.[3]

Although the above-mentioned sources discuss the presence of four emirs in the 14th century, the sources are not as abundant for the 13th century. One of the few possible references to the presence of four beys in this period in the Golden Horde is the statement by Mufaḍḍal that taxes on the Crimean town of Sudaq were divided between four Tatar "kings" (Ar. *mulûk*).[4] It is likely that the Arabic term *malik* is used here as the equivalent of the Turkic term *bey*, since there were no four

[2]     *Ṣubḥ al-a'şâ fî şinâ'at al-inşâ'*, ed.-trans. V.  Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov, otnosyaşçixsya k istorii Zolotoy Ordï*, i: *Izvleçeniya iz soçineniy arabskix* (St. Petersburg, 1884) pp. 401/412-413. (This work, also known by the French title *Recueil de matériaux relatifs à l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, will hereafter be abbreviated "Tizengauzen 1".) On the term *ulus* see Doerfer, *TMEN*, i, pp. 175-178.

[3]     *Taṯqîf at-ta'rîf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ aş-şarîf*, Tizengauzen 1, pp. 338/348.

[4]     *An-nahc as-sadîd wa-d-durr al-farîd fîmâ ba'da târîx Ibn al-'Amîd*, Tizengauzen, pp. 184/195.

"kings" who could have collected taxes on the Crimea. In such a case this would be yet another example of the existence of more than one translation in a foreign language for a single Turkic or Mongol term. There is furthermore no basis for postulating so major a change from the 13th century to the 14th, which is another reason why it is likely that the same four leading officials are meant here, too. In that case, it also emerges how, at least in this instance, these four officials had a role in taxation and divided it among themselves.[5]

The Mamlûk chancellery works offer even more detailed information on the "four-bey system" in the Ilxanate, the Mongol state in Iran. One of the two Mamlûk chancellery works written by Ibn Faḍl Allâh al-'Umarî, his *Masâlik al-abṣâr fî mamâlik al-amṣâr*, explains that there were four *ulus* emirs in Iran, who together were also known as emirs of the "flank" (*qûl*).[6]

A second work by 'Umarî, his *At-ta'rîf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ aṣ-ṣarîf* states that in Iran there were four *ulus* emirs (*amîr al-ulûs*) and that the most important matters were not dealt with except through them.[7] Since 'Umarî died in 1349 A.D. and the historical figures he mentions in this description (Quṭlûṣâh, Ġâzân, Çûbân, Xudâbanda, and Abû Sa'îd) go as far back in time as the end of the 13th century, this is clear documentation of the existence of the "four-bey system" in the Ilxanate at that early a date.

[5]     This passage in Mufaḍḍal will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV.

[6]     *Das mongolische Weltreich. Al-'Umarî's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fî mamālik al-amṣār*, ed.-trans. K. Lech, Asiatische Forschungen 22 (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 93/153.

[7]     (Cairo, A.H.  1312), pp. 45-46; and 'Umarî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 227/249.

There is a comparison by 'Umarî himself of the system of government of the Ilxanate with that of the Golden Horde. He writes that the army and governmental apparatus of the rulers of the the Golden Horde was set up just as in the Ilxanate with respect to the number of emirs, the legal prescriptions, and the roles of the officials. He also writes, however, that the *ulus* emirs and the vezir in the Golden Horde did not have the same administrative powers as in Iran.[8] Qalqaşandî also quotes an earlier source (perhaps 'Umarî himself) to note that the four *ulus* emirs in the Golden Horde, including the *beylerbeyi*, were not as powerful as their equivalents in Ilxanid Iran.[9] Although it is not certain to what differences in administrative powers these authors are referring, they offer valuable evidence which explicitly states that there existed a Golden Horde institution identical to the *ulus* emirs of the Ilxanate. Additional details available for the Ilxanate but not for the Golden Horde will make it easier to demonstrate that it was the *ulus* emirs (that is, *ulus* beys) who preceded the *qaraçı* beys of the Later Golden Horde in the "four-bey system".

Another interesting passage in 'Umarî states that the emirs came to the court daily to take their sandalwood seats in order of rank, and that the vezir also came every morning. Even though this passage includes the four *ulus* beys, it also notes that they were not at court every day because of their other duties and because they spent much of their time in other seasonal quarters.[10]

[8]    'Umarî/Lech, pp. 67/136; and 'Umarî/Tizengauzen, pp. 208/229. See also Qalqaşandî, *Şubḥ al-a'şâ fî şinâ'at al-inşâ'*, vii (Cairo, 1922), p. 304; and Qalqaşandî/Tizengauzen, pp. 401/411-412.

[9]    Qalqaşandî/Tizengauzen, trans. pp. 412-413.

[10]    'Umarî/Lech, pp. 99-100/158.

There is substantial evidence for documenting the existence of
the "four-bey system" in this period in the Çağatay xanate as well.
According to Ibn 'Arabşâh's description in his *'Acâ'ib al-maqdûr fî
axbâr Tîmûr*, Temürleng's father Taragay was among the "magnates" at the
court of the ruler, one of the four "vezirs" who were the chief
purveyors of advice to the ruler.[11] This description parallels the *ulus*
beys in the Golden Horde and Ilxanate and the *qaraçı* beys of the Later
Golden Horde. The "four-bey system" can therefore be identified in the
Çağatay xanate before the middle of the 14th century.

In his *Rihla* the traveler Ibn Battûta also gives a very
suggestive description of the emirs at the court of another xan of the
Çağatay xanate, Tarmaşirin (r. 1326-1334). According to him, the
principal emirs were seated to the right and left of the xan. By the
entrance to the tent were the deputy (*nâ'ib*), the vezir, the chamberlain
(*hâcib*), and the keeper of the seal which they call *al tamğa*, and all
four of these emirs rose upon Ibn Battûta's entrance.[12] This account
also fits into the model of the "four-bey system", though Ibn
Battûta's rendering of the titles of these officials into Arabic
indicates he probably had no accurate idea of their relative positions.

Both of these accounts relating to the Çağatay xanate are
examples of an author mistranslating the indigenous terms into Arabic.

[11]    *The History of Timour, in the Original Arabic*, ed. A. Shirwanee
(Calcutta, 1818), pp. 9-10; and trans. J. Sanders, *Tamerlane or Timur
the Great Emir* (London, 1936/Lahore, 1976), p. 4. This particular source
has often been quoted as a capsule description of the organization of
the Çağatay xanate. See for example V.V. Bartol'd, "Ulugbek i ego
vremya", *Soçineniya*, ii/2 (Moscow, 1964), pp. 25-199, especially pp. 33-
36; and D. Sinor, *Inner Asia: A Syllabus*, Indiana University Uralic and
Altaic Series 96 (Bloomington-The Hague, 1971²), p. 188.

[12]    Ibn Battûta, ed.-trans. C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti,
*Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, iii (Paris, 1949⁵), p. 35.

The important point, however, is that both sources speak of four leading emirs, and, if one does not allow the specific terminology to obscure the features of the institution, both of these passages are clear documentation of the existence of the "four-bey system" in the Çağatay xanate.[13]

It is clear from the sources presented above that the presence of four bey can be documented for the Golden Horde, the Ilxanate, and the Çağatay xanate as early as the first half of the 14th century. Since the explanation adopted here for these similarities is descent from a common parent state, one may postulate that Yüan China also shared this same "four-bey system" of organization on some level. The most important Chinese dynastic sources on the governmental organization of the Yüan, however, are silent on some of the most important aspects of this institution. Unexpectedly, it is the *Câmi' at-tavârîx* and the Arabic chancellery manuals which offer the only useful evidence of any sort on the existence of the "four-bey system" in the Mongol state in China.

The *Câmi' at-tavârîx*, one of the most important sources for Ilxanid Iran and the other Mongol states, gives biographies of the most important Mongol rulers. In the case of Qubilay's biography, Raşîd ad-Dîn even happens to include a lengthy description of Yüan government under this xan. Since Raşîd ad-Dîn received his information from none other than Pulad *çingsang*, the envoy of Qubilay Xan to the Ilxanid

[13]  The term *ulus* bey was also used in the Çağatay xanate. See Mirza Muhammed Haydar Duğlat, *Tarix-i Raşidi*, ed. N. Elias, trans. E.D. Ross, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia* (1898[2]/New York, 1972), p. 132 n. 1.

court, his source must be considered unimpeachable.[14] Even so, there are

contradictory aspects to Raşîd ad-Dîn's account.

In his description, Raşîd ad-Dîn stresses the role of four non-

Çingisid emirs called *çingsangs* in the "Great Divan".[15] He further

describes that at the Chinese court there were: great emirs called

*çingsangs* who had the qualifications to be ministers and vezirs; army

commanders called *tayfu*; commanders of *tümens* (detachments of 10,000)

called *vangshai* (in Boyle's transliteration); and emirs, vezirs, and

ministers of the Divan who are Taciks, Xitayans and Uyğurs called

*fincans*.[16] Raşîd ad-Dîn also specifically names a number of the emirs

and mentions that the "chief of the *finjans* is called *sufinjan*, that is,

'cream of the *finjans*'".[17] Finally, he ranks the officials at the Yüan

court as follows in Table III.[18]

A second account completely independent of Raşîd ad-Dîn, that of

the merchant and traveler Tâc ad-Dîn Ḥasan ibn as-Samarqandî, is

[14] *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. J.A. Boyle (New York,
1971), pp. 10-11.

[15] *Djami et-tévarikh*, ed. E. Blochet, ii, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial
Series 18 (Leiden-London, 1911), pp. 470-484; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle,
pp. 278-281.

[16] Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp.470-472; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 278.

[17] Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp.476-477; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 279.

[18] Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 470-472; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p.
279. On the *çingsangs* or *ch'eng hsiangs*, see Vladimirtsov, *Obşçestvennïy
stroy mongolov*, Index; Doerfer, *TMEN*, i, pp. 310-312; *Sheng wu ch'in
cheng lu*, ed.-trans. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de
Gengis Khan*, i (Leiden, 1951), pp. 193-200; and P. Pelliot, *Notes on
Marco Polo*, i (Paris, 1959), pp. 67-68 and 365. On the *fincans*, the
group of four emirs ranking beneath the *çingsangs*, see Doerfer, *TMEN*, i,
pp. 377-378; and Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, p. 71. I. Berezin, the
original editor of the Persian text of Raşîd ad-Dîn's famous work, gave
a translation of Raşîd ad-Dîn's description of the government of China
under Qubilay in his "Oçerk vnutrennyago ustroystva Ulusa Djuçieva",
*Trudï Vostoçnago otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago arxeologiçeskago
obşçestva* 8 (1864), pp. 385-494, especially pp. 487-494.

## TABLE III

### CHINESE RANKS ACCORDING TO RAŞÎD AD-DÎN

|  | Blochet | Boyle | = Chinese |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | چینکسانك | *chingsang* (4) | *ch'eng hsiang* | 丞相 |
| 2. | طایفو | *taifu* | *t'ai fu* | 太傅 |
| 3. | فنجان | *finjan* (4) | *p'ing chang* (*cheng shih*) | 平章政事 |
| 4. | یو چینك | *yu-ching* | *yu ch'eng* | 右丞 |
| 5. | زو چینك | *zo-ching* | *tso ch'eng* | 左丞 |
| 6. | سم چینك | *sam-jing* | *ts'an* (*chih*) *cheng* (*shih*) | 參知政事 |
| 7. | سمی | *sami* | *ts'an yi* | 參議 |
| 8. | لنچون | *lanjun* | *lang chung* | 郎中 |
| 9. | شو فنجان | *sufinjan* | [unknown] |  |

preserved in the works of 'Umarî and Qalqaşandî. This account follows that portion of Raşîd ad-Dîn's description which describes the government of Yüan China in terms of the traditional Chinese ministries. A portion of what Samarqandî says about China is that the xan of China has two great emirs or vezirs called *cinkşân*, two others below this rank called *bincân*, two others below this rank called *zûcîn*, two others below this rank called *samcîn*, and two others below this ranks called *yûcîn*. He also states that the head of the scribes is called *lancûn* and that this official has the position of a private secretary (*kâtib as-sirr*).[19] (In Qalqaşandî's version, however, the official called *samcîn* is omitted.) This account is depicted in Table IV.

A third account in the Islamic sources dealing with Yüan China (also preserved in 'Umarî and Qalqaşandî) echoes that part of Raşîd ad-Dîn's description in which the emperor had four emirs. This is a very brief mention of the merchant Şarîf al-Fâḍil Abû l-Ḥasan 'Alî al-Karbalâ'î, who claimed to have had personal audiences with the xan in China and who also knew many of his princes. According to Karbalâ'î, the xan had four vezirs who exercised authority in the whole country while he himself was consulted only in the rarest of instances.[20] Such a description is a second independent attestation of the fact that there was a group of four special emirs who were active in the rule of the state.

The information of the Islamic sources—coming as it does from three independent sources, all of which are possibly first-hand—cannot

[19]    'Umarî/Lech, pp. 28-29/110-111; and Qalqaşandî, *Şubḥ al-a'şâ*, iv, p. 486.

[20] 'Umarî/Lech, pp. 34/114; and Qalqaşandî, *Şubḥ al-a'şâ*, iv, p. 487.

## TABLE IV

### CHINESE RANKS ACCORDING TO SAMARQANDÎ

| | 'Umarî | (Qalqasandî) | Lech[*] | = | Chinese |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | جنكتان | جنكمان | cinkṣân (2) | | ch'eng hsiang 丞相 |
| 2. | بنجان | بنجار | bincân (2) | | p'ing chang<br><br>cheng shih<br><br>平章政事 |
| 3. | زوجين | زوجمن | zûcîn (2) | | tso ch'eng 左丞 |
| 4. | سمجين | | samcîn (2) | | ts'an (chih)<br><br>cheng (shih)<br><br>參知政事 |
| 5. | بوجين | بوجين | yûcîn (2) | | yu ch'eng 右丞 |
| 6. | لنجون | لنجون | lancûn | | lang chung 郎中 |

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[*]    Lech's readings are modified to conform to the transliteration system used in this dissertation.

simply be ignored even though the sources offer two versions which contradict one another. Nor can one simply dismiss these accounts in favor of a traditional view of Chinese administration based strictly on the official Chinese sources which have every interest in suppressing those features of Mongol government in China which did not conform to traditional imperial practices. After all, if the Islamic sources are legitimate sources for other aspects of Mongol history, they should be taken into consideration here, too.[21] Another point to note is that the official history of the Yüan dynasty, the *Yüan shih* was compiled only at the beginning of the following, non-Mongol dynasty, the Ming, by which time the Mongol practices still in existence under Qubilay might have disappeared.[22]

The contradictions in this group of sources just described are that Raşîd ad-Dîn and Samarqandî echo the official accounts of Chinese government. Two other of the Islamic sources, again Raşîd ad-Dîn and Karbalâ'î, indicate that there existed at the court of the Yüan emperor a "Great Divan" in which four officials participated in the administration of the state much as did the *ulus* emirs and the *qaraçı* beys of the other Çingisid states. (Other parts of Raşîd ad-Dîn's description will be included later on in this chapter.)

It is also clear from both the Chinese and the Islamic sources, however, that there were other *çingsangs* (Chinese *ch'eng hsiang*) who were distinct from these four *çingsangs*. To complicate matters further,

[21]    Cf. the statement by H. Franke that "nobody will expect Rašîd to teach us new facts concerning Chinese history" ("Some Sinological Remarks on Rašîd ad-dîn's History of China", *Oriens* 4 [1951], pp. 21-26, especially p. 21).

[22]    On the compilation of the *Yüan shih* see for example H. Franke, *Geld und Wirtschaft in China unter der Mongolen-Herrschaft. Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Yüan-Zeit* (Leipzig, 1949), pp. 16-34.

according to the *Yüan shih*, the actual number of officials varied within the course of each reign. It is therefore possible that Rašîd ad-Dîn and Karbalâ'î obtained their information on the *ch'eng hsiangs* for a year in which they happened to number four.[23]

In order to resolve these contradictions one must keep in mind that wherever they went the Mongols adapted to and adopted practices of the great centers of civilization over which they came to rule, and this can be no less true of China.[24] Perhaps such a "Great Divan" falling outside the traditional framework of Chinese bureaucracy did exist and was not recorded in the official history of the Yüan dynasty.[25] Since Rašîd ad-Dîn's account includes both kinds of descriptions, the presence

[23]   *Yüan shih* (Peking, 1976), chap. 85: p. 2120 ff. For a translation of this portion of chap. 85 dealing with the various officials see P. Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan*, i, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes chinoises 4 (Paris, 1937), p. 117 ff. According to Ratchnevsky in 1262 there were four *ch'eng hsiangs*, in 1270 there were four, in 1272 there was one, in 1276 there were none, in 1277-1280 there was just one, in 1281 there were three, in 1282 there were six, and in 1283-1284 there was again just one (p. 121 n. 2).

[24]   H. Franke, *From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God: The Legitimation of the Yüan Dynasty*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-his. Klasse 1978:2 (München, 1978), especially pp. 25-52.

[25]   As described in the Islamic sources, the "Great Divan" must have fallen outside the purview of the *chung shu sheng*, or Central Secretariat. On the Central Secretariat see the *Yüan shih*, chap. 85: p. 2120 ff.; Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuans*, i, p. 117 ff.; and D. Farquhar, "Structure and Function in the Yüan Imperial Government", *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. J.D. Langlois, Jr. (Princeton, 1981), pp. 25-55.

of four extraordinary *çingsangs* can be taken as an indication of the dichotomy between Mongol and Chinese traditions of government.[26]

This section has presented evidence to show the presence of four leading non-Çingisid officials in the Golden Horde, the Ilxanate, the Çaǧatay xanate, and Yüan China, which suggests that the "four-bey system" existed in these states. The rest of this chapter takes the presence of the "four-bey system" in these states as a premise and gives evidence to document the points established in the preceding chapter for the Later Golden Horde.

The second point which may be discussed here is that in the Later Golden Horde the individual *qaraçı* beys were the leaders of their own "ruling tribes". The sources for the Later Golden Horde are not generous on this point, and it is even more difficult to prove for the earlier period. For the 13th century there are hardly any reference in this regard. Noǧay, whom the next chapter will attempt to show as having been one such *ulus* emir, is described as having consulted with his own people.[27] There is somewhat more evidence for this point at the end of the 14th century, since the later sources dating from the period of the Later Golden Horde refer back to Edigü as an earlier leader of the Mangıt "ruling tribe".

It is for the Çaǧatay xanate that the best sources exist for demonstrating that the *ulus* beys were the leaders of their own "ruling

[26]    J.D. Langlois, Jr., "Law, Statecraft, and *The Spring and Autumn Annals* in Yüan Political Thought", *Yüan Thought. Chinese Thought and Religion Under the Mongols*, ed. H. Chan and Wm.T. de Bary (New York, 1982), pp. 89-152, especially pp. 89-92.

[27]    Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars, *Zubdat al-fikra fî târîx al-hicra*, Tizengauzen 1, pp. 87/110, using the Arabic term *qawm*. Nuwayrî, *Nihâyat al-arab fî funûn al-adab*, Tizengauzen 1, pp. 137/158, uses the term *'aşîra*, which is also known from the Later Golden Horde as discussed in Chapter II.

tribes". One of these is Ibn 'Arabşâh's *'Acâ'ib al-maqdûr fî axbâr Tîmûr*, which states that the "vezirs" were the rulers of their own "ruling tribes" (respectively the Arlat, Calayir, Qavcın, and Barlas). Temürleng, like his father before him, was the head of the Barlas, the lowest in rank of the four "ruling tribes" in the Çağatay xanate. As Ibn 'Arabşâh writes (in the translation by Sanders), "The Turks forsooth have tribes and a race, like the Arab tribes, and each of the Viziers was to his own tribe a tall wick for the lamp of its counsels in the houses of its habitation."[28]

Mirza Muhammed Haydar Duğlat, writing about the Çağatay xanate, also points this out: "All the above-mentioned men were Amirs and commanders of regiments and detachments. There was another set of men, who, although not Mirs or sons of Amirs, had yet each his own tribe and following."[29]

There is little explicit evidence that can be offered here for the Ilxanate, except to note that the affiliations of some of the *ulus* beys are known. For example, the *beylerbeyi* at the time of 'Umarî's writing during the reign of the 12th Ilxan Sultân Muhammad b. Taştimur b. Isantimur b. 'Anbarcî (r. 1336-1338) was Şayx Hasan b. Husayn b. Aqbuğâ.[30] As founder of the following Calayirid state, Aqbuğâ was presumably of the Calayir "ruling tribe".[31]

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[28]    Ibn 'Arabşâh/Shirwanee, pp. 9-10; and Ibn 'Arabşâh/Sanders, p. 4.

[29]    Mirza Muhammed Haydar Duğlat/Elias and Ross, p. 309.

[30]    'Umarî/Lech, pp. 93/153.

[31]    B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran. Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit, 1220-1350* (Wiesbaden, 1968[3]), p. 131; and 'Umarî/Lech, p. 334, n. 88

The third point which may be discussed here is that the leader of each "ruling tribe" in the Later Golden Horde had a series of one or more deputies constituting a separate hierarchy subordinate to him independent of the Çingisid xan. The naming of certain positions for historical figures during the Later Golden Horde should not be taken to mean that these positions had not existed previously. It is likely that certain deputies had always existed, for if there is a person who is the leader, there can always be someone beneath him in a ruling hierarchy, especially since many of these positions were held by the son of the leader of a "ruling tribe". Nevertheless, the evidence for the Golden Horde itself is scanty. The best evidence comes from the Later Golden Horde, such as the remark in the Noğay Acts that Yunus was the *nur ed-din* under Edigü.[32]

There is much better evidence from the sources for the Ilxanate to document that each leader of a "ruling tribe" had his own deputy. According to 'Umarî, if one of the *ulus* emirs was absent, his name would nevertheless be signed to the *yarlıq* as if he were there, and his deputy (*nâ'ib*) would take his place. The *ulus* emirs did not act upon any matter (*lâ yumdûna*) without the vezir, and when they were not present, the vezir acted, giving the order (*amr*) to the deputies, and their names were then written. 'Umarî also goes on to state that the (*ulus*) emirs generally did not know more than what their deputies told them.[33]

The fourth point which may be described as a characteristic feature of the "four-bey system" in each of these states is that one of the four *ulus* beys acted as a first among equals. Qalqaşandî quotes an

[32]   *PDRV*, ix, pp. 248-249; and *IKTsTs*, ii, pp. 418-419.

[33]   'Umarî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 227/249; *At-ta'rîf bi-l-muştalaḥ aş-şarîf*, pp. 45-46.

earlier source in stating that there were four *ulus* emirs in the Golden

Horde, of whom the greatest was the *beylerbeyi*, though it is also stated

that the emirs were not as powerful there as in Iran.[34]

The Arabic sources also describe the *beylerbeyi* with other

titles, too. For example, Qutluq Temür, who had been "deputy" (Ar.

*nâ'ib*) of Toqta, helped place his successor Uzbek on the throne.[35] This

notion of deputy, however, is more appropriately understood as yet

another aspect of the role of the head of the four beys. According to

Ibn Duqmâq, Qutluq Temür—the same Qutluq Temür who helped seat Özbek—

is called *mudabbir mamlakatihi* "leader of his country" under Özbek Xan,

and in another passage is said to have been replaced as Özbek's *nâ'ib*,

or deputy.[36] A notice in the later Mamlûk chancellery manual by

Qalqaşandî establishes that the *nâ'ib* of Canıbek was the *beylerbeyi*,

Qutlubuğa Inaq.[37] These sources show that the *nâ'ib* of the xan in the

Golden Horde was the head of the four *ulus* beys, while each *ulus* bey had

his own deputy, also called *nâ'ib* in the sources.

Ibn Battûta defines the term *"ulus* emir" as "emir of emirs" in

reference to a figure in the Golden Horde the passage *al-amîr al-kabîr*

*'Isâ bak amîr al-ulûs ... wa-ma'nâhu amîr al-umarâ'* "the great emir 'Isâ

[34]    Qalqaşandî/Tizengauzen 1, trans. pp. 412-413.
[35]    *Kitâb al-'ibar wa-dîwân al-mubtadâ wa-l-xabar fî ayyâm al-'Arab wa-l-'Acam wa-l-Barbar*, Tizengauzen 1, pp. 371/384.

[36]    *Nuzhat al-anâm fî târîx al-islâm*, Tizengauzen 1, pp. 318/325 and 321/328. See also Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 301-302, for additional references to the term *nâ'ib* in the Golden Horde.

[37]    *Şubh al-a'şâ*, vii, p. 302, where this is reported following *At-taṯqîf* (i.e., Muḥibbî's *Taṯqîf at-ta'rîf bi-l-muşṭalaḥ aş-şarîf*) for A.H. 782/1380-1 A.D. As there was no Canıbek ruling at this date (Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 453), either the date is wrong, or the use of the name Canıbek is an anachronism. See also Qalqaşandî/ Tizengauzen, pp. 401/412.

Bey, *ulus* emir, meaning emir of emirs". The definition "emir of emirs"
should, however, refer instead to the office of the *beylerbeyi*.[38]

Numerous details are available for the office of *beylerbeyi* in
the Ilxanate. According to 'Umarî's *Masâlik al-absâr fî mamâlik al-
amsâr*, the highest-ranking of the *ulus* emirs was called the *beylerbeyi*
(*baklârî bak*), i.e., emir of emirs.[39] This is confirmed by 'Umarî's *At-
ta'rîf bi-1-mustalah as-sarîf*, which also states that the greatest of
the four *ulus* emirs was the *beylerbeyi* (*baklârî bak*) and that the most
important matters are not dealt with except through them. 'Umarî names
Qutlûşâh as chief of these emirs under Gâzân (r. 1295–1304) and Çûbân,
as the same under Xudâbanda (r. 1304–1316) and then Abû Sa'îd (r. 1317–
1335).[40] The *beylerbeyi* current at the time of 'Umarî's writing was Şayx
Hasan b. Husayn b. Aqbuġâ.[41]

There is little that can be said at this point about the Çağatay
xanate. Ibn Battûta's described the first of the four emirs at the
court of the Çağatay xan Tarmaşirin as the *nâ'ib*.[42] This, however, is
the same as the situation with the sources for the Golden Horde, namely
that there are multiple translations in the sources for the head of the
leaders of the four "ruling tribes".

[38]    Ibn Battûta/Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, p. 395. The term
"great emir", a term often used in the sources to refer to the *ulus*
beys, may reflect on the usage *uluğ qaraçı* "elder *qaraçı*, great *qaraçı*"
in the sources for the the Later Golden Horde (see Chapter II).

[39]    'Umarî/Lech, pp. 93/153.

[40]    'Umarî/Tizengauzen, pp. 227/249; and 'Umarî, *At-ta'rîf*, pp. 45–
46.

[41]    'Umarî/Lech, pp. 93/153. This was during the reign of the 12th
Ilxan Sultân Muhammad b. Taştimur b. Isantimur b. 'Anbarcî (r. 1336–
1338).

[42]    Ibn Battûta/Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii, p. 35.

The fourth point concerns the military role of the *ulus* beys. The sources for the Later Golden Horde do not state explicitly that the four *qaraçı* beys were the supreme military leaders, though the evidence presented in the previous chapter does indicate a military role which they, and especially the chief of the four, had. One of the reasons for setting up this category at all in the Later Golden Horde is the abundant documentation of this point in the sources for the earlier period, especially for the Ilxanate.

It is clear from the sources for the Ilxanate that the head of the *ulus* emirs, the *beylerbeyi*, was the head of the army. According to 'Umarî's *Masâlik al-absâr*, the highest authority over the troops was the highest-ranking of the *ulus* emirs, the *beylerbeyi*.[43] Another work by 'Umarî clearly states that the *beylerbeyi* was the sole authority on military matters (as opposed to the vezir, on whom see below).[44] In the Golden Horde, there was a series of individuals described as leaders of the army, of which Noğay was only the first.[45]

The fifth point involves a fundamental feature of the "four-bey system", namely the role of the *ulus* beys in the selection of the Çingisid xans. It is clear from the sources for the Later Golden Horde that the *qaraçı* beys were very strongly involved in the selection of the xans. While this phenomenon has been accepted by students of this later period, it is still foreign to students of the earlier period, who fail

[43]    'Umarî/Lech, pp. 93/153.

[44]    'Umarî/Tizengauzen 1, p. 227/249; and 'Umarî, *At-ta'rîf*, pp. 45-46.

[45]    See for example Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 139 and 203; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp. 123 and 160. These individuals will be discussed in much great detail in Chapter IV.

to study this point systematically despite the wealth of evidence available to support such a role for the *ulus* beys in the Golden Horde.

Noğay was just the first in a series of Golden Horde figures who were known in the sources as kingmakers clearly deciding the fate of a series of rulers.[46] According to contemporary sources and to later sources such as the *Umdet üt-tevarih*, the emirs were plotting to bring in an outside ruler such as Hülegü as early as after the death of Batu (d. 1256), just as Çûbân later considered inviting Özbek to rule in Iran after the death of Xudâbanda (d. 1316).[47]

The German traveler Schiltberger also made note of the fact that the xan was not omnipotent, but that others had a role in choosing or dismissing him. In his discussion of the role of Edigü, leader of the Mangıt "ruling tribe", he writes: "It is to be noted, that it is the custom for the king, in Great Tartary, to have a Chief to rule over him, who can elect or depose a king, and has also power over vassals. Now at that time Edigi was the Chief."[48]

[46]    See for example Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 88/110–111; Nuwayrî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 136/157. See Chapter IV for details on other figures in the history of the Golden Horde known for this role.

[47]    Ibn Duqmâq/Tizengauzen, pp. 317–318/324–325 on the invitation for Özbek to rule in Iran; and Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 21, on the invitation by the emirs to Hülegü instead of Berke.

[48]    Johannes von Schiltberger, trans. J.B. Telfer, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, A Native of Bavaria, In Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396-1427*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society 58 (London, 1879), p. 35.

In the Ilxanate this can also be documented in the case of Aḥmad (r. 1282-1284), who was not the appointed successor, but was imposed by the emirs.[49] The Golden Horde ruler Özbek Xan was offered the Ilxanid throne by the Ilxanid *ulus* emirs, but declined the offer following consultation with his "deputy" (*nâ'ib*).[50] This is a clear example that the Golden Horde and the Ilxanate shared in the same system of succession (or rather election) to the position of xan.

A passage in another work by Ibn 'Arabṣâh gives a detailed description of the election of the Çaġatay xans. According to this source, the election of a ruler was through the agreement and administration of the "heads" (Ar. *ru'asâ'*: of the "ruling tribes"?). The various emirs gathered from all over and consulted among themselves for a few days. This gathering, which according to Ibn 'Arabṣâh had been the continuous form of government in the Çaġatay xanate, was called a *quriltay*.[51] Temürleng is another example *par excellence* of the leader of a "ruling tribe" choosing a series of puppet xans. What makes the case of Temürleng unusual is that he was not originally the head of the leading "ruling tribe", but of the lowest-ranking one. Nevertheless, his power grew such that he was able to wield the most power.[52]

[49]    See for example the discussion in Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, p. 77 ff.

[50]    Ibn Duqmâq/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 317-318/324-325.

[51]    *Fâkihat al-xulafâ'*, ed. G.G. Freytag, i (Bonn, 1832), p. 234. This source has been cited by P.A. Boodberg, who acknowledges the assistance of W. Popper; Boodberg, however, mistakenly took this source out of context and attributed it to the time of Çingis Xan ("Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties", *Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg*, ed. A.P. Cohen, Berkeley, 1979, pp. 264-349, especially p. 310). Despite the number of important facts found in this work, neither Bartol'd nor any of the other major authors except Boodberg have referred to this source.

[52]    Ibn 'Arabṣâh/Shirwanee, p. 10; and Ibn 'Arabṣâh/Sanders, p. 4.

In the Mongol government of Yüan China, there are many sources which discuss how the widow of the xan and the various officials (always including a *ch'eng hsiang*) were involved in the selection of who would be the next to rule. Such episodes are documented for the Yüan court in the *Keng shen wai shih*.[53] In Chinese history, the women of the court, especially the mother of a ruler, traditionally played a very important role in court politics and rivalries. Nevertheless, this phenomenon in China can be taken to be a phenomenon of Mongol political life as much as of Chinese political life.

It is beginning with this point that the analogies can go back earlier in time to the history of the Great Xanate and the first free selection of the xan.[54] It was Güyük who was elected, and according to Cuvaynî the leading princes were decided on a son of Çingiz Xan, and it was the xan's widow Töregene Xatun who preferred Güyük.[55] According to Raşîd ad-Dîn, Töregene Xatun and most of the emirs decided on Güyük, who consented on the condition that the xanate remain within his family, to which the emirs agreed in writing.[56]

[53] *Das Keng-shen wai-shih. Eine Quelle zur späten Mongolenzeit*, trans. H. Schulte-Uffelage, Ostasiatische Forschungen. Sonderreihe Monographien 3 (Berlin, 1963), for example pp. 27-28 and 35. See also J.W. Dardess, *Conquerors and Confucians. Aspects of Political Change in Late Yüan China* (New York, 1973).

[54] Çingis Xan had chosen Ögödey as his own successor according to the sources. See Cuvaynî, ed. M.M. Qazwini, *The Ta'rîkh-i-Jahân-gushâ*, i-iii, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series 16 (Leiden-London, 1912-1937), i, p. 143; and trans. J.A. Boyle, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, i (Manchester, 1958), p. 180. See also Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 15-17; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp. 29-31.

[55] Cuvaynî/Qazwini, i, pp. 206-207; and Cuvaynî/Boyle, i, pp. 251-252.

[56] Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 243-245; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp. 181-182.

The sixth point involves the role of the *ulus* beys representing the four "ruling tribes" in the ritual elevation of the xan whom they had helped choose. Starting with the earliest sources, one may turn to paragraph 123 of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, which simply describes Çingis Xan's elevation to the office of xan by Altan, Quçar, and Saça Beki.[57] According to Raşîd ad-Dîn, when Temücin returned from an especially successful campaign in the winter of 1202-1203, "tribes came to him from all directions with expressions of peace and submission. He organized a large meeting, and in thanks for this great good fortune and having established good and strict laws, he happily mounted the throne of the xan."[58]

These two accounts, however, offer little evidence which may be compared with later accounts. A third account, that in Haython's *La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient* does describe two coronations, including that of Çingis Xan. Though the accounts in this somewhat later source actually go back to the reigns of Güyük and Möngke, the account is nonetheless very interesting. It includes the details that the leaders of seven nations (named earlier as Tartars, Tangot, Eurach [Oyrat], Jalair, Sonit, Mengli, Tebet) pledged obedience and reverence to Canguis (Çingis [sic?]). They made a seat or throne in their midst, stretched out a black felt rug on the ground, and then elevated him, finally seating him on the throne. He then continues that at the two elections he attended he saw how the important persons (*hauz homes*) and those of the lineage of Çingis Xan gathered, raised the xan high, seated

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[57]   *The Secret History of the Mongols*, trans. F.W. Cleaves, i (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 54-55.

[58]   Raşîd ad-Dîn, *Câmi' at-tavârîx*, trans. O.I. Smirnova, *Sbornik letopisey*, i/2 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1952), pp. 134-135.

him on the throne, and pledged obedience.[59] Perhaps the first part of this account deals with an oath of fealty rather than an election, though the source mentions two elections.

Specific accounts of the elevation ceremony of Ögödey Xan (r. 1229-1241), who was supposedly chosen by his father Çingis, are also available, beginning with that given by the *Secret History*. It states that Ögödey's older brother Çağatay raised him, and that Çağatay and their younger brother Toluy delivered the people of the middle to Ögödey.[60] According to Cuvaynî, those attending first removed their hats and slung their belts across their backs. With Çağatay holding Ögödey's right hand, Otegin his left, and Noyan bearing a cup, all present knelt three times to the new xan, and the princes knelt three times to the sun.[61] According to Raşîd ad-Dîn, those attending took off their hats and slung their belts across their backs. Then Çağatay took Ögödey's right hand, Toluy his left, and Otçigin his belt and thus seated him on the throne, with Toluy holding the cup. Then everyone knelt.[62]

More accounts are available about the investiture of Güyük, who was freely elected from among the successors of Çingis Xan. Cuvaynî writes that on the appointed day the princes gathered together and took off their hats and loosened their belts. Yesü and Hordu took Güyük by the hand, set him on the throne, and seized their goblets. Those present

[59]  *Receuil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens*, ii (Paris, 1906), pp. 11-253, especially pp. 148-149. (The Latin version is on pp. 255-363, especially pp. 284-285.) This text is also quoted by Boodberg, "Marginalia to the Histories of the Northern Dynasties", pp. 308-309.

[60]  *Secret History*, paragraph 269: p. 209.

[61]  Cuvaynî/Qazwini, i, pp. 147-148; and Cuvaynî/Boyle, i, p. 187.

[62]  Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 16-17; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 31.

knelt three times to the new xan, gave him a written declaration of obedience, and then went to kneel three times to the sun.[63] According to Raşîd ad-Dîn, Ögödey's widow Töregene Xatun and most of the emirs decided on Güyük, who consented on the condition that the xanate remain within his family, to which the emirs agreed in writing. The princes took off their hats, loosened their belts, set him on the throne, and then took their cups.[64] John of Plano Carpini simply writes that "they returned to the tent and placed Cuyuc on the imperial throne, and the chiefs knelt before him and after them all the people".[65]

Möngke's accession to the throne was in two steps according to the account in Raşîd ad-Dîn. The first stage was that the sickly Batu, xan of the Golden Horde, recommended while in his own camp that Möngke be given the position on the basis of his virtues, descent from Çingis Xan's youngest son Toluy, and personal acquaintance with the traditions of Çingis Xan. Raşîd ad-Dîn wrote that at this time Batu rose up, all the princes and noyans loosened their belts and knelt down, and Batu seized a cup and installed Möngke. A year and a half later, at another meeting with representatives from all over at the original Mongol

[63]   Cuvaynî/Qazwini, i, pp. 206-208; and Cuvaynî/Boyle, i, pp. 251-252.

[64]   Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 243-245; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp. 181-182.

[65]   John of Plano Carpini, "History of the Mongols", *The Mongol Mission*, ed. C. Dawson (London, 1955/Toronto, 1980), pp. 1-76, especially p. 63. This translation faithfully follows the Latin text of this passage as published by A. van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, i: *Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV* (Quaracchi-Firenze, 1929), p. 119. Cf. the tantalizing translation of this passage published in B. Spuler, trans. H. Drummond and S. Drummond, *History of the Mongols. Based on Eastern and Western Accounts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1972), p. 88, according to which Güyük and his wife were both raised on a felt blanket and then proclaimed emperor and empress. (Spuler's source is F. Risch, *Geschichte der Mongolen und Reiseberichte 1245-1247*, Leipzig, 1930, pp. 242-244.)

campgrounds, Möngke was again set on the throne, and this time the emirs and troops outside the *ordo* knelt nine times together with the princes.[66] Cuvaynî gives a more stylized account of the same process, writing that Batu insisted that Möngke was the legitimate heir to the patrimony of Çingis Xan and, seizing a goblet, installed Möngke. He also relates the story of the second *quriltay* and how the princes took off their hats, slung over their belts, and raised Möngke.[67]

A much later source from the Crimea, the *Umdet üt-tevarih*, also gives many tantalizing details for the Golden Horde itself. It relates that under Töde Mengü, the emirs of the Deşt-i Kipchak raised the xan, just as they had enthroned Mengü Temür in the same way.[68] This source also explicitly relates how two emirs seated Özbek on a piece of white felt according to Mongol custom and raised him, with other tribes then coming to swear fealty.[69] Even if one is reluctant to accept the authenticity of such an 18th century source (though it is presumably based on earlier sources), it is likely that the elevation of the xan was a practice which existed in the Golden Horde.

Further details based on the ritual of elevation may be culled from the sources for the Ilxanate. For example, Raşîd ad-Dîn describes how arrow-bearer Xulacu took Arğun (r. 1284-1295?) by the right arm and

[66]   Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 277-278; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp. 202-203.

[67]   Cuvaynî/Qazwini, iii, p. 30; and Cuvaynî/Boyle, ii, p. 568.

[68]   Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, pp. 26 and 31.

[69]   Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 35.

Anbarçi by the left to elevate him onto the throne. All present took Arğun by the belt, bowed to him, and gave him their greetings.[70]

A passage in Ibn 'Arabşâh's *Fâkihat al-xulafâ'* also gives a description of the ritual elevation of the Çağatay xans.[71] After a xan had been selected in the *quriltay* through the agreement of the participating emirs of the army and the heads of provinces, they placed him on a felt (rug) and elevated him from the ground onto the throne. Ibn 'Arabşâh continues that four emirs, each a great emir (*amîr kabîr*) held it by the corner and lifting it claimed it to be the banner of nobility. The xan shouted distinctly that he was not fit to rule over them, with the emirs saying he was. After this had been repeated, they seated the xan-elect on the throne, and then turned to what Ibn 'Arabşâh refers to as the accursed and satanic customs (*tûrâ*) of Çingis Xan, which they unfolded and proclaimed. After a recitation from this work, they pledged allegiance to the xan and the xan promised to comply with its provisions as well. They then hit the xan three times, turned to face the sun, hit him again, and then prostrated themselves. Finally, there was drinking and the distribution of gifts. In an extremely interesting final note, Ibn 'Arabşâh explicitly states that in all of the countries of the East from China, the Deşt (-i Kipchak), China (Sîn), Moğolistan, and Cata and in the provinces of Çağatay and Rûm they are accustomed to most of these rules and practices.

[70]   Raşîd ad-Dîn, ed. A.A. Ali-zade, trans. A.K. Arends, *Djâmi-at-tavârîx*, iii (Baku, 1957), pp. 198-199/115. See also Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, p. 264, for further references to sources for the ritual installation of the Ilxans, including the various details of the ritual noted above.

[71]   Ibn 'Arabşâh/Freytag, i, pp. 234-236.

In the Great Xanate it was Qubilay who was chosen to succeed by a group of princes and emirs on the death of Möngke (after Arığböke). In Raşîd ad-Dîn's account, those who elected him gave written undertakings and then knelt down before him.[72] Very little else is known about his being named to the office of great xan, though much more source material exists for the official proclamation of the Yüan dynasty in 1272. This information does not, however, have any bearing on the elevation of Qubilay as great xan.[73]

The ritual of elevation described in detail above is just about the only characteristic feature of the role of the four *ulus* beys which can also be documented for the Great Xanate. Though in and of itself it is not proof of the existence of the "four-bey system" in the Great Xanate, the same ritual was definitely associated with the four *ulus* beys later on. It is certainly a basis, however, for speculating on what can be learned about the Great Xanate *despite* the filter of the "official" sources.

The next point which may be discussed here concerns the correspondence of the *ulus* beys with foreign rulers, a practice for which there is abundant evidence in the Later Golden Horde. In the earlier period Noğay is one good example of an *ulus* bey corresponding with other states, since he corresponded himself with the Byzantines as well as with the Mamlûk rulers. It was, in fact, this correspondence

[72]   Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, p. 291; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 252.

[73]   On the proclamation of the Yüan dynasty, see J.D. Langlois, Jr., "Introduction", *China under Mongol Rule*, pp. 3-21, especially pp. 3-7.

that confused a series of scholars trying to understand Noğay's place in the Golden Horde.[74]

In the Ilxanate, there is less information for documenting the correspondence of the emirs with foreign rulers, except to state that the emirs called upon Özbek to succeed to the Ilxanid throne, just as they had earlier invited Berke to do so.[75] Obviously, such a correspondence must have been carried out by the emirs.

The eighth point regards the application by the *ulus* emirs of seals to the documents issued by the xan, which showed that the *ulus* beys had a role in approving or vetoing such documents issued by the xan. It is for the reign of Ögödey of the Great Xanate that there are the earliest references to the use of the *al tamğa* "red seal" in the Mongol world empire, which according to Raşîd ad-Dîn is used by the secretaries for validating documents.[76]

For the Golden Horde there is little direct evidence for the application of *tamğas* as a sign of the *ulus* beys approving the orders of the xan, though it is known that emirs were co-signators to a number of documents which have been preserved in translation. Some of those sent to the Venetians with signatures on them have already been edited by Hammer-Purgstall in his history of the Golden Horde and discussed by

[74]    For a discussion of Noğay's relations with neighboring states see for example N.I. Veselovskiy, "Xan iz temnikov Zolotoy ordï. Nogay i ego vremya", *Zapiski Rossiyskoy akademii nauk* VIII, 13:6 (1922), pp. 1-58.

[75]    Ibn Duqmâq/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 317-318/324-325.

[76]    Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, p. 70; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 83. On the complicated question of the various *tamğas*, see W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. 5 (London, 1977[4]), p. 387; Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, pp. 272 and 291; and M.A. Usmanov, *Jalovann'ie akt'i Djuçieva Ulusa XIV-XVI vv.* (Kazan, 1979), pp. 147-151.

Safargaliev.[77] The number of names on these documents varied greatly, however, nor is it clear who many of the persons signing the documents were.

Two sources for the Ilxanate mention the presence of four emirs in connection with the practice of affixing seals to the documents issued by the xan. Their names are supposed (*yuştaraţu*) to appear after that of the ruler but before that of the vezir on *yarlıqs* and *fermans*.[78] Ahrî's *Târîx-i Şayx Uvays* names four emirs in connection with the affixing of the seal.[79] A different and curious statement is made by Raşîd ad-Dîn in connection with the reign of Ğâzân (r. 1295-1304), again involving the affixing of seals. According to this account, Ğâzân himself appointed four emirs to affix seals.[80] This, in turn, is made to seem the first instance where four such emirs are mentioned. In the face of the evidence presented in this chapter it is difficult to accept this story at face value and believe that Ğâzân was the founder of such an institution in the Ilxanate if, as argued in this dissertation, it existed in all the other Çingisid states.

There is very little explicit information to support the theory that the *tamğa* was applied by the four beys in the Çağatay xanate, though Ibn Baṭṭûṭa (1304-1377), describes the four main emirs at the

[77]   J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde, das ist der Mongolen in Russland* (Pest, 1840), pp. 519-522; and Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoy Ord'i*, p. 110. Cf. also the names appearing in the *yarlıqs* in Priselkov, *Xanskie yarl'iki russkim mitropolitam*, especially pp. 91-114; and *Pamyatniki russkogo prava*, iii, pp. 463-491.

[78]   'Umarî/Lech, pp. 93/153.

[79]   *Ta'rîkh-i Shaikh Uwais*, ed.-trans. J.B. van Loon, ('s-Gravenhage, 1954), pp. 161/62.

[80]   Raşîd ad-Dîn/Ali-zade and Arends, pp. 500-504/284-287.

court of Tarmaşirin in a passage already discussed above. Included in this group was the keeper of the seal which they call *al tamğa*.[81]

Raşîd ad-Dîn's description of the affairs of "the Great Divan, which they call *shing*"[82] in Yüan China is of interest for the discussion of seals as well. According to this passage in his world history, there are four emirs called *çingsang* in whose presence the other officials sit together with their *bitikçis* (secretaries) according to their rank. Each of these emirs has a special seal and *tamğa* and it is these four *çingsangs* who report to the xan, i.e. Qubilay.[83] The evidence of the use of seals by these officials is less forceful for China, however, since seals were commonly used there.

A number of the characteristic features of the institution of the *qaraçı* beys were not shared in the same way by the earlier states of the Mongol world empire. The most important difference is that the sources for the Later Golden Horde do not speak of a vezirate in the earlier period of the Later Golden Horde, while such a term and office was known in some of the earlier states. This cannot include the Golden Horde, however, since what has been referred to as the vezir in the Golden Horde was, in fact, one of the *ulus* emirs. Spuler associates the title "vezir" appearing in the sources for the Golden Horde with the titles *mudabbir* "leader" and *nâ'ib* "deputy".[84] A closer examination of the sources he refers to, however, reveals that Qutluq Temür is described at one point in Ibn Duqmâq only as *mudabbir mamlakatihi* "leader of his

[81]   Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii, p. 35.

[82]   Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 478 and 480-481; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp. 279 and 280.

[83]   Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, p. 483; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 281.

[84]   Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 301-302.

country" under Özbek Xan, and in another is said to have been replaced as Özbek's nâ'ib.[85] According to Muḥibbî, Qutlabuǧa, the head emir, was nâ'ib al-qân "deputy of the xan" to Canıbek (in A.H. 756/1355-6 A.D.), and the vezir was one of the three remaining emirs (all four *ulus* emirs are described in part as *al-amîrî l-kabîrî* "great emir [adj.]").[86]

According to 'Umarî, in the Ilxanate the four *ulus* emirs did not act upon any matter (*lâ yumḍûna*) without the vezir, and when they were not present, the vezir acted, giving the order (*amr*) to the deputies, after which their names were written. Just as the *beylerbeyi* was the sole authority on military matters, the vezir, who was the "true ruler", was sole authority on matters of finance, administration, and dismissal from office. On the most important matters he was the sole authority; but in matters of the property of the people they all had a say.[87]

While the military was under the supervision of the *ulus* emirs, the chancellery and judiciary were under the vezir.[88] It is further stated that the Ilxanid vezir issued *yarlıq*s and orders (*aḥkâm*) concerning finances called *altan tamǧa* (*alṭân tamǧâ*) "golden seal", whereas the *ulus* emirs issued orders concerning the army.[89] It is also mentioned that the date was written on the document by a scribe other than the one who originally wrote the document.[90] Although 'Umarî wrote that the vezir issued documents called *altan tamǧa*, according to the

[85]    Ibn Duqmâq/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 318/325 and 321/328.

[86]    Muḥibbî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 338/348-349.

[87]    *At-ta'rîf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ aš-šarîf*, pp. 45-46; and 'Umarî/ Tizengauzen 1, pp. 227/249.

[88]    'Umarî/Lech, pp. 93/153.

[89]    'Umarî/Lech, pp. 100-101/158.

[90]    'Umarî/Lech, pp. 101/158-159.

*Tarix-i Şayx Uvays* the documents issued by the vezir were called, in fact, *al tamğa* (*altamğâ'*) "red seal", to which, at least in the one instance mentioned, four emirs affixed their signature.[91]

The role of the vezir at first glance seems to be contrary to the "four-bey system". The Ilxanid vezir was, in fact, an appointee of the Ilxan. In this way, the vezir could not have represented an institution exercising political authority of the xan as did the *ulus* emirs and, later, the *qaraçı* beys.[92] The fact that these documents were signed by the four emirs shows that the vezir needed the same approval as the Ilxan to issue documents. It should also be kept in mind that the the greatest of the officials, the *beylerbeyi*, had an income of 3,000,000 *dînâr râ'ic*, while the vezir had an income of only half that.[93] This further reinforces the view that the Ilxanid vezir was a separate official acting as a representative of the Ilxan, since in the Later Golden Horde the *tamğa* was affixed by the *qaraçı* beys to the *yarlıqs* of the xan. In the Çağatay xanate there was also a vezir appointed by and directly subordinate to the xan as known from Raşîd ad-Dîn.[94]

Another difference between the Later Golden Horde and the earlier Çingisid states concerns the so-called "religious *qaraçıs*" of the later states. There is curiously little information to attest that religious

[91]    Ahrî/van Loon, pp. 161/62.

[92]    Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, pp. 282-288. Naxçivânî also lists the *ulus* emirs before any other group in his ranking of various titles (*Dastûr al-kâtib fî ta'yîn al-marâtib*, ed. A.A. Ali-zade, i/2, Moscow, 1971, pp. 2-8).

[93]    'Umarî/Lech, pp. 95/155.

[94]    Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 193-197; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp. 154-156.

functionary counterparts of the *qaraçı* beys might have existed in the earlier states of the Mongol world empire.

Coming to other interpretations of the institutional history of the component states of the Mongol world empire in the 13th-14th centuries, this chapter must focus on studies of the Golden Horde. In fact, there are few adequate studies of the institutional history of any of the other states. Even so, it is not possible to offer a comprehensive review of all the works that have been devoted to these states, but of only the most important representative works.

The earliest study of the organization of the Golden Horde, and until quite recently the only one, is the classic study by I. Berezin.[95] From the epoch of this work it is clear that in his day Berezin had available to him only a small fraction of the works available today; as a consequence, his work is based chiefly on the Tatar *yarlıqs* (of which he was the pioneering student),[96] Raşîd ad-Dîn's *Câmi' at-tavârîx* (he was the first to edit the Persian text) and the later Tatar redaction, plus some other sources, namely medieval Arabic chronicles and travelers.

Viewed from the perspective offered by the argument in this chapter, Berezin's work seems somewhat confused in its conceptualization. He offers a number of long lists of offices, presumably indicating how he ranks the various offices in each state. The lists are placed in the categories of the court nobility (*dvoryane*), the army, the

[95]    "Oçerk vnutrennyago ustroystva Ulusa Djuçieva".

[96]    For a bibliography of the important series of publications on Tatar *yarlıqs* edited by Berezin upon which he bases much of his discussion see Usmanov, *Jalovanníe aktï*, p. 302. Unfortunately, many of the important works by Berezin are not available for the purpose of this discussion.

religious class,[97] and the civil ranks (*grajdanskie çinï*). He also gives lists of Ilxanid officials[98] and the officials of Yüan China under Qubilay.[99]

Under the court nobility of the Golden Horde Berezin discusses:[100]

1.      "Great", "middle", and "lower" dukes (*oğlan, bek*): Berezin feels that the existence of the term *amîr-i buzurg* "great dukes" (*velikiy knyaz'*) from among the "ducal clans" (*knyajeskiy rod*) in Raşîd ad-Dîn implies the existence of lesser dukes as well (by *knyaz'* he does not mean dynastic princes, who are called by him *tsareviçi*);

2.      Appanage or *ulus* dukes (*udel'nïy knyaz'*): Berezin follows Ibn Baṭṭûṭa's definition of this term as "duke of dukes" and applies this to Raşîd ad-Dîn and 'Umarî as well;

3.      Tatar or horde (*ordïnskiy*) dukes: Berezin feels that, as in modern Mongolia, there must have been dukes (beys) without appanages and power who were notable for their origin in the Horde;

4.      "People" dukes (*el beki*): These are supposed to be of foreign origin. (Berezin goes on to list six more offices which have not been discussed in this chapter.)

[97]    "Oçerk vnutrennyago ustroystva", p. 448 ff.

[98]    "Oçerk vnutrennyago ustroystva", p. 439 ff., which is based on a summary of the ranks in Naxçivânî's *Dastûr al-kâtib* as published in Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, pp. 463-516.

[99]    "Oçerk vnutrennyago ustroystva", p. 487 ff., based on Raşîd ad-Dîn as discussed earlier in this chapter.

[100]    "Oçerk vnutrennyago ustroystva", p. 433 ff.

In his discussion of the army organization, Berezin offers the following list:[101]

1.      Voevod (*oğlan*) of 10,000, 1000, 100, and 10: Berezin feels that these must have differed from the next listing only that they were of the royal family (*tsareviçi*) while the next were simply dukes (*knyaz'*).

2.      Army duke (*bek*) of 10,000 (*noyon*), 1000 (*ming*), 100 (*yüz*), and 10 (*on*).[102]

In the final category of civil ranks Berezin discusses 32 ranks, of which the first is *alpaut*, the second the various *darugas*, and only the third are the *tümen-* and *şehir beki* and a number of additional titles. Berezin explains the absence of the eldest of the beys ('Umarî's *amîr al-ulûs*) by the fact that, according to 'Umarî himself, they and the vezir do not have the same power as in Iran.[103]

Thus, if Berezin's position has been correctly understood, his scheme of the organization of the Golden Horde is completely different from the "four-bey system" as presented in this chapter. He bases his scheme to a great degree on the titles which occur in various sources without the benefit of the greater amount of documentation available today. As a result, his reconstruction is extremely detailed, but misses the larger picture.

One of the most accurate descriptions to date of the structure of the Golden Horde is to be found in V.D. Smirnov's history of the Crimea

[101]    "Oçerk vnutrennyago ustroystva", p. 444 ff.

[102]    Berezin also includes one more rank, that of the *buqaul*.

[103]    "Oçerk vnutrennyago ustroystva", p. 449 ff.

xanate.[104] Smirnov discusses the Mamlûk sources on the four *ulus* beys of
the Golden Horde,[105] and suggests that Noğay was one of them.[106] Smirnov
does not apply a model of the "four-bey system" either to the history of
the Golden Horde or the Crimean xanate, nor is his understanding of the
structure of the "four-bey system" in the Crimean xanate sophisticated
enough for him to realize the full significance of his comparison of
Noğay to Eminek Bey, head of the Şirin "ruling tribe" in the Crimean
xanate in the 15th century.[107] One of the reasons for this is that his
sources for this system in the Crimean xanate did not afford him the
data he would have needed to reach a better understanding of the system.
One of his sources in particular, the *Telhis ül-beyan*, seems to give
misleading information on the role of the four *qaraçı* beys.[108]

The two major histories of the Golden Horde in the first half of
the 20th century, written by Spuler and Yakubovskiy, have been much more
disappointing in their treatment of the institutional organization of
the Golden Horde.[109] Spuler has, in fact, very little to say about
administration in his encyclopedic work. He spends time discussing the
history of the ruling house, but devotes a scant two pages to what he
terms the vezir (but which is actually a reference to the chief of the

[104] *Krïmskoe xanstvo*.

[105] *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, pp. 93-102.

[106] *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, pp. 98-102.

[107] *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, p. 39. As noted earlier, Noğay will be
discussed in Chapter IV as one of the *ulus* beys in the Golden Horde in
the 13th century.

[108] See the discussion in Chapter II.

[109] Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*; and Grekov and Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya
Orda i ee padenie*. The interpretations of G. Vernadsky (*The Mongols and
Russia*, A History of Russia, iii, New Haven, 1953) will be discussed in
the next chapter.

*ulus* emirs, the *beylerbeyi*). He further states that it is only from the middle of the 14th century that the sources discuss the role of *ulus* emirs. He says that this development seems to have first taken place in Iran, though it cannot really be observed there (!).[110]

Yakubovskiy devotes a chapter to the internal organization of the Golden Horde, though he succeeds in discussing mostly sources relating to the Ilxanate while neglecting the important offices of the Golden Horde. He discusses the vezirate for the most part, mentions *ulus* emirs in passing, and discusses the other ranks he considers to be separate such as that of deputy (*nâ'ib*). He also discusses the terms *daruga* and *basqaq* and the chancellery, all of which fall into the category of the hierarchy subordinate to the xan.[111]

A scholar who has attempted a fresh examination of the issues relating to the history of the Golden Horde is M.G. Safargaliev in his *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*. Safargaliev discusses the references to the *ulus* emirs in Tizengauzen's extracts from the Arabic sources and makes some attempt to understand the internal workings of the Golden Horde on this basis. One source which Safargaliev quotes in translation ('Umarî's *At-ta'rîf bi-l-mustalah aş-şarîf*, which has been cited often in this chapter) clearly speaks of four emirs, the *ulus* emirs. Safargaliev

[110]  Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, especially pp. 301-302.

[111]  *Zolotaya Orda*, Chapter VI, especially p. 128 ff. On these two terms and what they represented see I. Vásáry, "The Golden Horde Term *Daruga* and its Survival in Russia", *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 30 (1976), pp. 187-197; and "The Origin of the Institution of *Basqaqs*", *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 32 (1978), pp. 201-206.

connects this passage, however, with the Golden Horde even though it clearly refers to the Ilxanate.[112] Elsewhere he speaks of six emirs.[113]

One work which would require a more in-depth evaluation than is possible here is the history of the social structure of the Golden Horde written by the Soviet archeologist Fedorov-Davïdov.[114] In brief, Fedorov-Davïdov offers a very detailed review of the sources to which he has had access in translation, and he brings many details to bear on the question of the social history of the Golden Horde.

In the course of this discussion he touches upon many of the points made in this chapter, such as the presence of four beys in the territory of the Golden Horde.[115] He emphasizes the division of the entire Golden Horde into eastern and western divisions, to which he attaches great importance. He writes of diffent kinds of emirs,[116] he discusses the vezirs of the xans of the Golden Horde,[117] and he writes that emirs were not involved in the *qurïltay*.[118] Most surprising is

[112] *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, pp. 69-69, referring to the translations in Tizengauzen 1, pp. 249 ('Umarî), 348 (Muḥibbî), 411 (Qalqaşandî), and 439-440 (Maqrîzî). (The text for this passage appears on p. 227.) There is no heading in Tizengauzen's work to indicate what state this passage is referring to, though it is clear from the context (references to Qutlûşâh, Ġâzân, Çûbân, Xudâbanda, and Abû Sa'îd) as well as from the Cairo edition of this work that this is a reference to Iran (in the Cairo edition this passage occurs on pp. 45-46, which is a continuation of the description of Iran begun on p. 43).

[113] *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, pp. 37 and 110. See the further discussion of Safargaliev's views in Chapter IV.

[114] G.A. Fedorov-Davïdov, *Obşçestvennïy stroy Zolotoy Ordï* (Moscow, 1973).

[115] *Obşçestvennïy stroy Zolotoy Ordï*, pp. 90-91

[116] *Obşçestvennïy stroy Zolotoy Ordï*, pp. 89-90.

[117] *Obşçestvennïy stroy Zolotoy Ordï*, p. 100.

[118] *Obşçestvennïy stroy Zolotoy Ordï*. pp. 103-104.

Fedorov-Davïdov's reference to the "ruling tribes" in the Later Golden Horde and even to the $qara\varsigma ı$ beys in Kazan and Kasimov without applying this even once to the earlier Golden Horde![119]

Another major work to appear recently, M. Kafalı's history of the Golden Horde, makes another attempt at a fresh reinterpretation of the sources, mostly the Islamic ones.[120] The author draws heavily on the fact that he has in his sole possession the unique complete manuscript—formerly in the library of A.Z.V. Togan—of the *Tarih-i Dost Sultan*, a work that was heavily used by the author of the *Umdet üt-tevarih*.[121]

Under the heading of state organization, Kafalı offers first a discussion of the division of the Mongol states into right and left flanks, the role of women, and turns to the role of the *qurıltay*. Then he mentions that the *ulus* bey or *ulus* emir, of whom he says there was only one, and who was head of all the other beys in the *ulus* of Çoçi. He cites 'Umarî in asserting that this individual had both administrative and military duties. In addition, according to Kafalı, there were two more emirs, the right-wing horde emir (in the Crimea) and the left-wing horde emir (in Xwârazm). He also discusses other offices such as the various secretaries, but ends his discussion of the *ulus* emirs with this. He then goes on to state that the Golden Horde was divided on three levels, that of the entire *ulus*, the two (right and left) hordes, and the cities. Coming to the military, according to Kafalı the emirs of

[119] *Obşçestvennïy stroy Zolotoy Ordï*. pp. 168-172 and n. 2.

[120] *Altın Orda hanlığının kuruluş ve yükseliş devirleri* (Istanbul, 1976), esp. pp. 115-133.

[121] The *Defter-i Çingizname* is apparently an incomplete copy of the same work, so that these are the only two manuscripts known. On this work see Bartol'd, "Otçet o komandirovke v Turkestan", pp. 158-169; and Z.V. Togan, *Tarihte usul* (Istanbul, 1981³), pp. 44 and 224. (This work is also known under the title *Ötemiş Haci tarihi*.)

Mongol descent managed to keep their control over the Turkic population which formed the basis of the territory. He also discusses the decimal system of organization and other elements. He does not continue his discussion of the larger picture of the role of tribes, though he does discuss many individuals whose historicity is questionable.

A series of articles by Egorov have appeared on the history and organization of the Golden Horde.[122] His works offer one of the most successful attempts to date in the secondary literature (at least from the perspective of the interpretation offered in this chapter) to characterize the organization of the Golden Horde, though he makes the mistake of taking every single term present in the sources to mean a separate office. Egorov's own views are best represented by the translation in Table V of the schematic representation which he himself gives in one of his most recent works.

Though he does not explain the table in this work, he treats this theme in an earlier article.[123] Egorov sees a well-developed administrative apparatus whose two highest officials were the *beylerbeyi* and the vezir, though their respective roles are not clearly delineated in the sources. According to the sources as interpreted by Egorov, the *beylerbeyi* controlled the army, carried on foreign relations, and was responsible for the legal and religious affairs of the state. The vezir came next in rank, though he was not anywhere near as powerful as the *beylerbeyi*. Egorov quotes 'Umarī as stating that the vezir was the real

[122]  V.L. Egorov, "Gosudarstvennoe i administrativnoe ustroystvo Zolotoy Ordï", *Voprosï istorii* 1972:2, pp. 32-42; "Razvitie tsentrobejnïx ustremleniy v Zolotoy Orde", *Voprosï istorii* 1974:8, pp. 36-50; and "Zolotaya Orda pered Kulikovskoy bitvoy", *Kulikovskaya bitva. Sbornik statey*, ed. L.G. Beskrovnïy (Moscow, 1980), pp. 174-213.

[123]  "Gosudarstvennoe i administrativnoe ustroystvo Zolotoy Ordï", p. 37 ff.

TABLE V

GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE OF THE GOLDEN HORDE ACCORDING TO EGOROV[*]

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                         |                    |
                         |        xan         |
                         |                    |

                              |             |
                              |             |
                              |             |
   _____            |             |
  |supreme judge|--+          |           __|__
                    \_      __|__         |     |       _____
   _____    \    |     |        |vezir|----|divan of several|
  |foreign affairs|-----|beylerbeyi|      |_____|     |chambers    with|
                      _  |          |                 |   secretaries  |
   _____           /     |_____|
  |army|-----------+           |
                               |
                               |
                               |
                               |
                           ____|_____
                          |    |        |   |
                          | 4  ulus  beys   |
                          |    |        |   |
                       __|__ __|__ __|__ __|__
                      |   | |   | |   | |   |
                        |     |     |     |
   _____|_____
  |  70 commanders of 10,000    |
  | at the head of territories  |
                  |
                  |
                  |
   _____|_____
  |heads of regions and cities|
  |    (commanders of 1000)    |
```
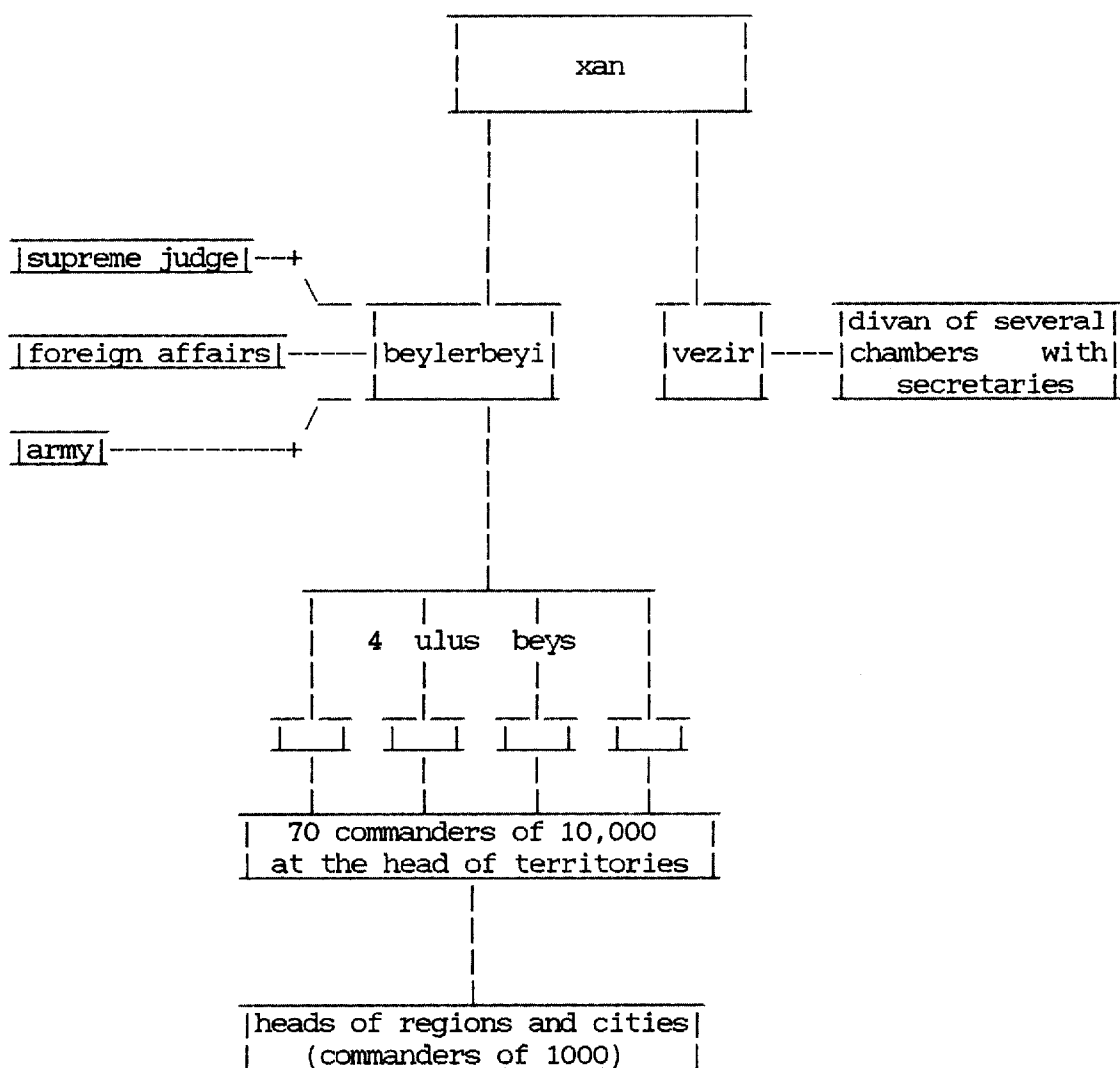
[*]    V.L.  Egorov, "Zolotaya Orda pered Kulikovskoy bitvoy",
*Kulikovskaya bitva. Sbornik statey*, ed. L.G. Beskrovnïy (Moscow, 1980),
pp. 174-213, especially p. 176.

authority--but as has already been seen above, this refers, in fact, to the Ilxanate. (Egorov's work is characterized by thoughtfulness but also by an inability to check the sources; more examples of this are given in the next chapter.) Egorov goes on further to explain that four *ulus* beys are known from the sources and that according to them the *beylerbeyi* was their head. He then goes on to recognize that the vezir was also an *ulus* bey, in fact the second one following the *beylerbeyi*. (This, of course, does not come through clearly from Table V, unless Egorov has changed his interpretation.) He also took this to mean that the state was divided into four *uluses*.

As is evident from the above review of the literature concerning the Golden Horde, even the best pictures do not document all the aspects of the institution documented in this chapter, nor do they acknowledge the presence of a similar institution in the Later Golden Horde except for the works of Smirnov (which has not had an impact on Soviet studies of the Golden Horde itself) and Fedorov-Davïdov.

The Ilxanate has been the subject of numerous studies, but at the same time the system described in this chapter has been completely neglected. One work which has indicated many of the references in the sources to the problem of the *ulus* emirs in the Ilxanate is Uzunçarşılı's work on the structure of the pre-Ottoman states (the Selçuks, the Ilxanate, and the Mamlûks).[124] Needless to say, this work, first published in 1939, has remained outside the mainstream of scholarship on the Ilxanate.

The work of Spuler is as disappointing for the Ilxanate as it is

[124]  İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal. Büyük Selçukîler, Anadolu Selçukîler, Anadolu beylikleri, İlhânîler, Karakoyunlu ve Akkoyunlularla Memlûklerdeki devlet teşkilâtına bir bakış* (Ankara, 1970$^2$).

for the Golden Horde. As has already been noted, he remarks in his
history of the Golden Horde that he has trouble seeing this system in
the Ilxanate.[125] In his history of the Ilxanate, he discusses the term
of *ulus* and the various translations of *beylerbeyi* (such as *amîr al-
umarâ'*, *mîr-i mîrân*, etc.), who was the head of the army, but that is
all.[126]

The works of I.P. Petruşevskiy are generally considered to be the
most authoritative studies of administration and land tenure in the
Ilxanate.[127] His shorter article in the *Cambridge History of Iran*
completely disregards the evidence on the role of the members of the
divan and so of the army in the organization of the Ilxanate, in the
collection of taxes, and so on. His monograph, though extensively
researched, completely misses some of the most basic aspects of Ilxanid
economic organization, since this is tied to the role of the army and
taxation. His fifth chapter dealing with categories of land tenure
follows the traditional Islamic categories from Selçuk and earlier
times, including that of *iqtâ'*, plus nomadic categories such as certain
Mongol terms for categories of land tenure or taxation and the lands of
the nomadizing tribes. While he discusses important landholders such as

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[125]  *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 282 ff., for Spuler's discussion of the
"vezirate" in the Golden Horde.

[126]  Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, p. 400.

[127]  *Zemledelie i agrarnïe otnoşeniya v Irane XII-XIV vekov* (Moscow-
Leningrad, 1960); and "The Socio-Economic Condition of Iran under the
Il-khāns", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v: *The Saljuq and Mongol
Periods*, ed. J.A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 483-537.

the vezirs,[128] he does not devote consideration to the other important

channels of monetary activity.[129]

Of all the Çingisid states, the tribal politics of the Çağatay

xanate have come under the closest scrutiny thanks to the availability

of abundant Islamic source material and the attraction of the

personality of Temürleng. Many of the standard accounts have followed

the description of the biography of Temürleng by Ibn 'Arabşâh as a good

capsule description. This is true of the most influential discussion of

the organization of the Çağatay xanate, which is to be found in

Barthold's *Ulugbek i ego vremya*.[130] Nobody, however, has tied this

description to a consistent pattern, nor have they shown any link to the

*qaraçı* beys of the Later Golden Horde.

In his analysis of the Çağatay xanate, J. Aubin discusses the

individual tribes based very much on the problematic work of Natanzî,

but offers no model for the organization of this state.[131] M. Haider

also deals with the subject, but only in generalities.[132] Most recently,

Manz has written two articles and a dissertation on politics under

Temürleng, but she has gone no further in her model of tribal

organization than to accept Barthold's mention of the four tribes

without taking it into any further consideration. This is all the more

[128] *Zemledelie i agrarnïe otnoşeniya*, p. 282 ff.

[129] *Zemledelie i agrarnïe otnoşeniya*, pp. 46-53.

[130] V.V. Bartol'd, "Ulugbek i ego vremya", *Soçineniya*, ii/2 (Moscow, 1964), pp. 25-198, especially pp. 33-36.

[131] "Le khanat de Čağatai et le Khorassan", *Turcica* 8/ii (1976), pp. 16-60.

[132] "The Sovereign in the Timurid State (XIV-XVth centuries)", *Turcica* 8/ii (1976), pp. 61-82.

surprising since she is also the author of an article on the role of the *qaraçı* beys in the Crimean xanate.[133]

Despite its obsolescence and other shortcomings, the history of China by O. Franke is still the most useful work for the purposes of the historian of the Eurasian steppe. He discusses the various institutional frameworks of each state in a manner that cannot be found elsewhere by the non-Sinologist. It is in such a context that he also discusses the institutional organization of the Yüan dynasty.[134] The other major works concerning the period of Mongol rule in China, such as the monograph and articles by Dardess, do not treat the institution described here.[135]

The recent survey of Yüan political and administrative institutions by D. Farquhar, who bases himself primarily on the official dynastic history, the *Yüan shih*, reveals a system incorporating the traditional bureaus and offices of Chinese administration with the additional bureaus required for dealing with Mongol, Uyğur, Tibetan, and Christian affairs. In fact, the greatest problem of Yüan administration as seen by Farquhar is whether or not Yüan rule contributed to the administrative centralization of the later dynasties.[136]

Finally one may turn to studies of the Great Xanate as the archetype for the organization of all the other states derived from it. The only major study of the organization of these states was written by

[133] Manz, "Administration and the Delegation of Authority in Temür's Dominions"; "The Ulus Chaghatay Before and After Temür's Rise to Power: The Transformation from Tribal Confederation to Army of Conquest"; and "Politics and Control under Tamerlane", Ph.D. dissertation.

[134] O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, i-v (Berlin, 1948-1954).

[135] For example *Conquerors and Confucians*.

[136] "Structure and Function in the Yüan Imperial Government".

the great scholar of Mongol comparative and historical linguistics, B.Ya. Vladimirtsov.[137] In his day Vladimirtsov was one of the only scholars who could seriously use the *Secret History of the Mongols*, upon which he based much of his work, though his work also covered up to the 17th century. He limited himself, however, to the documentation and explanation of terms as a linguist-turned-social historian might, rather than actually trying to establish what the roles of the various offices might have been.

With this the discussion of the "four-bey system" in the Çingisid states of the 13th-14th centuries is concluded. It is to be hoped that the reader now understands why the above discussion would not have been possible without reference to the system of the *qaraçı* beys in the Later Golden Horde. The next chapter goes one step further by offering an interpretation of the history of one state in particular, the Golden Horde, on the basis of the "four-bey system" as has just been established.

[137] *Obşçestvenniy stroy mongolov.*

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF THE "FOUR-BEY SYSTEM" IN THE GOLDEN HORDE

This chapter shifts from a general description of the characteristic features of the "four-bey system" to a narrower study of the history of this system in the Golden Horde. It applies the characteristic features of the "four-bey system" established in the previous two chapters to prominent figures in the history of the Golden Horde through 1360. (Following the death of Berdibek in 1359 there is less reliable information on the "four-bey system", and together with the confused chronology of the 1360s-1370s and the establishment of Toqtamış as xan of the Golden Horde in 1381, there is a different set of problems which will be taken up in Chapter V.) It also takes into account certain details of the "four-bey system" specific to the of the Golden Horde, such as the frequent association of the *ulus* beys with the Crimea, Xwârazm, and Azaq/Azov.[1] This combination allows one to postulate that many of these individuals could well have been one of the four *ulus* beys at a given point in time. The result of such an examination is an "alternative history" of the Golden Horde emphasizing continuity in the history of the non-dynastic elements in the "state".

According to Raşîd ad-Dîn, Çingis Xan assigned the *ulus* which later came to be known as the Golden Horde to his eldest son Coçi.[2] Since it is known that Möngke Xan later assigned specific "ruling tribes" to the newly-created *ulus*es of Qubilay and Hülegü, it is not unreasonable to expect that Çingis Xan also assigned specific "ruling

[1]    For a discussion of these areas see V.L. Egorov, *Istoriçeskaya geografiya Zolotoy Ordi v XIII-XIV vv.* (Moscow, 1985)

[2]    Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, p. 131; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 117.

tribes" to Coçi.[3] On the basis of the traditional account given by Raşîd ad-Dîn, it is not possible to decide which "ruling tribes" might have been assigned to Coçi or who the leaders of the four might have been.

It has already been noted in the previous chapter that Raşîd ad-Dîn omitted or distorted numerous facts relating to the cooperation of non-dynastic elements such as the four "ruling tribes" in the selection of the xans and in the administration of the state. For this reason the Mamlûk sources take on a primary importance when they are available, for they offer important facts and a unique perspective not available in any of the other sources. As an example, one passage in the Arabic sources relates that the "people of the state" (ahl ad-dawla) opposed Tudan in favor of Berke.[4] Such information goes beyond the official account in Raşîd ad-Dîn, where it is simply stated that Berke succeeded Batu.[5] Such a statement in the Mamlûk sources is entirely in line with the notion of leaders of "ruling tribes" choosing between more than one candidate in the election of a new xan. Unfortunately, the Mamlûk sources offer only limited details of this sort for the first half of the 13th century.

Nevertheless, by the middle of the 13th century there are a few isolated names which are known in the sources as possible principles in the "four-bey system". Among these one may mention Tabuq/Tayuq, ruler of the Crimea in 1263; another leader by the name of Toqbuğa; and Berke's vezir, Şaraf ad-Dîn al-Qazwînî.[6] On the basis of what little information exists about these individuals, one can only keep in mind that later

[3]    Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 217-221; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp. 222-226. Raşîd ad-Dîn does not, of course, put it quite this way.

[4]    Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 366/378.

[5]    Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, p. 137; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 122.

[6]    Mufaḍḍal/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 180-181/192 and note.

figures associated with the Crimea are usually one of the four leading *ulus* beys. What is more, it has already been pointed out in the previous chapter that in the 14th century the vezir was probably none other than one of these same four *ulus* beys; this will also be discussed in greater detail in this chapter. There is, however, no way to prove conclusively whether this might have been the case with Şaraf ad-Dîn al-Qazwînî, too.

It is only for the second half of the 13th century that this chapter can offer the first detailed discussion of a figure within the "four-bey system" in the Golden Horde, namely Noğay, son of Bo'al, son of Coçi, son of Çingis Xan.[7] There are lengthy accounts of how Noğay was important in a number of ways, including his role in the selection and removal of a series of xans in the latter half of the 13th century. The abundance of source material on his career has also meant that there is a substantial body of secondary literature which treats his career. To the chagrin of many students of the early Golden Horde, however, at the same time Noğay is called a *tsar'* in the Slavic sources, he is described in the Islamic sources only as an army leader.[8] Though these and various epithets and descriptions have only served to confuse a series of scholars imposing a Western model of kingship on the Çingisid states, the career of Noğay can serve here as the first example of the leader of the four *ulus* beys in the Golden Horde.

Certain sources indicate that Noğay was a leader of the army perhaps as early as the reign of Batu Xan (r. 1237-1256), though most sources indicate that he became prominent under Berke (r. 1256-1266).

[7]     Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, p. 122; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 113.

[8]     For the sources calling Noğay a *tsar'* see Veselovskiy, *Xan iz temnikov*, p. 23 ff.; and A.N. Nasonov, *Mongoli i Rus' (Istoriya tatarskoy politiki na Rusi)* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1940/The Hague-Paris, 1969), pp. 69-80.

Raşîd ad-Dîn calls Noğay an army commander (Per. *laşkar-kaş*) under both Batu and Berke.[9] Raşîd ad-Dîn also describes him as the head of the army of the right flank of the Golden Horde (*Nûqây-i pesar-i Tâtâr ki laşkar-i dast-i râst-i ân ûlûs mîdânast*).[10] The further reference to Noğay elsewhere in Raşîd ad-Dîn using the Persian term *sar-laşkar* might be better understood as commander-in-chief, as does Boyle, or at least as the person in charge of the armies of the right wing in the Golden Horde.[11] According to the *Târîx-i guzîda*, Noğay was known as an "emir of the army" (*amîr-i laşkar*) under Toqta (*Nûğây ki amîr-i laşkar-i ûlûs bûd*), though his activities under Berke are also described in this and other Persian sources.[12]

The Mamlûk sources in Arabic also discuss the military aspect of Noğay's career, but using a different set of terminology than the Persian sources. According to Ibn Xaldûn, Noğay rose in Berke's estimation during the campaigns agains the Ilxan Abağa (r. 1265–1281), who was the successor to Hülegü.[13] According to the sources Berke placed him over an army (*cahhaza cayş wa-qaddama 'alayhi Yîsû Nûğâ b. Tatar b. Muğul*) against Abağa. The same sources also relate in greater detail that Berke placed Noğay over several *tümens* (corps of 10,000) following his victories against Abağa.[14] They also describe him in connection with

[9]    Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, p. 143; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 125.

[10]    Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, p. 203; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 160.

[11]    Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 139 and 203; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp.  123 and 160.

[12]    Ḥamd Allâh Mustavfî Qazvînî/Tizengauzen 2, pp. 219–220/91–92. See also the *Târîx-i Şayx Uvays*, Tizengauzen 2, pp. 221/99.

[13]    Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 367–368/380.

[14]    Nuwayrî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 131–132/152–153; and 'Aynî, *'Iqd al-cumân*, Tizengauzen 1, pp. 480–481/509–510.

these campaigns as an army leader (*muqaddim al-cayş*) together with another leader complementing him (*ṯumma ardafahu bi-muqaddim âxar*) named Yesüntay. Other sources note under 1270 (in reference to the reign of Mengü Temür, r. 1269-1280) that Noğay was not just any army leader, but the greatest of the army leaders (*akbar muqaddimî cayşihi* [or: *cuyûşihi*]) in the land of the house of Berke.[15]

When it is considered that Noğay died around 1299-1300, this is a very long time indeed to have served in a military role or even to have lived in those days. The sources do, however, attest to his longevity.[16] Since they invariably speak of the same person (based on the genealogy which is usually given correctly), the weight of the evidence goes against suggesting that there might have been two separate Noğays.[17]

The sources describe that Noğay was active in diplomatic exchanges, as is to be expected of a participant in the "four-bey system". The importance and respect accorded him can be seen from the protocol of the diplomatic exchanges conducted between the Golden Horde and the Mamlûk state. The list of gifts sent by the Mamlûk ruler to the north in 1282 included gifts for individuals in the following order:[18]

[15]   Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 79/101; and Maqrîzî, *Kitâb as-sulûk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulûk*, Tizengauzen 1, pp. 422/434.

[16]   Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 85/107.

[17]   One source does mention, however, that there were many Noğays. See Nuwayrî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 131/152.

[18]   *Taşrîf al-ayyâm wa-l-'uṣûr bi-sîrat al-malik al-Manṣûr*, Tizengauzen 1, pp. 65-66/67.

1.    "King" (*malik*) Mengü Temür;

2.    Noğay;

3.    "King" Awkacı (brother of "King" Mengü Temür);

4.    Tuda Mengü, brother of Mengü [Temür], who later received
the throne (*mulk*);

5.    *Telebuğa (brother of Mengü Temür);

6.    the *xatuns* Çiçek Xatun, Alçı Xatun, Tötlin Xatun, Tatayun
Xatun, Sultan Xatun, and Xutlu Xatun;

7.    emir of the left flank Mawu (or Ma'u) and emir of the
right flank Tayra;[19]

8.    *Qutluq (wife of Awkacı); and

9.    Sultan Ġiyāt ad-Dîn b. 'Izz ad-Dîn (ruler of Rûm).

Another version of this list of gifts is somewhat condensed and in a
different order. It lists the members of the dynasty first and
concerning Noğay states that a part was for Noğay "for he was a leader
among them and had renown" (*fa-innahu kâna qad taqaddama 'indahum wa-
ṣâra lahu dikr baynahum*).[20] Here one should keep in mind that *qaddama*
is used in the same sense as *muqaddim al-cayş* "commander of the army",
the usual term which was used to describe exactly those *ulus* beys who

[19]    It is not certain whether Mawu and Tayra were figures in the
Golden Horde. If one interprets the two divisions of the Golden Horde as
the right and left flanks, then one could then argue Mawu and Tayra's
postions along such a principle. The problem with this solution is that
each of the halves could have had its own internal divisions as well;
there is sufficient data to argue such a case. If each was the head of
his own flank, it would rule out the possibility of Noğay having been
the head of either of the flanks, in which case it is unlikely that he
could have been head of the *ulus* emirs. Neither explanation solves the
problem, then, of why Noğay was so prominent. There also remains, of
course, the possibility that the Mamlûks were anachronistically
including names from an earlier period. For comparisons of Mawu/Ma'u to
other names in this period, cf. Fedorov-Davidov, *Obşçestvennïy stroy
Zolotoy Ordï*, pp. 53, 59, and 61.

[20]    Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 82/104-105.

were commanders of the army. According to the description of another embassy, envoys were sent to the north in 1283-4 to Tuda Mengü, Noğay, and Qaydu (ruler in the Çağatay xanate).[21]

There are a number of passages in the sources which suggest that Noğay was the leader of his own "ruling tribe". He is said to have consulted with his own people (*qawm*) when confronted by a threat from the xan (*fa-cama'a kibâr qawmihi wa-dawî maşwaratihi*).[22] According to Ibn Xaldûn, Noğay was a ruler over a group (*tâ'ifa*) in the land of the north and he had control over the kings of the descendants of Coçi Xan (*wa-kân ḥâkim 'alâ ṭâ'ifa min bilâd aş-şimâl*).[23] He is further described as ruler in the land of the north over many of the Tatars (*al-ḥâkim bi-bilâd aş-şimâl 'alâ katîr min at-tatâr*).[24] It should be remembered, however, that the few references mentioned here are no less scanty than the data for the Later Golden.

The most detailed and dramatic evidence regarding the career of Noğay and his role in deciding the fate of a series of rulers is to be found in the Mamlûk sources. According to Ibn Xaldûn, Noğay had control over the kings of the descendants of Coçi Xan (*wa-lahu stibdad 'alâ*

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[21]   *Taşrîf al-ayyâm*, Tizengauzen 1, pp. 67/69; and Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 82/105. This is further grounds for not necessarily considering Mawu/Ma'u and Tayra to have been emirs in the Golden Horde.

[22]   Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 87/110. Nuwayrî/ Tizengauzen 1, pp. 137/158, says that he "gathered the elders of his tribe" (*fa-cama'a akâbir 'aşîratihi*), where the term 'aşîra is used for "tribe, clan". (This term is also known from the Later Golden Horde as discussed in Chapter II.)

[23]   Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 368/381.

[24]   Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 87/109.

*mulûk banî Dûşî Xân).*[25] A different version is to be found in 'Aynî, who states that after a certain episode Noğay became more important and came to be "considered among the xans" (*wa-şâra ma'dûd fî l-xânât*).[26] The two specific episodes responsible for confounding generations of scholars have been the role Noğay played in the overthrow of the xan Telebuğa by Toqta (r. 1291-1312) and his subsequent falling out with Toqta. Both of these stories are well documented in the sources and generations of scholars have pored over the accounts of this period in an attempt to explain what is referred to as a "civil war" in the Golden Horde.[27] They are worth repeating in detail as an example *par excellence* of the constant struggle between the Çingisid xan and the leadership of the "ruling tribes".[28]

According to the sources the xan Tuda Mengü (r. 1280-1287) decided to retire from the position of xan to a life of quiet contemplation and was replaced by his brother Telebuğa. (There are no accounts preserved of Telebuğa's installation.) A source of tension between Telebuğa and Noğay is explained through the the story in many

[25]   Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 369/381.

[26]   'Aynî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 481/510.

[27]   See for example G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, A History of Russia, iii  (New Haven, 1953), p. 189.

[28]   On the career of Noğay and his role in the selection of xans see the accounts in Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 79-91/101-114; Nuwayrî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 131-139/152-161; Mufaḍḍal/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 183-184/195-196; Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 368-370/380-383; and Maqrîzî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 422-423/434-436. See also Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 138-152; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp. 122-130. The remainder of the discussion of the career of Noğay and accounts of the subsequent *ulus* beys will cite a group of sources at the beginning of each discussion. Additional references will be made to these sources only when there are specific citations of the original text or some other detail requiring special notation.

sources that Telebuğa invited Noğay to campaign with him against Krakow
(KRK) and that they were satisfied with the campaign. On the way back
home to the winter quarters, however, the weather turned very bad.
Telebuğa returned home by a much more difficult route, with the result
that many of his troops died of hunger. Whether this part of the account
is fact or fiction, the sources use it to explain why Telebuğa decided
to fight against Noğay.

The sources further relate that a private meeting was set for the
two through the mediation of Telebuğa's mother, but that the wise and
experienced old Noğay had met with some of the sons of the previous xan,
Tuda Mengü, to win their support. Finally, at the time of the meeting,
though Telebuğa had some of his sons with him, Noğay's supporters were
able to surround Telebuğa without his taking notice until it was too
late. The eldest son of Tuda Mengü, Toqta, then killed Telebuğa and his
own rival brothers.

Following these events, Toqta assumed the throne in A.H. 690/1291
A.D. Noğay delivered the sovereignty to him and appointed (rattaba)
Toqta and his brothers who had cooperated with him (wa-lammâ sallama
lahu Nûğîya l-mulk wa-rattabahu fîhi rattaba 'indahu ixwatahu l-
muttafiqîna ma'ahu).[29] According to another source, when Telebuğa and
his five brothers, all sons of Mönge Temür, were killed, Noğay seated
Toqta on the throne of the country (aclasahu Nûğîya 'alâ kursî l-mulk),
administered the affairs of Toqta's state (rattaba umûr dawlatihi), and
delivered to him whoever was left from among the brothers who had
participated with him (sallama ilayhi man baqiya min ixwatihi l-laḏîna

[29]   Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 86/108.

*ttafaqû ma'ahu*).[30] Noğay is supposed to have said,"These are your brothers and they are in your service", after which he entrusted them to Toqta (*ha'ulâ'i ixwatuka yakûnûna fî xidmatika fa-staws bihim*).[31]

Noğay then returned to his own position, but he did not easily forget those emirs who had earlier aligned against him. At a certain point Noğay sent his wife, Baylaq Xatun, to visit Toqta with the message that his "father" Noğay saw many thorns in Toqta's way, i.e., those emirs who had aligned themselves with Telebuğa against Noğay. In response, Toqta had those emirs killed one by one. Later, Toqta was upset by his own mother's meddling, since she had ruled with Mengü Temür and had also had an important role in the court of Telebuğa, as well as in his death. Here Noğay helped Toqta by killing Toqta's mother on Toqta's behalf, together with an emir who was loyal to her and under her protection named Baytara.[32]

Although the relations between Toqta and Noğay are supposed to have been amicable in 1293-1294, there are reports of an enmity between them by 1297-1298. According to the sources, there were various reasons for this enmity, but an important factor according to the sources was that Noğay's aforementioned wife Baylaq Xatun was afraid of their two sons Cöke and Teke and swayed the xan against them. Another was that some emirs had left Toqta for the service of Noğay, and one had even married his daughter. Noğay had then turned down Toqta's request that

[30]   Nuwayrî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 136/157.

[31]   Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 86/108; and Nuwayrî/ Tizengauzen 1, pp. 136-157.

[32]   One cannot help but wonder if there is any connection between this Baytara ‏بى طرا‏ and the name of one of right-flank emir Tayra ‏طيرا‏ mentioned in the list of gifts sent to the north. The form *bi* ‏بى‏ is certainly a well-known later form of the earlier *beg*. (See also the discussion of this term in Chapter II.)

these emirs be turned over to him, in response to which Toqta sent Noğay a message which Noğay then supposedly discussed in a meeting with the elders of his "ruling tribe". Following Noğay's reply to Toqta that he would like his horses to drink from the Don river (near the capital of the Golden Horde, New Saray), both sides prepared for war.

The sources also explain that Noğay had been a dominant force over the "house of Berke" (meaning the territory of the Golden Horde), enthroning (yaxla'au) whom he pleased, doing away with those he did not like, and appointing him. He wanted to continue at this role, but this did not suit Toqta:[33]

> wa-ḏâlika anna Nûǧîya maddat lahu mudda wa-huwa
>
> ḥâkim fî l-mamlaka bâsiṭ al-yad fî bayt Barka
>
> yaxla'u min mulûkihim man lâ yarḍâhu wa-man
>
> ixtârahu fa-qad wallâhu ... fa-arâda an yastamarra
>
> 'alâ ḏâlika

When Toqta and Noğay finally met in battle, Noğay's troops scattered the forces of Toqta, but he did not permit them to pursue the fleeing enemy. Following re-alignments, the two sides met again in 1299-1300. To end the story and the life of Noğay, a Russian came upon Noğay and killed him, but Toqta in return killed the Russian for having dared to kill so important a person. So ends what must be a classic description of the role of the head of the leaders of the "ruling tribes" in determining who is xan, and vice versa.

The greatest problem in applying the "four-bey system" to the second half of the 13th century is the dearth of sources that mention the presence of four "ruling tribes". This is compounded by the

[33]    Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 88/110-111.

uncertainty surrounding the relationship betweem the *uluses* of Batu in
the west (the "White Horde") and Orda in the east (the "Blue Horde") as
the two divisions comprising the Golden Horde. Since the "four-bey
system" has not yet been applied to the history of the Golden Horde,
this is the first time that there emerges the problem of whether there
were four separate "ruling tribes" in each of these divisions of the
state, or whether the two together shared four "ruling tribes".[34]

The closest one can come to an attestation of the presence of
four "ruling tribes" or *ulus* beys in the 13th century is a problematic
passage in Mufaḍḍal relating to the attack of Noğay on the Crimean
town of Sudaq in 1299, so shortly before his death.[35] Tizengauzen's
generally reliable translation in this instance completely misrepresents
both this passage and the other sources relating to this episode.

According to Tizengauzen's translation of this passage, the
"king" (*malik*) on the throne of the house of Berke, Noğay ([A] الـنّـغـای ),
came to the Crimean town of Sudaq.[36] He asked those who supported him to
leave, which was about a third of the population, and he had the town
destroyed together with the rest of its inhabitants. The reason for this
was that the income of Sudaq was divided among four "kings" (*mulūk*), one
of whom was Toqta ([B] الـطّـقـتای ), who had diplomatic relations with
Egypt. His partners [that is, the persons with whom he shared this
income] also offended his deputies during (the division) of this income.

[34]   This topic will be treated in greater depth at the end of this
chapter.

[35]   Mufaḍḍal/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 183-184/195.

[36]   A part of the territories over which Noğay ruled, as will be
discussed below. The various forms of the names are assigned letters in
[brackets] for the sake of clarity in discussion.

The most important problem in the interpretation of this passage

is the reading of names [A] and [B], which are almost identical in

Tizengauzen's edition of the original Arabic text of this passage.

Although they are similar, Tizengauzen chooses to read them differently:

[A] as Noğay and [B] as Toqta. The editor of the full edition of

Mufaḍḍal's work, Blochet, reads both of Tizengauzen's forms of this

name in the manuscript as اسقاى (identical to Tizengauzen's [B] form)

and translates them both as Noğay.[37] Further justification for seeing

this name as Noğay is that the same source spells Noğay later as [C]

نوغاى , while the other occurences of Toqta's name are spelled [D]

سحمه , [E] سخنه , and [F] طقطاى .[38] Obviously, the disputed

form or forms resemble Noğay's name more than they do Toqta's.

As for the historical evidence for justifying reading both of

these forms as Noğay, the very same source confirms that it was Noğay

who conducted the raid on the Crimea.[39] Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars also relates

the story that Noğay sent Aqtacı, the son of his daughter, to the Crimea

to collect the the taxes (*fa-arsala bn bintihi ilâ bilâd Qirim la-cabâ*

*l-mâl al-muqarrar 'alâ ahlihâ*) while he was fighting Toqta in the north.

This grandson was killed, however, by the population when he went to

collect this income, and Noğay sent his forces to avenge this death.[40]

Ibn Xaldûn relates a similar story, except that the name of the grandson

[37]   *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, ed.-trans. E. Blochet, ii,
Patrologia Orientalis 14:3 (Paris, 1920), pp. 629-631. Blochet also
reads that it was more than two-thirds of the population which left the
town.

[38]   Mufaḍḍal/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 184/195. Blochet gives the same
forms for these names as Tizengauzen. For form [C] see Mufaḍḍal/
Blochet, iii, Patrologia Orientalis 20:1 (Paris, 1928), p. 60; for form
[D] see iii, p. 28; for form [E] see iii, p. 60; and for form [F] see
iii, p. 101.

to whom Noğay had granted the Crimea as an *iqṭâ'* was Qaraca (*aqṭa'a*

*sibṭahu Qarâcâ b. Taṣtimur   ... madînat al-Qirim*).[41]

    This episode should be taken as a better reason for an attack

than Tizengauzen's suggestion that Toqta and three other "kings" shared

this income. For one thing, such an explanation does not make clear who

the other three "kings" might have been.[42] It also disregards the fact

that the rulers of the Crimea, including Noğay, are often called

"kings".[43] This passage is therefore a possible example of how the four

*ulus* beys might have shared revenues in this period. The description of

Noğay as a ruler having control over the Crimea lends further support to

the view that as *ulus* bey he was ruler over one of the important

divisions of the Golden Horde. This point will be established for a

series of later leaders of "ruling tribes" who are known to have been

based in the Crimea.

    Following Noğay's death there ensued a struggle between his

sons.[44] In the course of the accounts of these events in the sources it

is noted that one of Noğay's sons, Ceke, had a "deputy" (*nâ'ib*) Tunguz

who later switched allegiance to Noğay's son-in-law Taz b. Müncük. It is

[39]   Mufaḍḍal/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 184/195-196.

[40]   Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 88-89/111-112.

[41]   Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 370/382-383.

[42]   Cf. Mufaḍḍal/Blochet, ii, p. 630 n. 1, where Blochet expresses
the opinion that these four "kings" were the Great Khan (who was the
ruler of China), the Mongol "prince" of Iran, the "prince" of the
(Golden?) Horde, and the "prince" of the realm of Çağatay.

[43]   It has already been noted that Noğay is called a "king" in a
later passage in Mufaḍḍal (Mufaḍḍal/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 184/195-196;
and Mufaḍḍal/Blochet, iii, p. 60.)

[44]   For accounts of this struggle see Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen
1, pp. 91-94/114-119; Nuwayrî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 139-141/161-162; and
Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 370-371/383-384.

also known that Taz and Tunguz tried to overthrow Özbek.[45] This seems to indicate that Noğay's descendants tried to continue the "ruling tribe" and followed in the leader's role within the "ruling tribe". In the course of these descriptions other leaders of *tümens* such as Yancı (whom Toqta appointed to the same position as Yancı's brother Abacı) are also mentioned. These particular individuals are also described as army commanders and friends of Noğay.

As emerges from the main episodes of his life, Noğay is one of the best examples of the power politics that characterized the relationship between the dynasty and the leaders of the "ruling tribes" in the Eurasian steppe during the Mongol period. A review of the most important secondary literature dealing with this period reveals, however, that earlier scholars have been unable to place the career of Noğay within such a context as provided by the "four-bey system". This chapter cannot review the whole of the literature regarding the Golden Horde. It will, however, be useful to offer a representative review of the landmark works and the more recent scholarship to place the above discussion within the context of work that has been previously done (or not done) on the questions posed by this chapter.

To scholars since the 19th century the relationship between Noğay and a series of xans has been a cause for great puzzlement, especially since they did not base their analyses on a comparative framework for the study of the Mongol states which might have altered their premises regarding the role of the autocratic sovereign they took the xan to be. This puzzlement resulted in a monograph by N.I. Veselovskiy devoted to

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[45]    Ibn Duqmâq/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 316/323.

the life and times of Noğay.[46] Since Veselovskiy's work was the
culmination of earlier studies of the Golden Horde in the 13th century
and has also served as the basis for subsequent studies of this period,
it will be useful to briefly review Veselovskiy's argument and
conclusions here.

Veselovskiy first reviewed the opinions of earlier scholars to
have discussed the role of Noğay. According to him, Arximandrit Leonid
had no reservations about describing Noğay as a xan, and the numismatist
A.K. Markov saw Noğay not just as a xan, but as the founder of a short-
lived dynasty.[47] According to Veselovskiy, V.D. Smirnov—whose work has
already discussed in the previous two chapters—felt that Noğay was only
an emir and a favorite.[48] Veselovskiy felt that as a descendant of the
seventh son of Coçi, Noğay was not entitled to whole *uluses*, but does
appear on the historical scene as the head of a *tümen* (corp of
10,000).[49] Following an extensive review of the Western and Oriental
sources available to him at the time, Veselovskiy returned to what he
perceived as the essential historical question surrounding the career of
Noğay: was he or was he not a xan?.

Veselovskiy regarded a number of facts in the sources as crucial.
The Egyptian sultans sent gifts to the xans, but did not forget Noğay,
who also corresponded independently with the Egyptians, just as he did
with the Byzantines, which meant in Veselovskiy's view that he was in
the position of a xan.

[46]   *Xan iz temnikov Zolotoy ordï. Nogay i ego vremya.*

[47]   *Xan iz temnikov*, p. 1.

[48]   *Xan iz temnikov*, p. 1. See also Smirnov, *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, pp.
31-39 and 96-102.

[49]   *Xan iz temnikov*, p. 3.

In considering that Noğay's postion approached that of a xan, he speculated that Noğay considered himself a xan, but did not wish to upset Çingisid traditions by being elevated as a true xan. He does point out, however, that there is no proof of Noğay ever having issued *yarlıgs* in his own name. Veselovskiy wonders as well whether Noğay might have undergone the ritual elevation which he presumes to have existed in the Golden Horde (though not in the Ilxanate in Iran). He considers it unlikely, since there is no real description of such a ceremony for Noğay. Veselovskiy also considers the report in Mufaḍḍal that the taxes from the city of Sudaq were divided between four Tatar *tsar's*, showing that Noğay did not have sole control over the revenues of this particular city. Veselovskiy finally concludes that Noğay was, in fact, a xan, though perhaps just a vassal xan.[50]

A host of other scholars have also expressed an opinion on the matter since the time of the influential work of Veselovskiy. B. Spuler warns that the conclusion of many works to the effect that Noğay was an independent xan is misguided. Spuler feels that Noğay was never more than a "mayor of the palace" (*Hausmeier*) who in practice—though not officially—had control over the xan. He compares the role of Noğay to the emir Edigey and considers both of these figures to have been co-rulers after the fashion of the sacral dual kingship known from the earlier Turkic states.[51]

A.N. Nasonov, who investigates in detail the various Russian sources, also examines the sources referring to Noğay as a xan or

[50]   *Xan iz temnikov*, pp. 50-54. On the ritual elevation see the references in Chapter III.

[51]   *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 64-65.

*tsar'*.[52] One of Nasonov's conclusions is that a second center of political power emerged in the 1270s, and he speaks of co-rule (*dvoevlastie*) where Noğay was, in effect, the second ruler.[53]

According to A.Yu. Yakubovskiy, the short reign of Telebuğa (r. 1287-1290) was a time of feudal troubles in which the very power of the xan of the Golden Horde was under grave threat. Yakubovskiy correctly points out that while Noğay might have complete master over the political life in the Golden Horde, there was a sharp distinction between the dynasty of Çingis Xan and those outside of it. Here Yakubovskiy must mean that Noğay's role as an emir was more important that his descent from Çingis Xan, in the same way Temürleng took pride in his being an emir and not of the dynasty. Still he does not offer more information than this and adds that following Noğay's death, Toqta could consider himself an independent ruler.[54]

G. Vernadsky felt Noğay was passed over as a potential xan of the Golden Horde, but that he was too important to simply ignore. He further states that Batu must have confirmed Noğay's authority over the ordu troops (the "Mangkyt Horde", in his words, though the Mangits are not attested in the sources) as a special corps for maintaining an orderly government in the xanate. He also feels that Noğay reached an agreement with Mengü Temür over ruling part of the lands and was authorized to carry on diplomatic relations.[55] Later on, however, he feels that Noğay

[52]   *Mongoli i Rus'*, pp. 70-71.

[53]   *Mongoli i Rus'*, pp. 71 and 149.

[54]   *Zolotaya Orda*, pp. 85-87.

[55]   *The Mongols and Russia*, pp. 164-165.

became a true ruler in the reign of Tuda Mengü by declaring himself as xan of the Mangits.[56]

M.G. Safargaliev simply reviews much of the earlier scholarship on the role of Noğay. He states that Noğay, who was descended from Çingis Xan, had the rights of an elder (aka), but that he did not have the right to sit on the throne of the Golden Horde.[57]

A.N. Kurat felt that following his rise as a military leader, Noğay came to be the most powerful leader and to hold the administration of the Golden Horde in his hands as a result of the inner disturbances taking place in the Golden Horde. Even though in foreign sources he was known as a xan, since his father was not a xan, he could not call himself a xan.[58]

According to V.L. Egorov as well, a new period opened with the reign of Telebuğa in which the chief actor was Noğay.[59] Egorov expresses the theory that Noğay was *beylerbeyi*—chief of the army—under Batu and Berke and continued in this post under Mengü Temür (r. 1267–1280) and Tuda Mengü (r. 1280–1287), a post which gave him great power.[60] Egorov

[56]  *The Mongols and Russia*, pp. 174–175.

[57]  *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, pp. 58–61. It is not clear what source uses the term *aka*, since Safargaliev does not document this.

[58]  *IV.-XVIII. yüzyıllarda Karadeniz kuzeyindeki Türk kavimleri ve devletleri* (Ankara, 1972), pp. 129–130.

[59]  "Razvitie tsentrobejnïx ustremleniy v Zolotoy Orde", especially p. 40. See also his "Gosudarstvennoe i administrativnoe ustroystvo Zolotoy Ordï"; and most recently *Istoriçeskaya geografiya Zolotoy Ordï*, especially pp. 33–48.

[60]  "Razvitie tsentrobejnïx ustremleniy", p. 40 and n. 14. Alas, this theory cannot be proven, as the source to which Egorov refers in translation only (Raşîd ad-Dîn/Tizengauzen 2, trans p. 69) calls Noğay "head of the army of Batu and Berke", except that this corresponds to *laşkar-kaş* in the original Persian (see Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, p. 43; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 143; and the discussion of this and related terms earlier in this chapter).

also considers that, over the course of events, a religious barrier came between Noğay's personal *ulus* and the rest of the Golden Horde: while Noğay was proclaiming himself guardian of old Mongol traditions, the rest of the Golden Horde was becoming Islamized. Under Tuda Mengü he retired to his own *ulus* and devoted his energies to making his own territories independent, as can be seen from his relations with a number of the Russian principalities. (These principalities refer to him in their chronicles as a *tsar'*.)[61]

Egorov considers the best description for the state of affairs at this time as a split in the state and a separation of the *ulus* of Noğay from the rest of the territory of the Golden Horde; he says that one must speak of the sovereignty of Noğay's power. According to Egorov, Noğay completely cut off his relations with the xan and carried out his own active foreign policy, seeking to create an actual state. All this is supposed to fit in with Egorov's interpretation of the history of the Golden Horde based on competing centers of power.[62]

G.A. Fedorov-Davïdov has written an important work which could provoke a reaction on every page, but it is necessary to limit the comments here to Noğay and the "four-bey system".[63] Fedorov-Davïdov follows many of the earlier opinions, but adds that the fact of Noğay's diplomatic correspondences with foreign powers is in full agreement with his theory of the division of the *ulus* of Batu into two flanks (*i.e.*, a right and a left) at this time. He states further that Noğay, as an

[61]    "Razvitie tsentrobejnïx ustremleniy", p. 40 and n. 20.

[62]    "Razvitie tsentrobejnïx ustremleniy", p. 40-41.

[63]    *Obşçestvennïy stroy Zolotoy Ordï*.

elder (aka),[64] had certain rights to the throne, and that the feudal nomadic aristocracy grouped around the two centers of power—Toqta and Noğay. Fedorov-Davïdov also makes a distinction between Noğay and the other emirs, considering that Noğay had his own emirs, as would a xan, and that in the end what cost Noğay the struggle was that "his emirs" went over to the side of Toqta.[65]

Noğay is sometimes connected in the secondary literature with the Mangit "ruling tribe" which formed the basis of the Noğay Horde in the period of the Later Golden Horde.[66] Vernadsky associated the *ulus* of Noğay with the Mangit by considering that Noğay was made head of the *ordu* troops which he called the "Mangkyt Horde".[67] Yakubovskiy wrote that there were many Qıyats in Toqta's army, but added without any reference that there were many Mangits in the army of Noğay.[68]

An interesting negative argument is suggested by Yu. Bregel's study of the Qongrat rulers according to the 19th century historian Munis. In this study Bregel points out that the Qongrat historian (the Qongrats were rivals of the Mangits for quite some time by that point in Central Asian history), makes Noğay appear a Qongrat, just as he did with Musa Bey (a grandson of the the later Edigü and an important figure in the Noğay Horde), who most certainly was a Mangit (or Aq Mangit).[69] Perhaps the medieval writers knew whether Noğay was a Mangit, even

[64]   Fedorov-Davïdov does not document this usage either, which was also used by Safargaliev as noted above.

[65]   *Obşçestvennïy stroy Zolotoy Ordï*, pp. 72–74.

[66]   For the literature on the Noğay Horde, see Bennigsen and Quelquejay, "La grande horde Nogay".

[67]   *The Mongols and Russia*, pp. 164–165.

[68]   *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 100, basing himself on Raşîd ad-Dîn/Tizengauzen 2, p. 33.

though they did not say so explicitly. Since, however, there is no direct corroboration of such a fact in the primary sources, the view that Noğay was head of the Mangıt tribe in this period can only remain a very attractive theory. One thing that can be stated without any fear, however, is that the "ruling tribe" which Noğay headed, whether it had anything to do with the Mangıt tribe or not, did not have a leading status in the Golden Horde following Noğay's downfall.

If it is accepted that Noğay was indeed the chief of the *ulus* beys, the struggle for power which Noğay and probably his "ruling tribe" lost to Toqta and his loyalists opened the position to another individual or "ruling tribe". In the period immediately following Noğay's death it is not certain who might have filled the role of chief of the *ulus* beys. According to certain sources, Toqta gave Noğay's "place" (*maqâm*) to Saraybuğa b. Mengü Temür (*Ṭuqṭâ rattabahu* [or: *qad rattabahu*] *fî maqâm Nuğîya*), though it is not certain what is intended in the sources by "place".[70] The sources then reveal, however, that Saraybuğa conspired with Noğay's remaining son Turay against Toqta to place himself as xan, as a result of which Toqta later awarded this

[69]    "Tribal Tradition and Dynastic History: The Early Rulers of the Qongrats According to Munis", *Asian and African Studies*. 16 (1982), pp. 357-398, especially pp. 391-392.

[71]    Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 93-94/117-119; Nuwayrî/ Tizengauzen 1, pp. 140/161-162; and Maqrîzî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 371/284. Cf. Naṭanzî, *Târîx-i anûnîm-i Iskandar* (=*Muntaxab at-tavârîx*), Tizengauzen 2, pp. 232/127; and Ġaffârî, *Nusax-i cahân-ârâ*, Tizengauzen 2, pp. 270/211 (who often follows Naṭanzî).

position to his own sons Tükelbuğa and İlbasar.[71] Perhaps this should be
understood to mean that it was only control over the Crimea and other
specific territories that was given to these Saraybuğa without his being
an *ulus* bey, especially if he wanted to be xan. (Territories along the
Danube and Ural rivers are mentioned as having been the territories of
Noğay.)

The historical figure who most clearly assumed the position of
head of the *ulus* beys in the Golden Horde following this period of re-
alignment was Qutluq Temür (d. ca. 1335).[72] Qutluq Temür first appears
in the sources as the "deputy" (*nâ'ib*) of Toqta and one of his emirs.[73]
According to one source, Qutluq Temür was entrusted with the
administration of Toqta's state (*wa-kâna Qutluqtimur yatawallî tadbîr
al-mamlaka fî hayât Tuqtây wa-tartîb ahwâlihâ*).[74] Thus while Toqta
started his reign with the aid of Noğay, it was Qutluq Temür who
ultimately took over Noğay's role in the state following the latter's
death.

[71]   Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 93-94/117-119; Nuwayrî/
Tizengauzen 1, pp. 140/161-162; and Maqrîzî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 371/284.
Cf. Natanzî, *Târîx-i anûnîm-i Iskandar* (=*Muntaxab at-tavârîx*),
Tizengauzen 2, pp. 232/127; and Ġaffârî, *Nusax-i cahân-ârâ*, Tizengauzen
2, pp. 270/211 (who often follows Natanzî).

[72]   For accounts of the career of Qutluq Temür see Ibn Duqmâq/
Tizengauzen 1, pp. 316-321/322-328; Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 371-
372/384-388; 'Aynî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 485-492/515-522; and Hâfiz-i
Abrû, *Zayl-i câmi' at-tavârîx*, Tizengauzen 2, pp. 243-245/140-142.

[73]   Ibn Xaldûn also calls Qutluq Temür the "deputy" of Özbek's own
father, but this is a contradiction of Ibn Xaldûn's own statement
earlier that Qutluq Temür had been the deputy of Toqta (Ibn Xaldûn/
Tizengauzen 1, pp. 371/384-385). Tizengauzen himself notes on p. 371 n.
8 that the statement that Qutluq Temür was the "deputy" of Özbek's
father is not in one of the manuscripts of this work. Since Özbek's
father, Toğrılça b. Mengü Temür b. Toqoqan b. Batu b. Coçi b. Çingiz,
was never xan, the the preceding xan, Toqta, might have been meant
(Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 109 n. 66).

[74]   Ibn Duqmâq/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 316/323.

Ibn Xaldûn reports that upon Toqta's death Qutluq Temür swore an oath of fealty to Özbek (wa-lammâ halaka Tuqṭây bâya'a nâ'ibuhu Qutluqtimur li-Uzbak) upon the advice of Özbek's mother.[75] According to Ibn Duqmâq, Qutluq Temür cooperated with the widow of Toğrılca to elevate her son Özbek to the throne (fa-sta'âna bi-xâtûn kabîra min xawâtînihim kânat zawcat Tuğrîlcâ wâlid Uzbak wa-ttafaqa ma'ahâ 'alâ iqâmat Uzbak).[76] Together, they joined in an alliance against Elbasmış b. Toqta and his emir Qadaq.[77]

Among the other descriptions of the role of Qutluq Temür is that he was the leader of Özbek's country (mudabbir mamlakatihi [or: mudabbir dawlatihi wa-amrihi]).[78] In another source he is called the "emir of [the Golden Horde capital] Saray",[79] and in yet a third it is said that the government of Özbek depended on him.[80] On the basis of these descriptions alone it is already clear that the role of Qutluq Temür under Toqta was the same as the descriptions of his role under Toqta.

Other facets of the role of Qutluq Temür reported in the sources are that he was engaged in diplomatic correspondence, acting, in fact, as the intermediary between Özbek and Egypt. Furthermore, when Özbek Xan was offered the Ilxanid throne by the Ilxanid ulus emirs, he declined the offer following consultation with Qutluq Temür. It is likely in this

[75]  Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 371/384. According to Tizengauzen's translation, Qutluq Temür elevated Özbek to the throne on the advice of Özbek's mother.

[76]  Ibn Duqmâq/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 316/323.

[77]  Târîx-i Şayx Uvays, Tizengauzen 2, pp. 229/100. On the name Elbasmış cf. Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 109 n. 63.

[78]  Ibn Duqmâq/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 318 and n. 2/325.

[79]  Ḥâfiẓ-i Abrû/Tizengauzen 2, pp. 244/141.

[80]  Ḥâfiẓ-i Abrû/Tizengauzen 2, pp. 221-222/93.

instance that Qutluq Temür consulted with Özbek not only as his "deputy", since he was not a true member of the hierarchy subordinate to the xan, but as the chief spokesman for what is termed the "land" for the Later Golden Horde.

A number of episodes form a perfect parallel to the way in which Toqta killed Noğay's rival emirs on Noğay's behalf while Noğay killed Toqta's mother on Toqta's behalf. According to one source, at the beginning of Özbek's reign it was Özbek who killed Elbasmış b. Toqta and and Qutluq Temür who killed his emir Qadaq.[81] When Noğay's son-in-law Taz b. Müncük (the leader of that group which was trying to re-establish itself as a "ruling tribe" if it was no longer that), tried to overthrow Özbek, it was Qutluq Temür who killed Taz on behalf of Özbek. Özbek is also reported to have killed a number of emirs and most of the *baxşis*[82] and sorcerers (*saḥara*) upon taking the throne.

According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who traveled to the area of the Golden Horde in 1333,[83] Qutluq Temür was the representative of Özbek in Xwârazm, "which was in the dominions of Özbek".[84] At the same time Ibn

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[81]  *Târïx-i Şayx Uvays*, Tizengauzen 2, pp. 229/100.

[82]  Mufaḍḍal/Tizengauzen 1 186/197. "Lamas" according to some scholars, though in the Later Golden Horde this term referred to the scribes who wrote down the correspondence. See Usmanov, *Jalovannïe aktï*, pp. 125-131.

[83]  *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325-1354*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb, iii, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, II, 141 (Cambridge, 1971), p. 531.

[84]  Ibn Baṭṭūṭa/Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii, p. 4.

Baṭṭûṭa also called him a "great emir" and said that Qutluq Temür was, in fact, Özbek's governor over Xurâsân.[85]

There are a number of significant differences between between the career of Qutluq Temür and the career of Noğay. First of all, there is no indication in the sources that Noğay ever controlled any territory other than the Crimea (or a larger territory between the Danube and the Ural rivers) as his *ulus*. Qutluq Temür, however, was sent to Xwârazm once Özbek relieved him for a short period of time of his duties as "deputy". There he replaced the brother named Bay Demir of Özbek's wife, Bayaluni *Xatun*, but in 1323-4 Qutluq Temür was once again assigned to Özbek as his "deputy". It may be possible to relate this shifting in positions to the campaigns conducted at this time against the Çağatay xanate, for which reason Qutluq Temür's expertise may have been required in the field.[86]

This shuffling of positions allows one to consider Özbek Xan as an example of a ruler who was powerful enough to carry out a change in the leadership of the "ruling tribes" (while Noğay was powerful leader of a "ruling tribe" who imposed a change in xans through the reign of Toqta). This is not an unusual occurence, since there was a practice of mutual acceptance between the leader of a "ruling tribe" and the xan when either one changed.

[85]    Ibn Baṭṭûṭa/Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii, p. 9. In the same passage Ibn Battuta refers to other "great emirs" as well, except that these are the *yarğuçı*s, or judges. Ibn Baṭṭûṭa/Defrémery and Sanguinetti, iii, pp. 11-12. On the *yarğuçı*s see Doerfer, *TMEN*, iv (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 64-66.

[86]    For additional information, historical and otherwise, on Qutluq Temür in Xwârazm see G.P. Snesarev, *Xorezmskie legendï kak istoçnik po istorii religioznïx kul'tov Sredney Azii* (Moscow, 1983), pp. 164-165.

The same sources which discuss Qutluq Temür offer for the first time more information than for the 13th century regarding other probable *ulus* beys in the state. When Özbek replaced Qutluq Temür as his "deputy" (*nâ'ib*) for a short period of time (1320-1321), his new deputy was Isa b. Körköz.[87] This figure can therefore be considered one of the first historical examples of a second *ulus* emir within the state, since to have become deputy in place of Qutluq Temür, Isa b. Körköz must have been one of the four other *ulus* emirs.

Isa b. Körköz is described in the sources as a *muqaddim* (i.e., "army leader" as in *muqaddim al-cayş*) at the same time that Qutluq Temür was "deputy" (*nâ'ib*). Vaṣṣâf refers to both Qutluq Temür and Isa Bey as *ulus* emirs.[88] Ibn Baṭṭûṭa also mentions Isa Bey as *amîr al-ulûs* "emir of emirs".[89] Since Ibn Baṭṭûṭa traveled to this area in 1333, could it be that Isa was the *nâ'ib* at this time as well, or at least that there was some memory of this?[90]

In addition to Qutluq Temür and Isa Bey, Ibn Baṭṭûṭa also names a third person, Tuluq Temür, as Özbek's representative in the

[87]    For brief accounts of the career of Isa b. Körköz see Ibn Duqmâq/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 321/328; Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 372/388; and 'Aynî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 491-492/521-522.

[88]    Vaṣṣâf, *Kitâb-i mustatâb-i Vaṣṣâf*, Tizengauzen 2, p. 87; see also p. 89.

[89]    Ibn Baṭṭûṭa/Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, p. 395. This is exactly that passage in which Ibn Baṭṭûṭa defines *amîr al-ulûs* as "greatest of the emirs".

[90]    It should be noted that the working hypothesis here is that there was only one "deputy" or *nâ'ib* at any one time. Certain sources might, however, lead one to also conclude that at least some—though not all— sources use the term *nâ'ib* interchangeably with *ulus* bey (or *ulus* emir).

Crimea (actually, he calls it the "city of *Qiram*").[91] Tuluq Temür, who is called an emir by Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, may be seen as the leader of a "ruling tribe" centered around the Crimea, just as Tayuq may have been the same in the time of Berke, and later certainly Noğay.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa continues to give important information on the *ulus* beys of the Golden Horde by mentioning yet a fourth individual, Muhammed Xoca (with the *nisba* al-Xwârazmî according to Ibn Baṭṭûṭa).[92] This Muhammed Xoca is called the governor of Azaq, a territory which will also fit into later descriptions of *ulus* beys.

Thus, during the reign of Özbek Xan, the sources discuss four *ulus* beys: Qutluq Temür, Isa b. Körköz, Tuluq Temür, and Muhammad Xoca.[93] This coincides with the earliest explicit statements in the narrative sources that the *ulus* emirs in the Golden Horde numbered four. Since the sources state that they are not as powerful as the *ulus* emirs in the Ilxanate, perhaps such a statement reflects the renewed influence of the xans Toqta and after him Özbek.

If Qutluq Temür was the chief of the *ulus* beys, as seems likely, the head of the *ulus* beys in the time of Özbek either just happened to rule Xwârazm at the behest of the xan, or Xwârazm was the territory around which the "ruling tribe" headed by Qutluq Temür was centered. One of the other territories ruled by an *ulus* bey was the Crimea. It is

[91]    Ibn Baṭṭûṭa/Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, pp. 358-359.

[92]    Ibn Baṭṭûṭa/Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, p. 368.

[93]    Another person described in the sources as ruler over Xwârazm, Yeseül b. Boraq, was not a figure in the Golden Horde and is described as a "*nâ'ib* of Çağatay". Özbek actually sent Qutluq Temür against him.

not clear what the difference was between the territorial associations of Qutluq Temür and Isa b. Körköz, however.

From about the time of the death of Qutluq Temür (ca. 1335), it becomes more difficult to trace with certainty the chronology of the individual leaders of the "ruling tribes" in the Golden Horde. A small number of *ulus* beys are known in this period, but it is not clear just when they were involved in this capacity, nor who some of their fellow *ulus* beys might have been. There is an individual named Melik Temür described as "deputy" (*nâ'ib*) of the Crimea in connection with events in the year 1340, which still falls within the reign of Özbek Xan.[94] It is not difficult to see in this name the same Tuluq Temür as before, with the title Melik (Ar. *malik* or "king") as a part of his name.[95] There are also some other names which will be discussed later in this chapter, but they cannot be fixed to precise dates.

Although the career of Qutluq Temür may be viewed as that of successor to Noğay, he has hardly received the same degree of attention in the secondary literature. Nasonov, who discusses the "civil war" between Noğay and Toqta, mentions his successor Qutluq Temür in a single footnote in connection with the succession of Özbek Xan.[96] Vernadsky, who has so many theories concerning the career of Noğay, makes no mention of Qutluq Temür at all.

According to Yakubovskiy, Qutluq Temür did help kill a son of Toqta's, enabling Özbek to sit on the throne, and Qutluq Temür began to

[94]   Muġultay, *Târîx as-salâṭîn Miṣr wa-š-Šâm wa-Bayt al-muqaddas wa-umarâ'ihâ*, Tizengauzen 1, pp. 260/269.

[95]   It should be remembered that Noğay was also called "king" (*malik*) of the Crimea as noted above.

[96]   *Mongolï i Rus'*, pp. 81-82 n. 3.

play an important role above all as ruler of Xwârazm, but as a relative, too.[97] Later Yakubovskiy compares him in passing to Noğay. Even though Qutluq Temür was a relative of Özbek, he nevertheless was never considered a prince, but rather just one of the members of the ruling house, like Noğay.[98] Yakubovskiy characterizes the government of the Golden Horde to be a feudal monarchy, and members of the ruling house such as Qutluq Temür also ruled individual portions of the state.[99]

Subsequent scholars since Yakubovskiy have been satisfied to only mention Qutluq Temür in passing (Safargaliev and Fedorov-Davïdov) or to ignore him completely (Vernadsky).[100] Egorov gives an analysis, only somewhat more generous than a passing mention, which discusses Qutluq Temür as an example of how each of the *uluses* remained an independent economic unit, with the example of Xwârazm in this case. He flatly states that under Özbek and his successor Canıbek, a period in which the authority of the xans had become very great, there were no sharp clashes between the xan and the feudal lords. He attributes this to the fact that the respective policies of the two sides shared were in their mutual interest.[101]

There are a number of scholars who discuss centralized government in various periods of the Golden Horde, a point of view which the "four-bey system" of course complicates. B.F. Manz has advanced the theory in a study of the *qaraçı* beys in the later Crimean xanate that the "four-

[97]  *Zolotaya Orda*, pp. 90-92 and 266.

[98]  *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 105

[99]  *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 124.

[100]  Cf. Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, p. 70; and Fedorov-Davïdov, *Obşçestvennïy stroy Zolotoy Ordï*, pp. 56 and 89-90 and n. 52.

[101]  "Razvitie tsentrobejnïx ustremleniy", p. 44.

bey system" was founded during the reign of Özbek Xan as a part of his efforts to centralize the administration of the Golden Horde.[102] Manz based herself on the translation in Safargaliev's *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï* of what he referred to as a description of the divan (or court) of the Golden Horde under Özbek Xan. It is instructive to fully quote this passage here, including in brackets those parts of the passage which Safagaliev omitted in his translation:[103]

> There are four *ulus* emirs (*amïr al-ulûs*) and the greatest of them is the *beylerbeyi* (*baklârï bak*). [He is the emir of emirs just as Quṭlûşâh was under Ġâzân, and Çûbân under Xudâbanda and then Abû Sa'îd. ] The most important matters are not dealt with except through them. If one of them is absent, his name is nevertheless signed to the *yarlïq* as if he were there, and his deputy takes his place. They do not act upon any matter (*lâ yumdûna*) without the vezir, and when they are not present, the vezir acts, giving the order (*amr*) to the deputies, and their names are then written. The true ruler is the vezir. Just as the *beylerbeyi* is the sole authority on military matters, the vezir is the sole authority on matters of finance, administration, and dismissal from office. [On the most important matters he is the sole authority; but in matters of the property of the people they all have a say. The emirs generally do not know more than what their deputies tell them.]

Safargaliev connected this passage with the Golden Horde even though it clearly refers to the Ilxanate (as understood from the personalities

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[102] Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate", p. 282, quoting Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, pp. 68-69.

[103] Safargaliev read this passage in Tizengauzen 1, referring to the translations on pp. 249 ('Umarî), 348 (Muḥibbî), 411 (Qalqaşandî), and 439-440 (Maqrîzî). The passage appears in the original Arabic on p. 227. There is no heading in Tizengauzen's work to indicate what state this passage is referring to, though it is clear from the context as well as from the complete text of 'Umarî's *At-ta'rîf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ aş-şarîf* that this passage, which appears on pp. 45-46, is a continuation of the description of Iran begun on p. 43. The reference to Muḥibbî does, in fact, deal with the Golden Horde and the four *ulus* emirs, the reference to Qalqaşandî corresponds to his *Ṣubḥ al-a'şâ*, vii, p. 304, and the reference to Maqrîzî is unclear.

mentioned in the text but omitted by him: Quṭlûṣâh, Ġâzân, Çûbân, Xudâbanda, and Abû Sa'îd). Some of the other sources he refers to do, however, refer to the Golden Horde.

Safargaliev further argues that no such divan existed in the Golden Horde prior to the reign of Özbek Xan because four emirs are not listed in *yarlıq*s dating prior to the reign of Özbek. Finally he also concludes that the divan finds its origin during the reign of Özbek, who was responsible for centralizing the administration of the Golden Horde. This is the foundation on which this theory rests.

To return to the history of the "four-bey system", under Özbek Xan's successor Canıbek (r. 1342-1357) there are many names of individuals attested in the sources of whom some or all might have been leaders of "ruling tribes". If the information is accurate, however, it might mean a great rate of turnover for the beys or that the "ruling tribes" were shifting in their roles. Such a re-alignment might mean that the xan was in a very strong position, or that he was jockeying for power among the various "ruling tribes" and other potential "ruling tribes".

According to Muḥibbî, Qutlubuğa Inaq was one of the four persons who according to custom were rulers in the lands of the house of Özbek Xan.[104] This source also notes that Qutlubuğa Inaq was engaged in correspondence with Egyptian officials, who responded to him in 1351. He is also called the "deputy" (*nâ'ib*) of Canıbek Xan. Very little else is known about this individual beyond the facts given in this description.

[104] Muḥibbî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 338/348.

Muḥibbî also writes that Husam ad-Din Mahmud, also known as Mahmud Divani, was Canıbek's vezir.[105] There is, however, every reason for believing that he, too, was one of the four *ulus* beys, since he was one of the three companions of Qutlubuǧa Inaq. All four of these individuals are further described as *al-amîrî l-kabîrî* "great emir (adj.)".

For the brief reign of Berdibek (r. 1357-1359) there is also very little information. According to one source the aforementioned Mahmud Divani took part in the enthroning of Berdibek Xan.[106] The sources also call Saray Temür b. (Emir) Caruq a vezir of Berdibek.[107]

Interesting information relevant to these last two reigns is also to be found in the Venetian sources. According to the Golden Horde correspondences with the Venetians noted by Hammer-Purgstall, there were five persons who are named at the end of a document sent by Canıbek in 1347: *Mogalbey, Thouazi, Jagaltay, Jerdhezin*, and *Cotloboga*.[108] Safargaliev refers to this document and ambiguously states that three of Canıbek's four (!) *ulus* emirs--Maglubey, Yangilbey, and Kutlubuga (in Safargaliev's spelling)--also signed a later agreement.[109]

Even though it is the four *ulus* beys who are supposed to sign the documents, it is very difficult to find adequate outside documentation

[105] Muḥibbî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 338/348-349; and Qalqaşandî/ Tizengauzen 1, pp. 401/413.

[106] Zayn ad-Dîn, *Zayl-i târîx-i guzîda*, Tizengauzen 2, pp. 225/96.

[107] Zayn ad-Dîn/Tizengauzen 2, pp. 225/96; and *Târîx-i Şayx Uvays*, Tizengauzen 2, pp. 231/103.

[108] Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, pp. 517-519. *Mogalbey* is also named earlier in this document in the variant spelling *Mogalbei*.

[109] Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, p. 110.

to verify that each of these individuals was an *ulus* bey. It is also possible that this was a theoretical role of the *ulus* beys which was not adhered to strictly. There is, of course, no obstacle to identifying the person named *Cotloboga* in this document with the aforementioned Qutlubuǧa Inaq. As for *Mogalbei/Mogalbey*, the less reliable source Naṭanzî names one Ilyas, son of Moǧulbuǧa, as "emir of emirs" (*amîr al-umarâ'*). If one chooses to equate *Mogalbei/Mogalbey* with Moǧulbuǧa—which would appear unsound philologically—then *Mogalbei/Mogalbey* could be a likely candidate to have been an *ulus* bey himself.[110]

Another letter which has been preserved was sent to the Venetians in 1358 and includes the names *Asambei*, *Megalbei*, *Sarabei*, *Jagaltai*, *Tolobei*, and *Cotulubuga* as signatories.[111] Safargaliev's interpretation of this letter as published by Hammer-Purgstall is that new names appear among the "powerful high officials", namely (and again in his spelling): Alimbey (Ali-bek), Saray-bek, and Tulunbek.[112] On this basis Safargaliev believes that the number of *ulus* beys in the Golden Horde under Berdibek rose to six, which is according to him confirmed by the Arab sources. Safargaliev does not consider, however, the additional name *Cotuletamur* which appears in an appended order to this second letter.[113]

[110]  Naṭanzî/Tizengauzen 2, pp. 233-235/129-130.

[111]  Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, pp. 719-721.

[112]  *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, p. 110. Safargaliev misreads Hammer-Purgstall's *Asambei* as "Alimbey (Ali-bek)", though on the basis of assimilation (*nb > mb*) one would rather reconstruct this form as *Hasan Bey.

[113]  Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, pp. 721-722.

Some of the names mentioned in these two sources can be identified with historical figures known from other sources.[114] Tulunbey is also known in the *Nikonovskaya letopis'* as an emir of Canıbek. He is supposed to have encouraged Berdibek to kill his father as a part of Tulunbey's plans to become the first emir in the realm.[115] There is also an inscription from the Crimea which mentions Qutluq Temür as a "great emir" in 1358.[116]

It has already been mentioned that, in addition to the individuals just discussed, there is a whole series of probable *ulus* beys for whom it is difficult to establish an absolute chronology. This refers to a number of names known for rulers of the Crimea in the mid-14th century without any more specific dates available except through conjecture. To briefly recap the earlier rulers of the Crimea, the first mention was of Tabuq/Tayuq, then Noğay, and then Tuluq Temür under Özbek, who is perhaps to be equated with the Melik Temür known from 1340. After this time, a series of indirect references allow one to piece together a relative chronology of the rulers of the Crimea.

One reads in the sources that Ali Bey b. Isa b. Tuluq Temür ruled in the Crimea after Zayn ad-Din Ramazan, who is himself said to have been ruler of the Crimea in 1350.[117] It is also noted in 1384-5 that the father of Hasan b. Ramazan (so, Zayn ad-Din Ramazan) was *nâ'ib* in the

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[114] For a discussion of certain of these figures see Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, p. 110. Safargaliev's annotation leaves much to be desired; since it seems that much of what he writes is based on unreliable sources such as the work by Naṭanzî, his conclusions should be regarded with caution.

[115] Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 270.

[116] Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, p. 70.

[117] Muḥibbî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 340/350; and Qalqaşandî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 401/413.

Crimea; Tizengauzen dates this on the basis of another document to

1356.[118] The absolute chronology of this series is not known, nor is it

certain whether Isa b. Tuluq Temür might not have ruled, too.

Safargaliev further suggests on the basis of an inscription in the

Crimea that Qutluq Temür b. Tuluq Temür was ruler in 1358.[119] Among one

of the additional possible dates comes from the notice that Xoca Ali Bey

was probably one of the *ulus* emirs in 1363-4, that is following the rule

of Berdibek.[120] All these points together makes it possible to establish

the following relative chronology:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Tuluq Temür | [1333] |
| 2. | Melik Temür ( = Tuluq Temür?) | [1340] |
| 3. | Zayn ad-Din b. Ramazan | [1350-1356] |
| ?. | Qutluq Temür (b. Tuluq Temür?) | [1358] |
| 4. | Ali Bey b. Isa b. Tuluq Temür | [1363-1364] |

The evidence regarding these figures is at best fragmentary and in some

cases conjectural (such as Safargaliev's various statements regarding

Qutluq Temür, who might be the son of Tuluq Temür and who might have

ruled the Crimea). Clearly there is a series of often-related rulers of

[118] 'Asqalânî, *Kitâb anbâ' al-ġamr bi-abnâ' al-'umr*, Tizengauzen 1, pp. 450/452 and n. 4 referring to Zayn ad-Din. For this date he cites a document in: "Heyd, Gesch. des Levanthandels", II, 203. (See W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, Leipzig, 1885-1886/ Amsterdam, 1959, ii, p. 202 and n. 1.)

[119] Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, p. 70, citing A.Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Razvalinï Ürgença* (1930), p. 18. He does not mention, as noted earlier, the occurrence of the name Qutluq Temür (*Cotuletamur*) in the continuation of the Venetian document to which he himself has referred earlier (Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, pp. 721-722).

[120] Muḥibbî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 338-340/349-350; and Qalqaşandî/ Tizengauzen 1, pp.401/413. Safargaliev believes that Xoca Ali Bey was ruler of the Crimea in 1364 (*Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, p. 70), and Fedorov-Davïdov discusses these names as well (*Obşçestvennïy stroy Zolotoy Ordï*, p. 101). See also the account of the career of Mamay below.

the Crimea which can be reconstructed on the basis of the narrative
sources. These rulers in some instances coincide with potential
candidates for consideration as *ulus* beys in this period, but there is
not enough evidence to place these figures within a full historical
context in contrast to the earlier period. For the reign of Özbek Xan
there are probably four such *ulus* beys known and the sources relate
quite clearly that Özbek's lands included Kafâ, Qiram, Mâçar, Azâq,
Surdâq, and Xwârazm, plus his capital of Sarâ.[121] For later periods such
as this, one can only rely on indirect evidence such as the statements
by Muḥibbî and Qalqaşandî that on the basis of protocol the rulers of
the Crimea and Azaq were sent the same length letters, which is a small
bit of evidence in favor of the interpretation of their similar
roles.[122]

While the organization of the Golden Horde was stable through
about 1360, it is possible that at that point "ruling tribes" came to
the western territories from the east during or following the
instability of the 1360s-1370s. As a preliminary to a discussion of the
role of the eastern "ruling tribes" in the next chapter, then this
chapter must address the relationship between the White and Blue Hordes
comprising the entire Golden Horde.

This division between the White (or western) and Blue (or
eastern) halves of the Golden Horde goes back to the lifetime of Çingis

[121] Ibn Baṭṭûṭa/Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, p. 382.

[122] Muḥibbî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 340/350; and Qalqaşandî/Tizengauzen
1, pp. 401-402/413.

Xan himself.[123] Already at this time, the western division headed by
Batu was called the right flank, while the eastern division headed by
the older of the two sons, Orda, was called the left flank. Even though
legally the *ulus* of Orda was the senior, in practice Batu's *ulus* was the
dominant half. Abu l-Ğazi's *Şecere-yi Türk*, one of the only other sources
for this territory of Orda in the 13th century, includes the information
that Batu also gave his younger brother Siban land to the east of his
own territory.[124] According to Abu l-Ğazi, Orda's territory was to the
east of Siban's territory, while Raşîd ad-Dîn does not include Siban
among the princes of the left flank at all.

Very little is known about the rulers of the Blue Horde from
sources for the early period. According to Allsen, the last documentary
evidence regarding the person and rule of Orda dates from the 1250s.
Orda was followed at some point by Qongqıran, according to Allsen from
the late 1250s to the late 1270s. Qongqıran's successor was Orda's
grandson, Qoniçi, who ruled from shortly after 1277 to a short time
before 1300. Qoniçi, in turn, was succeeded by his own Bayan by 1299.
Raşîd ad-Dîn speaks of Bayan as someone who is still alive and describes

[123] On Orda and his successors through Sasıbuğa (?) see Raşîd ad-
Dîn/Blochet, pp. 90-106; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp. 99-107. The best
introduction to this early period in the history of the Blue Horde,
kindly made available by the author for the purposes of this discussion,
is T. Allsen, "The Princes of the Left Hand: An Introduction to the
History of the *Ulus* of Orda in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth
Centuries", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* (forthcoming), to which the
reader is referred for further details. On the origins of the term
"Golden Horde", see G.A. Bogatova, "Zolotaya Orda", *Russkaya reç'*
1970:1, p. 76; and V.P. Yudin, "Ordï: Belaya, Sinyaya, Seraya,
Zolotaya", *Kazaxstan, Srednyaya i Tsentral'naya Aziya v XVI-XVIII vv.*,
ed. B.A. Tulepbaev (Alma-Ata, 1983), pp. 106-165, especially pp. 131-
133.

[124] Abu l-Ğazi/Desmaisons, pp. 181/190-191. See also the discussion
in Allsen, "The Princes of the Left Hand".

that he had fought battles with Du'a and Qaydu of the Çağatay xanate.[125]
The last potential ruler of the *ulus* of Orda was *Sasıbuqa (?), but he
is merely mentioned by Raşîd ad-Dîn as a son of Bayan, since it was too
early for Raşîd ad-Dîn to have known of his (possible) later reign.[126]
The only published source offering details on the fate of the *ulus* of
Orda in the period following the account of Raşîd ad-Dîn is Naṭanzî's
*Muntaxab at-tavârîx*.[127] Although it has been stated throughout the
earlier chapters that Naṭanzî's work is notoriously unreliable, it is
now that this criticism will be addressed in detail.[128]

The kindest words that the modern historian can have for Naṭanzî
is that he offers unique details not to be found elsewhere; the worst
words one can have for his account is that it is a work of historical
fiction with next to no corroboration of any of his details. As would
any modern writer of historical fiction, Naṭanzî has included many real
historical personages. Scholars in the second half of the 20th century
have labored under the burden first imposed by Grekov and Yakubovskiy--
and their path was followed by many other scholars--who fully
incorporated the details given by Naṭanzî without taking into

[125] Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 95-98; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp.
101-103.

[126] Raşîd ad-Dîn/Blochet, pp. 96; and Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp. 102.
See also Allsen, "The Princes of the Left Hand". According to Raşîd ad-
Dîn/Blochet this form is ساتی بوقا (ms. ساسی بوقتا ), which Raşîd
ad-Dîn/Boyle reads as "Sati-Buqa".

[127] Naṭanzî/Tizengauzen 2, pp. 232-242/126-138; and Allsen, "The
Princes of the Left Hand".

[128] For criticisms of Naṭanzî's work see Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoy
Ordï*, p. 114 ff.; *Muntaxab at-tavârîx-i Mu'înî*, ed. J. Aubin (Tehran,
1957), "Note"; and most recently Yudin, "Ordï: Belaya, Sinyaya, Seraya,
Zolotaya", pp. 125-126 and the literature cited there.

consideration the worth of the account as a whole.[129] But Natanzî's
account of the history of the western half of the Golden Horde can speak
for itself.

Natanzî follows the account of Raşîd ad-Dîn through the defeat
of Noğay and the flight of his sons, though he does not go so far as to
include the death of Toqta.[130] He states that the *ulus* of Coçi was then
split into two halves, and that the descendants of Noğay established
themselves in the eastern half (according to him the areas of Uluğtağ,
Sekizyağaç, Qaratal, Tuysen,[131] Cend, and Barçkend), calling themselves
the sultans of the *Aq orda* "White Horde". The descendants of Toqta were
assigned the western territories (according to him Ibir-Sibir, Rus,
Libqa, Ükek, Macar, Bulğar, Başğird, and Saray Berke), and they were
called the sultans of the *Kök orda*. This already involves a number of
problems, including the fact that this is the only source which calls
the eastern horde the "White" and the western horde the "Blue".[132]

As for the subsequent rulers of the western half of the Golden
Horde, Natanzî gives the following account. The ruler after Toqta was
his son, Toğrul, who died in 1336-7. Toğrul was succeeded by his son
Özbek, who ruled until his death in 1365. Then came the rule of Canıbek,

[129]  *Zolotaya Orda*, Index under "Anonim Iskendera".

[130]  Natanzî/Aubin, pp. 68-81; and Natanzî/Tizengauzen 2, p. 127 n.
1.

[131]  A number of scholars have read this as Tyumen' in Siberia
following Natanzî/Tizengauzen 2, p. mention 127 n. 3. See Egorov,
*Istoriçeskaya geografiya Zolotoy Ordï*, pp. 128, 131,and 139.

[132]  On the problem of the "Blue Horde" and the "White Horde" see
Yudin, "Ordï: Belaya, Sinyaya, Seraya, Zolotaya", pp. 120-127. The
nomenclature used by Natanzî also contradicts the traditional Eurasian
color symbolism according to which white stands for the west, and blue
stands for the east. Further references to these two hordes will
ordinarily use the term White Horde to mean the western horde and Blue
Horde to mean the eastern horde unless otherwise indicated in brackets.

then Berdibek b. Canıbek, and then finally Keldibek b. Canıbek, after which the emirs of the "Blue Horde" [*the western or White Horde!] decided to invite a xan from the "White Horde" [*the eastern or Blue Horde].

It is difficult to believe that Naṭanzî intended for this version to be taken seriously. Every other account unrelated to his follows the traditional account that Toqta ruled until 1312-3, when he was succeeded not by his son, but by Özbek b. Toğrılca b. Mengü Temür.[133] Özbek's "classical" reign became as well known as, say, the reign of the 16th-century Ottoman sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, and to say that he ruled from 1336-7 to 1365 rather than the actual reign 1312-1341 is to strain the credulity of both the medieval and the modern reader. Following the very brief reign of Tinibek, Özbek's long-term (and not short-term) successor was Canıbek (1341-1357), followed by Berdibek (1357-1359). Nor can one find in the other sources names resembling those of most of the emirs named in this account (Toğlubey, Muqsan [?], Moğulbuğa, Ahmed, Nanguday and amîr al-umarâ' Ilyas b. Moğulbuğa).[134]

Most scholars have accepted Naṭanzî's account of the history of the ulus of Orda after simply emending his confusion of the Blue and White Hordes. Given the preceding discussion of Naṭanzî's reliability, however, how can it be possible to justify the use of the Muntaxab at-tavârîx as a "unique" source for the history of the ulus of Orda without the gravest misgivings?

[133]  See Raşîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 109 n. 66.

[134]  See Naṭanzî/Tizengauzen 2, p. 129 n.1, for variant forms of the name Nanguday which the editors offer on the basis of the Temürid sources.

Briefly, Natanzî's account of the subsequent history of the *ulus* of Orda is as follows. Natanzî writes that Sasıbuğa[135] b. Noğay (whom Raşîd ad-Dîn knows only as a son of Bayan, as noted above) ruled for 30 years in the "White Horde" [*Blue Horde in the east] until his death in 1320-1. He was followed by his son Erzen, who ruled 25 years until his death and burial in 1344-5 in Sığnaq. He was followed for a short time by Mubârak Xoca, who left the throne after six months. The next ruler—by the order of Canıbek Xan (who is not supposed to have been ruling yet according to Natanzî's account!)—was his brother Çimtay, who ruled for 17 years (so until about 1361). His son Urus Xan, who during his father's lifetime wanted to rule the "Blue Horde" [*the western or White Horde], succeeded him.

There is very little literary evidence to corroborate the facts of this account, but Yakubovskiy does introduce the numismatic evidence published in the 19th century by P. Savel'ev. He offers one table giving Savel'ev's chronology and then gives the following second table with Savel'ev's spellings of the names corrected (Table VI):[136]

[135] Natanzî/Aubin, p. 88; and Natanzî/Tizengauzen 2, pp. 234/129 give the form ساسی بوقا of this name (cf. Raşîd ad-Dîn above; see also Tizengauzen 2, Index under "Sasï-Buqa").

[136] Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, pp. 310-312.

## TABLE VI

### CHRONOLOGY OF THE BLUE HORDE ACCORDING TO SAVEL'EV/YAKUBOVSKIY

```
                    Sasï-Buka, 709 (=1309-1310)
                              |
                              |
        +---------------------+---------------------+
        |                                           |
        |                                           |
      Erzen                                  Mubarek-xodja
   d. 720 (=1320-1)                   720-745 (=1320-1--1344-5)
        |
        |
Çimtay 745-762 (=1344-5--1360-1)
        |
        |
    +------------------------+------------------------+
    |                        |                        |
    |                        |                        |
  Ximtay                 Urus-xan              Tuy-xodja oglan
   762                   763-782                      |
 (=1360-1)          (=1361-2--1380-1)                 |
                                                  Toxtamïş
                                               782 (=1380-1)
```
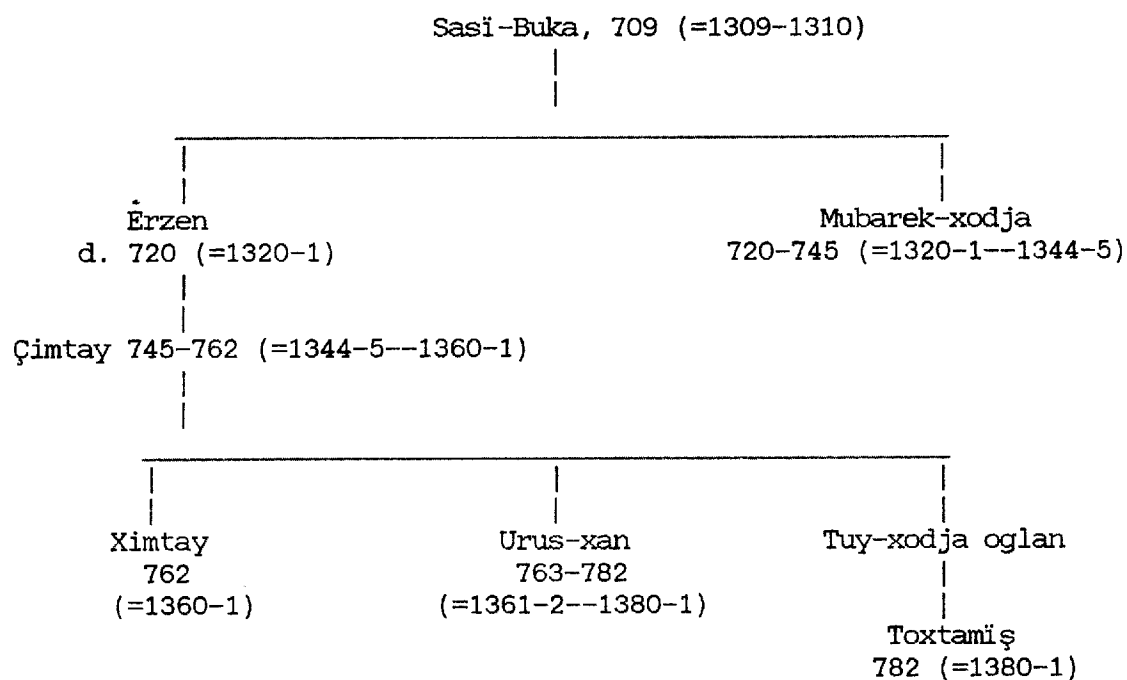
[*]    A.Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda i ee padenie* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), p. 312. The particular spellings of the above names are straight transliterations from Yakubovskiy.

It is important to note here that this series of coins does not answer the question of whether these individuals minted coins as Çingisid xans or another kind of ruler. The evidence is also confusing: according to Yakubovskiy, Mubarakxoca was the first to mint coins with his own name, meaning that he was the first xan of the "White Horde" [*the eastern Blue Horde] to declare his independence from the xan in Saray, the capital in the west. But the most important result of this and other literary evidence is that even Yakubovskiy—who first introduced Natanzî's work into scholarly consideration on the history of the Golden Horde—felt it necessary to drastically alter Natanzî's chronology of the rulers of the "White Horde" [*the eastern or Blue Horde] in response to this data in a second table.[137]

The crucial question raised by the discussion of the White and Blue Hordes is whether each of the two *uluses* shared four "ruling tribes" divided equally between the two of them, or whether they had their two independent sets of four "ruling tribes". This question unfortunately has no easy answer, for its is based on whether the *ulus* of Coçi shared four "ruling tribes" with the *ulus* of Orda, or whether it was independent. A number of scholars, notably Fedorov-Davïdov, have taken the position that the Golden Horde can be conveniently analyzed along these lines.[138] The point of view espoused by this dissertation is that the sources are too contradictory to accurately establish such divisions as a useful tool of analysis. The sources make constant reference to the right and left flanks, but it is never clear in the

[137] *Zolotaya Orda*, pp. 310-317.

[138] *Obşçestvennïy stroy Zolotoy Ordï*.

analyses whether this is within an *ulus*, or whether it represents the two halves of the entire Golden Horde.[139]

       This chapter has attempted to show that the "four-bey system" can be traced in the history of the Golden Horde through 1360. It has also attempted to show that the relationship between the White and Blue Hordes, and especially the history of the latter, is poorly understood, a problem compounded by the fact that too little is known about the four *ulus* beys late in the reign of Canıbek and during the reign of Berdibek. The confusing chronology of the next several decades point in the direction of a breakdown in the "four-bey system". One thing is certain, however: once the states of the Later Golden Horde are taken into consideration, it turns out that the "four-bey system" was definitely not a casualty of the turmoil in this period. The next chapter will try to analyze the evolution of the "four-bey system" after 1360 and understood how the "four-bey system" emerged stronger than ever in the states of the Later Golden Horde.

[139] One may simply note the example already cited in Chapter II, according to which the head of the Şirin "ruling tribe" is presumably in the right flank while the three other "ruling tribes", the Arğın, Barın, and Qıpçaq, are explicitly stated as being in the left flank (Muhammed Rıza/Kazembek, p. 75; and *IKTsTs*, ii, pp. 412-413). On the basis of this particular reference one could claim that there was a division into two flanks within the "state".

CHAPTER V

THE TRANSITION FROM THE GOLDEN HORDE

TO THE LATER GOLDEN HORDE


This chapter brings the discussion of the "four-bey system" full
circle by addressing the question of the organizational continuity of
the Golden Horde into the 15th century and beyond. The principles of the
"four-bey system" would lead one to seek in the emergence of the states
of the Later Golden Horde the union of four potential "ruling tribes"
with a Çingisid candidate for xan, but the evidence for this period is
both relatively scarce and confusing.[1] There is, however, just enough
evidence in the sources to trace the role of certain "ruling tribes" in
the rise of the Later Golden Horde. There is evidence in particular for
tracing the rise of the Şirin "ruling tribe" from the late 14th century
on until its role in the "foundation" of the Crimean xanate in 1449.
This specific case study can serve as the example *par excellence* to
prove that the "four-bey system" in the Later Golden Horde had a genetic
or child-parent relationship to the same system in the earlier Golden
Horde.

Following the death of Berdibek Xan there took place a tremendous
upheaval in the Golden Horde. This period saw the emergence of a whole
series of "xans" supported by competing factions in the confused events

[1]    The study of the period under question is fraught with numerous
problems, including the lack of a satisfactory chronology. Such a
chronology would be a separate undertaking in itself and certainly falls
outside the focus of this chapter, which must concern itself with the
"four-bey system". The discussion of the chronology of events in this
chapter is therefore based on Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, pp. 272-335
and 374-428 (pp. 336-373 discuss the campaigns between Toqtamış and
Temürleng, which are mostly irrelevant to the present discussion) and
Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 109-208.

of the 1360s-1370s. There are a number of individuals whose active
support of various candidates for xan would fit the role of an *ulus* bey
in this period, especially Mamay, but the narrative sources which
documented the "four-bey system" earlier are no longer available to
fully document this system in the Golden Horde after the death of
Berdibek. Many of the individual figures known in the sources for this
period cannot even be placed for sure within either the White or Blue
Hordes. At the same, the numismatic sources and the Russian chronicles
offer important additional information to supplement the Mamlûk sources
contributing to a new level of complexity and contradiction in the total
information of the various kinds of sources. One result of this
confusion in the sources is that scholars speak of     over 25 "xans"
over the next decade and a half.[2] But while they have tried for
generations to piece together the complicated chronology of who ruled
for how many months in which city on the basis of either the numismatic
evidence or the narrative sources (including unreliable sources such as
the work by Natanzî), they have not focused their research on possible
continuity in the "four-bey system" in this period.

There is no need to go into the detailed chronology of these
various rulers here, since it is not of direct concern for a discussion
of the "four-bey system". It suffices to mention that the names of the
most important competing figures which occur in the sources following
the death of Berdibek in 1359 included Xızr, Temür Xoca, Ordu Melik,
Keldibek, Nevruz, Qulpa, Abdüllah, Çerkes/Şerkes, Murat, Murid, and
Aziz. Mamay supported the rule of Abdüllah from about 1362 till about
1370, after which he supported Muhammed Bulaq. The names of other rivals

[2]     See for example Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 272.

such as Urus Xan, Arabşah, Qarıxan b. Aybekxan, and others are also

known. The importance of Mamay continued until his loss to the Russians

at Kulikovo Pole in 1380 and his subsequent defeat by the new-comer

Toqtamış, a member of the Blue Horde who had sought refuge with

Temürleng following Urus Xan's murder of his father.[3]

Despite the importance of his role as the leader of a "ruling

tribe", most interest in Mamay's life is in connection with his defeat

by the Russians in 1380 (an event whose importance has often been

exaggerated as a turning point in Russian history).[4] At any rate, none

of the other *ulus* beys can be documented for certain, and no one

individual stands out in the sources as having cooperated with three

others to form a "state" in cooperation with a Çingisid. It would be

possible to postulate on the basis of this apparent lack of stability in

the governing of the Golden Horde in the 1360s-1370s that the "four-bey

system" collapsed in the western *ulus* of Coçi, the traditional Golden

Horde.

The interpretation of the events of the 1360s and 1370s offered

by Ibn Xaldûn—who was, of course, a historian in his own right—

[3]    This paragraph simply follows the account in Yakubovskiy,
*Zolotaya Orda*, pp. 270-337. Cf. the other interpretations such as
Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, pp. 111-144; Axmedov, *Gosudarstvo
koçevïx uzbekov*, pp. 33-37; M. Kafalı, *Altın orda hanlığının kuruluş ve
yükseliş devirleri* (Istanbul, 1976), pp. 89-99; and Egorov, "Zolotaya
Orda pered Kulikovskoy bitvoy". A re-evaluation of this chronology in
order to include more recent numismatic evidence and in order to
discount the information given by Natanzî is an important desideratum
which falls outside the scope of this chapter.

[4]    See the companion articles to the one by Egorov in the volume
*Kulikovskaya bitva* cited above commemorating this event; V.V. Kargalov,
*Konets ordïnskogo iga* (Moscow, 1984[2]), pp. 43-60; and most recently C.
Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde. The Mongol Impact on Medieval
Russian History* (Bloomington, 1985), pp. 69-70.

introduces a number of very attractive theories.[5] Ibn Xaldûn makes a

reference to one of the elders of the Mongol emirs named Mamay. Mamay is

said further to have been a ruler in "his" (probably Berdibek's) state

(*wa-kâna mutaḥakkim fî dawlatihi*) and that the Crimea (*madînat al-*

*Qirim*) was a part of his territory.[6]

Ibn Xaldûn writes that the emirs disagreed over the governing of

the territories surrounding the capital Saray following the death of

Berdibek and began to govern over their own territories independently. A

turning point came when Mamay marched on Saray with Abdüllah, a young

boy (*ṣabîy*) descended from Özbek Xan, as his own candidate for xan.

After Mamay raised the young Abdüllah as xan, however, another one of

the "emirs of the state" (*amîr min umarâ' ad-dawla*) disputed this

selection. This rival of Mamay raised as xan another member of the

dynasty named Qutluq Temür, but Mamay attacked and killed both of them.[7]

Ibn Xaldûn continues that Haci Şerkes left his territories in

Astraxan and attacked Mamay, wresting control of Saray away from him,

after which Mamay returned to the Crimea to rule independently. When

Haci Şerkes left Astraxan, however, Urus Xan sent his troops from

Xwârazm to besiege Astraxan. Though Haci Şerkes's troops together with

some of his emirs were able to drive away the invading forces, killing

[5]     Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 373-377/389-394.

[6]     Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 373/389. Tizengauzen interprets *wa-kânat uxtuhu Xânum bint Bardîbak taḥta kabîr min umarâ' al-Muġul ismuhu Mâmây* to mean that his sister "Xanum" was married to Mamay.

[7]     The passage relating to Qutluq Temür is not included--perhaps because it was a later addition in the Paris manuscript--in the seemingly reliable Bûlâq edition also used by Tizengauzen (Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, p. 374 n. 2). See also Qalqaşandî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 396/406. The name Qutluq Temür is known from the Venetian source discussed above, though there is the name Temür Xoca mentioned above as a dynastic figure (see Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 275).

many of the enemy, including the emir leading the besieging forces.
While Haci Şerkes was preoccupied with this campaign, Aybekxan attacked
Haci Şerkes and took Saray away from him. Aybekxan there ruled for only
a short time, after which his son Qarıxan ruled there.[8] Then Urusxan
succeeded in driving Qarıxan out of Saray back to his earlier
possessions. At this time Urus Xan was in Saray, Mamay was in the
Crimea, and the lands between Saray and the Crimea belonged to Mamay
(wa-Mâmây bi-1-Qirim wa-mâ baynahu wa-bayna Sarây fî mulkihi [or:
mamlakatihi]).[9]

Most interestingly, Ibn Xaldûn describes these four individuals
in this context--Mamay, Haci Şerkes, Urusxan, and Aybekxan--as the
المسيرة • ا امرا umarâ' al-masîra "emirs of the march".[10] This term can
also be read with a simple transposition of the Arabic letters (as
already noted by Tizengauzen) as الميسرة • ا امرا umarâ' al-maysara
"emirs of the left flank". The term maysara is a term commonly used in
the Islamic sources meaning the left (or eastern) flank of the state
(the right or western flank usually is called the maymana).[11] This could
then serve as grounds for seeing all four of these individuals as ulus
beys.

[8]    It is not clear whether this passage (Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1,
pp. 374/391) should be read wa-waliya ba'dahu bi-Sarây ibnuhu Qârî(n)xân
using the active verb waliya "he ruled", or perhaps in the passive wa-
wulliya "he was appointed", since waliya should take the preposition
'alâ rather than the preposition bi- (H. Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern
Written Arabic, ed. J.M. Cowan, Ithaca, 1976[3], pp. 1099-1100).

[9]    Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 374/391. It is probably Mamay's
territory that is meant here.

[10]   Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 373/389-390 and note, where
Tizengauzen himself proposes this emendation.

[11]   On these terms see    Spuler, Die Goldene Horde, pp. 379-380; and
Fedorov-Davïdov, Obşçestvenniy stroy Zolotoy Ordï.

Ibn Xaldûn's assertion that all four of these individuals—Mamay, Haci Şerkes, Urusxan, and Aybekxan—were emirs is certainly worthy of consideration; the relative dearth of source material for the study of this period is itself one reason for seriously considering Ibn Xaldûn's alternate explanation.[12] Mamay clearly fits the picture of an *ulus* bey on all counts thus far. For example, it has already been noted above that he supported Abdüllah as xan and after him Muhammed Bulaq.[13] He is also called a "prince of the horde" (*ordinskiy knyaz'*) and the commander of a corps of 10,000 (*temnik*) in the Slavic sources.[14] Mamay is further called a *noyan* and given the same chancellery protocol (one-third page) as earlier *ulus* emirs.[15] Finally, as noted earlier, Mamay is described as ruling the state (*kâna mutaḥakkim fî dawlatihi*) under the earlier xan Berdibek.[16]

Yakubovskiy has already pointed out that Haci Şerkes could easily be associated with the Çerkes Bey known from other sources, which is a clear description of this person as another bey.[17] Although little is known about Aybekxan, Ibn Xaldûn's description of the role of Urus Xan

[12]    See also Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, pp. 285-286, for the Slavic sources which describe that in this period the "princes of the horde" were fighting amongst themselves.

[13]    On this figure see also Axmedov, *Gosudarstvo koçevïx uzbekov*, pp. 35-36.

[14]    Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 272, citing the Nikon chronicle (*PSRL*, x, p. 232).

[15]    Muḥibbî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 339-340/350. The term *noyan* would be the Mongol equivalent of the terms *bey*, *amîr*, and so on.

[16]    Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 373/389.

[17]    Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 287. Even though Ibn Xaldûn mentions the emirs under Haci Şerkes, this does not prove that he was a xan, only that there were individuals under him in the ("ruling tribe"?) hierarchy.

is very problematic.[18] The reason for this is that many scholars have considered Urus Xan as a Çingisid and a dynastic ruler in the eastern half of the Golden Horde known as the Blue Horde or the *ulus* of Orda.[19] His role in Xwârazm, however, most resembled that of an *ulus* bey. The minting of coins in his name is not proof in itself that he was a dynastic figure, since Haci Şerkes also struck coins, as did a series of other non-dynastic rulers. According to Naṭanzî, Urus Xan, who during his father's lifetime had wanted to rule the "Blue Horde" [*the western or White Horde], succeeded him.[20]

To conclude this discussion, it is safe to say that in all probability Mamay was the head of the *ulus* beys in the White Horde and Urus Xan was a ruler of the Blue Horde. Though the temptation to see Urus Xan as an *ulus* bey (following Ibn Xaldûn) is great, too many later Çingisid rulers are directly descended from Urus Xan for him to have been just an *ulus* bey.[21] Since it is impossible to establish on the basis of the extant sources multiple sets of four *ulus* beys supporting each proposed xan, one must conclude that in this period the "four-bey system" was not effectively operational. The problem is only compounded by the fact that too little is known about who the four *ulus* emirs late in the reign of Canıbek and during the reign of Berdibek might have been, nor is there reliable information on who the *ulus* beys under Urus Xan might have been (i.e., assuming he was a Çingisid xan). One thing is

[18] This name should probably be read Orus Xan, though scholarly convention is to call him Urus, as do the Russian sources.

[19] See for example the genealogy in *Mu'izz*/Tizengauzen 2, pp 61-63. Yakubovskiy (*Zolotaya Orda*, p. 306) for one states, following Naṭanzî, that Urusxan was in Sıǧnaq as a ruler of the Blue Horde (he actually uses the misnomer "White Horde", as will be discussed in the next chapter).

[20] Naṭanzî/Tizengauzen 2, pp. 235/131.

certain, though, the "four-bey system" was not a casualty of the turmoil in this period, since it is still attested later.

In reviewing the literature on Mamay's role in the Golden Horde, one sees a revived interest in the secondary literature. As has already been noted, many of the authors see Mamay and a host of other persons as dynastic figures. Vernadsky, however, clearly recognizes that "general" Mamay was not a Çingisid and even compares him with Noğay.[22] Safargaliev does likewise.[23] Egorov calls Mamay *beylerbeyi* and indicates that this had something to do with his marriage to the daughter of the xan.[24] A more recent author, Kargalov, also calls Mamay a commander of 10,000 (*temnik*) who was able to unite the forces of the Golden Horde.[25]

The establishment of Toqtamış in the western territories from about 1381 until the end of the 14th century opened a new period of stability in the history of the Golden Horde. Although the events surrounding the later career of Toqtamış are well known, his origins have not been carefully studied. Furthermore, very few scholars have noted the sources which permit one to once again trace the four "ruling tribes" of the Golden Horde under Toqtamış after an interregnum of over two decades.

Toqtamış was associated with Temürleng while he began conducting campaigns against Urus Xan (1374-5); his fourth campaign was in 1376-7.

[21]   See for example *Mu'izz*/Tizengauzen 2, pp. 62-63; and Qadır Ali Calayir/Berezin, p. 162.

[22]   *Mongols and Russia*, p. 246.

[23]   *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*, p. 116.

[24]   "Zolotaya Orda pered Kolikovskoy bitvoy", p. 185.

[25]   *Konets ordïnskogo iga*, pp. 35-59. (Note the reference on p. 53 to Mamay and his three "dukes" [*knyaz'*].)

He took Sığnaq and Sawran, where he minted coins in A.H. 780-783, and in 1377-8 he already appeared along the Volga. Toqtamış finally came to rule the Golden Horde in 1381 after defeating Mamay, who had just suffered a defeat at the hands of the Russian at Kulikovo Pole in 1380. Following this second defeat Mamay fled the Golden Horde to take refuge with the Venetians in the Crimea, where his life came to an end.[26] Toqtamış then went to the Crimea, whence Mamay had fled in anticipation of Toqtamış's arrival, continued inquiring about Mamay until news of his death was confirmed.

As xan of the Golden Horde, Toqtamış's territories included the Volga region from Haci Tarxan (Astraxan) to Bulğar, the northern Caucasus, and the region from the Volga to the Crimea; the only territory not included was Xwârazm, which was now in Temürleng's hands.[27] (According to Ibn Xaldûn, Toqtamış took possession of the territories belonging to Urus Xan in Saray.)[28] It is thus clear that Toqtamış managed to control the traditional territories of the Golden Horde.

[26]    Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 322.

[27]    Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 323.

[28]    Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 376/393.

One important consideration is whether Toqtamış was a xan of the western White Horde, as at least one source suggests, or the eastern Blue Horde. An eastern origin would mean that already under Toqtamış Xan the western territories came under the domination of the east. Naṭanzî's unreliable work explains that Toqtamış was the son of Toyxoca oğlan, ruler of Mangışlaq. Toyxoca oğlan did not join Urus Xan when the latter set out for the western *ulus* after assuming the throne. As a consequence of this betrayal Toyxoca oğlan's son Toqtamîş had to flee to Xwârazm. Urus Xan was succeeded by Temürbek Xan b. Muhammed Xan, and Temürbek xan was followed by Toqtamış, who also became ruler of the Golden Horde in 1381.[29] Whether the details given by Naṭanzî are corroborated or not, most other sources also agree that Toqtamış was from the eastern Blue Horde.

Ibn Xaldûn introduces an attractive theory with regard to the career of Toqtamış.[30] At the very beginning of his discussion of the events which took place in the 1360s-1370s discussed above, Ibn Xaldûn makes the statement that Berdibek's successor was his son Toqtamış, who was just a young "lad" (or "puppet [xan]?": *ġulâm*) at this time.[31] The same passage continues that Toqtamış's sister, the daughter of Berdibek, was under one of the elders of the Mongol emirs named Mamay.[32] Ibn Xaldûn's version of the subsequent career of Toqtamış explains that Toqtamış originally fled from a position as xan of the Golden Horde to

[29]    Naṭanzî/Tizengauzen 2, pp. 235-238/131-133.

[30]    Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 373-377/389-394.

[31]    Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 373/389.

[32]    Ibn Xaldûn/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 373/389. Tizengauzen interprets *wa-kânat uxtuhu Xânum bint Bardîbak taḥta kabîr min umarâ' al-Muġul ismuhu Mâmây* to mean that his sister "Xanum" was married to Mamay.

the land of Urus Xan in Xwârazm and subsequently from there to the territory of the Çağatay xanate.

Qalqaşandî, who derives much in his account from Ibn Xaldûn, calls Mamay a deputy of Toqtamış.[33] This is probably based on Ibn Xaldûn's theory of Toqtamış having been in the Golden Horde at so early a date. It is unlikely that it might refer to the period of Toqtamış's return to the the Golden Horde in 1381, since that is the time of Toqtamış's attempt to kill Mamay. No other source ascribes a White Horde origin to Toqtamış.[34]

It is strange that scholars have paid so little attention to the information contained in Ibn Xaldûn's account, whether reliable or not. (Certainly it has not been incorporated into any major interpretations of this period, while the wholly unreliable work of Natanzî has gained wide acceptance.) According to most other sources, however, Toqtamış was not Berdibek's son and did not become important in the Golden Horde until about 1380.[35] The unresolved question of Toqtamış's own origin will remain one of the obstacles to a solution of the later problem of the geographic origin of certain "ruling tribes".

At this point it is possible to introduce later Crimean sources referring to the events in this period such as the *Umdet üt-tevarih*, which is based on the earlier *Tarih-i Dost Sultan*. Though the information contained in these two sources on the earlier Golden Horde prior to 1360 is suspect as regards the numerous figures in "ruling

[33]    Qalqaşandî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 396-397/406 (but cf. Qalqaşandî/ Tizengauzen 1, p. 409 note).

[34]    Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 316 ff.

[35]    On Toqtamış's genealogy, see for example the *Mu'izz*/Tizengauzen 2, p. 61.

tribes" who are not confirmed by other sources, this is the point at which the data from these sources begin to agree with a greater degree of harmony with the data from the other (contemporary) sources.

According to the information in the *Umdet üt-tevarih* and the sources on which it is based—which must nevertheless be used with caution—Toqtamış's "elite companions" (*has nöker*) were the four "ruling tribes" of the Şirin, Barın, Arğın, and Qıpçaq.[36] Several passages in this work also note that in Toqtamış's time Toqtamış was the Çingisid xan while Şirin Örek Temür, son of Dangı Bey, was his chief bey. Şirin Örek Temür's son Tegine is also called the father of the Şirins in the Crimea.

If this information is accurate—which cannot be proven conclusively, but for which other supporting evidence will be offered—it is an important direct precedent for the exact same set of four "ruling tribes"—especially the leading Şirin "ruling tribe"—at the end of the 14th century as given in the later sources for the end of the 15th century.[37] Of course, as with any source, this could be a later interpolation designed to prove a direct line of descent for later political purposes. This is why it is so important to determine whether Toqtamış was originally a xan of the western White Horde or the eastern

[36]    Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, pp. 48, 55, and 79. See also Kafalı *Altın orda hanlığı*, pp. 31-47 and 101-114 (for a retelling of this series of events), especially p. 42. The great merit of Kafalı's work is that he also refers to the unique manuscript of the *Tarih-i Dost Sultan* (the Togan manuscript) in his possession; this work is otherwise unavailable to scholars. (See also the discussion in Chapter II.)

[37]    See the discussion in Chapter II and especially Table II. Of course, there could have been more than one "ruling tribe" by the same name in the earlier period as based on the definition of "ruling tribe" offered in Chapter I. In the later period there must have been more than one Şirin "ruling tribe" based on Şirin participation in the other states as well.

Blue Horde: it becomes a question of whether the eventual continuation of the "four-bey system" is the direct continuation of a White Horde or Blue Horde practice.

In the *Umdet üt-tevarih* the Şirin "ruling tribe" is described as the "Şirin tribe with the Çömüç seal [or: brand]" *ÇVM(V)Ç tamğalı Şirin kabilesi* which is a branch (*şube*) of the As ( آس ) tribe (*kabile*).[38] This might refer not to the name of another tribe or "ruling tribe", but perhaps to the geographic "As", which could conceivably be the territory north-east of the Black Sea, the historical Alania.[39] Whichever might be the case, the Şirin are not easily linked with any other known historical entity. Since the Şirin and the three other "ruling tribes" mentioned are not the traditional "ruling tribes" of western Eurasia, this is one of the first documented examples of four "ruling tribes" forming a new "state" in cooperation with a Çingisid, in this case Toqtamış.

Toqtamış's relationship with Temürleng, leader of the "ruling tribes" in the erstwhile Çağatay xanate, turned to animosity by 1387. At this time, Temür decided to conduct a war against Toqtamış and began to support a rival to Toqtamış, namely Temür Qutluq Xan. Temür Qutluq defeated Toqtamış in 1398 and succeeded him as xan of what the Russian

[38]    Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, pp. 46 and 194. See also Kafalı, *Altın orda hanlığı*, pp. 39-42.

[39]    On the Alans/As see W. Barthold/V. Minorsky, "Alān", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, i (Leiden, 1960), p. 354; Yu.S. Gagloyti, "Ètnogenez osetin po dannïm pis'mennïx istoçnikov", *Proisxojdenie osetinskogo naroda. Materiali nauçnoy sessii, posvyaşçennoy probleme ètnogeneza osetin* (Ordjonikidze, 1967), pp. 67-67; and Golden, *Khazar Studies*, i, pp. 93-97.

sources called the "Great Horde".[40] Meanwhile Toqtamış fled to Witold in

Lithuania.[41] The numismatic evidence indicates that Temür Qutluq, who

minted coins in the traditional territories of the Golden Horde (New

Orda, Saray, Crimea, New Saray, and Haci Tarxan) reigned from 1397-

1400.[42]

Temür Qutluq and Edigü, who was his chief bey, are described as

old enemies of Toqtamış together with Künce oğlan.[43] There are numerous

sources which describe the role of Edigü, who is one of the best-known

figures in this late period in the history of the Golden Horde. In his

*yarlıq* of 1398, for example, Temür Qutluq himself named Edigü, as his

chief bey.[44] Another source clearly states that Temür Qutluq became a

xan in the territory of the Golden Horde and that Edigü became his

emir.[45] (Since this passage is from Naṭanzî, it might be subject to

some question, but it turns out that this is one of those statements in

the *Muntaxab at-tavârîx* which is corroborated by a number of other

[40]   *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisey*, xi: *Patriarşaya ili Nikonovskaya letopis'* (St. Petersburg, 1897/Moscow, 1965), pp. 159 and 167. (This series will be abbreviated *PSRL*.)

[41]   Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 137 ff. See also J. Pelenski, "The Contest Between Lithuania-Rus' and the Golden Horde in the Fourteenth Century for Supremacy over Eastern Europe", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1982), pp. 303-320, especially pp. 311-312.

[42]   Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 391.

[43]   Niẓâm ad-Dîn Şâmî, *Ẓâfarnâma*, Tizengauzen 2, p. 118. See also Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 60.

[44]   A.N. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler* (Istanbul, 1940), p. 148, who bases himself on the edition by V.V. Radlov, "Yarlïki Toktamïşa i Temir-Kutluka", *Zapiski Vostoçnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arxeologiçeskogo obşçestva* 3 (1889), pp. 1-40, especially pp. 17-40.

[45]   Naṭanzî/Tizengauzen 2, pp. 238/133.

sources.) Yet another source describes how Edigü took the Crimea, the capital Saray, and placed a Çingisid on the throne.[46]

Edigü's "ruling tribe" affiliation is well known, since in the later sources for the Mangıt "ruling tribe" he is described as a recent ancestor.[47] In considering the reports in the sources concerning who the father of Edigü might have been, Bartol'd concluded that the report in Naṭanzî was quite plausible.[48] According to this account, his father was Baltıçaq, who had been emir of emirs, that is, *beylerbeyi* in the left flank of the state.[49] Since it is Naṭanzî's *Muntaxab at-tavârîx* that is considered the main source on Edigü's background, one must conclude that little is known is known in the way of reliable facts about Edigü's background.

It is certain, though, that Edigü continued to be one of the most influential *ulus* beys and certainly the most famous through the time of his death around 1419. The relationship between Temür Qutluq and Edigü is also the second example of a Çingisid who joins with other "ruling tribes" to form a state. It is not clear, however, which three other "ruling tribes" cooperated with Edigü in raising Temür Qutluq as xan. Following Temür Qutluq's death, Edigü raised Temür Qutluq's nephew

[46]   'Aynî/Tizengauzen 1, 499-500/531-532.

[47]   See for example Şaraf ad-Dîn 'Alî Yazdî, *Ẓâfarnâma*, Tizengauzen 2, p. 148, as well as the discussion in Chapter II. Even though writers such as Ibn 'Arabşâh call him a Qongrat, there can hardly be any doubt that this was a rewriting of verifiable facts (see Ibn 'Arabşâh/ Tizengauzen 1, p. 457). Munis also calls a descendant of Edigü a Qongrat (see Bregel, "Tribal Tradition and Dynastic History", pp. 391-392).

[48]   V.V. Bartol'd, "Otets Edigeya", *Soçineniya*, ii/1 (Moscow, 1963), pp. 797-804, especially pp. 798-799.

[49]   Naṭanzî/Tizengauzen 2, pp. 236-238/132-133.

Şadıbek (rather than Temür Qutluq's sons Temür or Pulad) as xan.[50]

Şadıbek b. Qutlubek (b. Qutluq Temür) has left coins for the period 1400-1408.[51]

The Slavic sources report turmoil in the Great Horde in 1407-1408, when Şadıbek was succeeded by Pulad/Bulat (d. 1410).[52] Bulat's chief bey was the same Edigü, who according to the Russian chronicles was a "great horde duke" (*knyaz' velikiy Ordinskiy Edigey*).[53] In one account Edigü attacked Russian lands with 4 Çingisid princes (*tsarevič'*) named Buçak, Tegriberdiy, Altamir, and Bulat (this Bulat is probably not the same as the xan Bulat?). This account also mentions other "dukes"— the "great duke" Edigü and "dukes" Maxmet, Isup son of Sulyumen, Teginya son of Şix, Saray son of Urusax, Obryagim son of Temiryaz, Yakşibi son of Edigü, Seityalibiy, Burnak, and Erikliberdey—who must have been connected with the "ruling tribes", though not all could have been leaders of independent "ruling tribes":[54]

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[50]    Details of this can also be found in Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 61.

[51]    Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 392. On this genealogy see *Mui'zz/ Tizengauzen* 2, pp. 62-62.

[52]    *PSRL*, xi, pp. 201-202.

[53]    According to Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, pp. 61-62, however, Nur ed-Din b. Edigü raised Bulat as xan.

[54]    *PSRL*, xi, p. 205. The participation of Edigü's own son clearly demonstrates this.

> *Toya je zimi, mesyatsa Dekabrya v 20 den, knyaz'*
>
> *Ordinskiy Edigey poveleniem Bulat-Saltana, tsarya*
>
> *Bol'şiia Ordï, priide rat'yu na Russkuyu zemlyu, a*
>
> *s nim çetïre tsareviçi da mnozi knyazi Tatarstii; a*
>
> *se imena im: Buçak tsareviç', Tegriberdiy*
>
> *tsareviç', Altamir tsareviç', Bulat tsareviç',*
>
> *knyaz' veliki Edigey, knyaz' Maxmet, knyaz' Isup*
>
> *Sulyumenev sïn, knyaz' Teginya Şixov[55] sïn, knyaz'*
>
> *Saray Urusaxov sïn, knyaz' Obryagim Temiryazev sïn,*
>
> *knyaz' Yakşibi Edigiev sïn, knyaz' Seityalibiy,*
>
> *knyaz' Burnak, knyaz' Erikliberdey.*

It is not entirely clear who the Teginya, son of Şix, mentioned in this passage might have been. As noted earlier, the later Crimean sources know a Tegine who was the son of Örek Temür. Since this Tegine is not noted elsewhere in the Nikon chronicle, it can be viewed as an isolated reference to a person with the same first name.

There is, however, the temptation to identify this person with the Şirin Tegine b. Örek Temür with the explanation that the Nikon chronicle gives a different or perhaps even incorrect form of the father's name. First of all, the later sources know Tegine in an earlier period, that is during the lifetime of Toqtamış. He is also attested a number of years later in the Slavic sources, as will be seen shortly. Second, if the above-quoted passage refers to the leaders of "ruling tribes", there is a good possibility that the same Tegine was cooperating as the leader of the Şirin "ruling tribe" under Bulat with Edigü, leader of the Mangıt "ruling tribe". After all, following the

[55]    One manuscript gives the alternate form *tegin yaşixov* of this name (p. 205 n. k).

defeat of Toqtamış there was no other sovereign in the Golden Horde.
Either the Şirin cooperated with Bulat and Edigü and the Mangıt, or else
they did not (and according to the definition given in Chapter I were
for the time being not to be considered a "ruling tribe").

Edigü's fortunes changed for one reason or another under Pulat's
successor Temür Xan b. Temür Qutluq (r. 1410-1412), who minted coins in
New Saray, Bulgar, New Bulğar, Orda Kefe, Azaq, Xwârazm, Sarayçıq, Xaci
Tarxan, and Racan. Edigü was not only not Temür Xan's chief bey (the
sources mention one Gazan as his bey), Temür Xan and Edigü were, in
fact, enemies.[56]

According to the Russian sources Celal ed-Din b. Toqtamış caused
Edigü to flee to Xwârazm in 1412.[57] The sources indicate that the forces
of Temür Xan also attacked Edigü when he was forced to flee to Xwârazm.
Once in Xwârazm, Edigü was attacked by emir Qaculay of Celal ed-Din b.
Toqtamış, who tried to kill him. Celal ed-Din, who had already attacked
the Golden Horde in 1411, finally ousted Temür Xan in 1412. Celal ed-Din
seems, however, to have died immediately thereafter and was quickly
replaced.[58]

The renewed activity of the sons of Toqtamış in this period
highlights a new development in the Golden Horde, namely the rise of two
competing dynastic lines. The descendants of Toqtamış competed with the
successors of Temür Qutluq, who had ousted their father.[59] They were

[56]  Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 399.  See also Abdülgaffar Kırımi/
Asım, p. 61.

[57]  *PSRL*, xi, p. 218.

[58]  Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, pp. 399-403.

[59]  The most authoritative genealogy is still *Mu'izz*/Tizengauzen 2,
pp. 62-63.

also enemies of Edigü, since Edigü had helped defeat their father and had later demanded that the Russians return the sons of Toqtamış to him.[60] Since the formation of each "state" required a set of four "ruling tribes", it can be argued that there were now two (or perhaps more) competing sets of four "ruling tribes" in the territory of the Golden Horde. This is an important development if it is accepted that only one set of "ruling tribes" had existed in the territory of the Golden Horde from the time of Toqtamış's defeat through the reign of Bulat Xan.

The events in the decade following the succession of Temür Xan are somewhat unclear. The Nikon chronicle reports that Celal ed-Din was replaced after his death (in 1413) by Kerimberdi.[61] Kerimberdi died in 1416 and was replaced in turn by Cabbarberdi b. Toqtamış, who died in 1417. The Russian sources are not as helpful for the events in the years which follow. There were a number of other rulers in this period: the supporters of Toqtamış's line seated Kebek, while Edigü's faction seated the Şeybanid Çekre, who then killed Kebek. After Çekre xan ruled for three years, he and other possible candidates for Edigü to support for xan died. According to Abdülgaffar, both of Edigü's next candidates, Seyyid Ahmed and Derviş oğlan, were from the *meyser*, or "left flank".[62]

[60]    *PSRL*, xi, pp. 209-210.

[61]    *PSRL*, xi, p. 219.

[62]    On this period see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 150-154; and Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 69 ff.

Meanwhile, according to the *Umdet üt-tevarih* another son of Toqtamış, Qadırberdi,[63] had left for the Caucasus, followed by many beys (including the Şirin, Arğın, Barın, Qıpçaq, and others). They finally attacked Edigü, which is when according to this source Edigü died.[64] This must have taken place, if it ever took place at all, around 1419-20, which is when the time the news of Edigü's death reached the Mamlûk chroniclers. The description of the attack on the Russians 1408-1410 does not specify the territory where Teginya--if he was indeed the son of *Örek Temür, and if so, where his "ruling tribe"--were located. Whether the Şirin had been in the Crimea up till now or not, one could use this as the earliest date after which the Şirin could have located (or re-located) to the Crimea.

Yakubovskiy supposed that Edigü, who was forced out of Xwârazm in 1413-4, was still in the Golden Horde in 1416-1419. He considers more specifically that Edigü was in the Crimea, based on the fact that Edigü's wife traveled to the south, which could have been safely accomplished only from there.[65] According to 'Aynî, Edigü died in 1419 and that it was Qadırberdi b. Toqtamış who killed him.[66] If this statement by 'Aynî is to be accepted, it can mean one of two things: either Qadıberdi was already in the Crimea (with or without the four

[63]   Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 153 n. 91, expresses the opinion that Kerimberdi and the Qadırberdi of some of the sources were in all likelihood the same person. Cf. *Mu'izz*/Tizengauzen 2, pp. 62-63, which gives a genealogy including both Kerimberdi and Qadırberdi among the sons of Toqtamış. See also Smirnov, *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, pp. 180 and 205.

[64]   Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, pp. 70-72.

[65]   *Zolotaya Orda*, pp. 404-405.

[66]   'Aynî/Tizengauzen 1, pp. 500-501/532-533. (See also Ibn 'Arabşâh/ Tizengauzen 1, p. 474 n.1.) 'Aynî also states that Edigü made Dervişxan the ruler, but that he was only a puppet. See also Abdülgaffar Kırımi/ Asım, p. 71.

"ruling tribes" named earlier), or this is the date in which Qadıberdi--probably in the company of the four "ruling tribes" of the Şirin, Arğın, Barın, and Qıpçaq--came to the Crimea.

The anonymous Continuator of Dahabî supplies important additional details in his notice of the death of Edigü.[67] He wrote that the great emir in the Deşt(-i Qıpçaq "the Kipchak steppe"), Edigü, died in A.H. 822/1419-20 A.D. and that he was responsible for the administration of the lands of Saray and Qıpçaq (wa-kâna ilayhi tadbîr mamlakat Sarây wa-Qibcâq). The sultans under him had no power, which is why many historians have called Edigü master of the Deşt (şâḥib ad-daşt); but the rulers gave themselves up to him despite the fact that he was only the second emir in the land, and that there was another emir named NKYA ‫شكيا‬ . The Continuator of Dahabî adds that the important emirs are emirs of the right flank (maymana) and the left flank (maysara). NKNA ‫شكنا‬ was emir of the right flank and Edigü was emir of the left flank, but it was Edigü who was the famous one nevertheless.[68]

Tizengauzen himself already proposed to emend the two forms NKYA and NKNA to read *Tegine * ‫تكينا‬ on the basis that it was a name appearing in the Russian chronicles.[69] Though he was not familiar with the other Crimean sources, this is completely justifiable on the basis

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[67]   Continuator of Dahabî/Tizengauzen 1, p. 553.

[68]   One question raised by this notice is what was meant by the fact that Edigü and Tegine were emirs of two different flanks. As already noted in an earlier chapter, it is not clear whether such statements referred to a basic division within the Blue and White Hordes, a lower-level internal division within a single territory, whether Tegine and Edigü somehow represented different parts of the Crimea, or this could possibly be an anachronism.

[69]   Continuator of Dahabî/Tizengauzen 1, p. 553 n. 1.

of what has already been noted above, namely that the Şirin bey Örek Temür b. Dangı Bey served Toqtamış as chief bey (until 1398) and that his son, Tegine b. Örek Temür, was the father of the Şirins in the Crimea.[70] Thus, there is the mention of Tegine in the lifetime of Toqtamış,[71] the same or another Tegine in the Nikon chronicle for 1408-1410, and now around 1419-20.

According to the Mamlūk sources, which offer the most detailed chronology of the next decade and a half, the central Çingisid figure in the 1420s and the first half of the 1430s was Muhammed, better known as Ulu(ğ) Muhammed.[72] 'Aynî writes in his notice of the death of Edigü in (822/1419-20) that Uluğ Muhammed was the ruler of the Crimea. This is also repeated in the entries for 1421 and 1422-3, except that in the former year Muhammed encountered problems with the Şeybanid rulers Boraq b. Urus Xan and *Çekre. Despite these conflicts, he was able to maintain his primacy in the Golden Horde with the capital Saray.

It is known from other sources that after Boraq Xan defeated Kebek in 1422, he also caused Uluğ Muhammed to flee, appearing at the Lithuanian court in 1424.[73] 'Aynî continues that in 1424-5 Muhammed Xan continued as ruler in the Golden Horde, though there were no elders in the Golden Horde. While his capital at this time was Saray, 'Aynî reports under 1426-7 that Muhammed was in the Crimea and that the emirs were disagreeing among themselves. Boraq's continuing activities forced

[70]    See also Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 81, for a reference to Tegine in the period following Edigü's death.

[71]    Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 79.

[72]    'Aynî/Tizengauzen 1, 501-502/533-534. See also Smirnov, *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, pp. 178 ff and 201 ff. for the role of Uluğ Muhammed in this period and beyond.

[73]    Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 156-157.

Devletberdi to the Crimea.[74] According to 'Aynî, in March of 1427 there
arrived a letter to the Mamlûk court from Devletberdi stating that he
had taken over the Crimea, and that there were three rulers at the time:
Devletberdi in the Crimea, Uluğ Muhammed in Saray, and Boraq in the
lands neighboring Temürleng. This was followed in 1428 by a letter from
Uluğ Muhammed to the Ottoman sultan Murat II stating that he had sent
Boraq and his chief bey Mansur (b. Edigü) fleeing.[75] According to 'Aynî,
by 1428-9 Uluğ Muhammed was also able to recover the Crimea, though
Devletberdi made another attempt on the Crimea in 1429.[76] Finally, 'Aynî
reports for April of 1429 that the ruler of the Crimea was again Uluğ
Muhammed.

A new set of rivals to Uluğ Muhammed appeared in the first half
of the 1430s. After Devletberdi's final attack on the Crimea in 1429,[77]
Seyyid Ahmed (b. Kerimberdi b. Toqtamış) attacked the Crimea in 1433.[78]
At this time the Şirins supported Uluğ Muhammed against Seyyid Ahmed,
who was supported by the descendants of Edigü, that is, the Mangıt
"ruling tribe".[79] This is also the time at which Küçük Muhammed b. Temür
Xan also appears as a threat to the position of Uluğ Muhammed in the
Crimea.[80] According to the *Umdet üt-tevarih*, Gazi and Nevruz b. Edigü

[74]    Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 157.

[75]    Kurat, *Yarlıklar ve bitikler*, p. 8.

[76]    Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 159.

[77]    Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 159. Seyyid Ahmed had appeared in
the Golden Horde as the xan of the "Great Horde" in the early 1430s.

[78]    Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 162 ff.

[79]    Smirnov, *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, p. 214; Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p.
163 and n. 55.

[80]    Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 162.

fled to Küçük Muhammed when Boraq became xan, and then Küçük Muhammed became xan with Gazi b. Edigü as his *baş (qaraçı)*.[81] This work also states that Seyyid Ahmed was supported by the leader of the Qongrats.[82] The new geographic distribution of territories was therefore as follows: Etil, Astraxan, and Sarayçıq belonged to Küçük Muhammed; the Crimea belonged to Uluğ Muhammed; and Astraxan belonged to Murtaza b. Ahmed b. Küçük Muhammed.[83]

This series of confrontations among xans running across the map of western Eurasian—described above only in the most general terms—is not of interest in itself for the topic of this chapter. It can, however, serve as an example of a series events which can be better understood when the "four-bey system" is kept in mind. A Çingisid was a legitimate xan only so long as he had the support of four "ruling tribes". Therefore, one can see this period as a time in which a number of candidates for xan—or sets of four "ruling tribes"—competed with one another. The difference in this period, however, is that one can begin to sense an emerging geographic differentiation or localization between these competing rulers or lines.

Though it is not immediately apparent from the secondary literature other than Smirnov's *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, there was a successor to Edigü as the most powerful individual within the "four-bey system" in the Golden Horde (if Edigü was very powerful at all in the last five years of his life). This person was Tegine, leader of the Şirin "ruling

[81]    Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, pp. 86–90.

[82]    Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 94

[83]    Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 94. Astraxan is not discussed as a separate xanate in this dissertation since very little information is available on the history of this state.

tribe". It has already been noted on the basis of less reliable sources that he might have been head of the Şirin at the time of the death of Toqtamış, and it is only on the basis of the circumstantial evidence that one can postulate that the Teginya, son of Şix, of the Nikon chronicle can be identified with the son of Örek Temür. A more likely identification, but still only a theory (however convincing), is the emendation of the name 'Aynî's account to read *Takinâ.

The first undisputable attestation of Tegine's name in connection with the Şirin "ruling tribe" is from the end of this period in 1432, in connection with Tegine's support of Uluğ Muhammed.[84] In this regard, one might add that according to the *Umdet üt-tevarih* Uluğ Muhammed was first made xan by the Şirin.[85] The picture which emerges is that the Şirin, headed by Tegine in the 1430s--but perhaps since as early as the death of his father Örek Temür in the time of Toqtamış--had already been a major factor in steppe politics for decades, since their probable migration in the time of Toqtamış. It seems that they then migrated to the Crimea in the early 15th century, as noted above in connection with Qadırberdi.

The influence of the Şirins was countered in this period by the descendants of Edigü, who seem to have wielded power independent of one another. (This fits quite nicely with the account in the later *Cami üt-tevarix*, according to which the Edigü's "ruling tribe" branched out upon his death.)[86] It has already been noted that in his letter to sultan

[84]    *PSRL*, xi, pp. 15-17. (There is a typographical error in Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 159 n. 2, where the author gives Nikon, p. 157.)

[85]    Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, pp. 75 and 92. See also Smirnov, *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, p. 205, where the Barın also find mention.

[86]    Qadır Ali Calayir/Berezin, pp. 161-162.

Murat II, Uluğ Muhammed himself declared that he had chased away Boraq and Mansur, which would have to be one of the sons of Edigü. Devletberdi must have been supported by yet a third group.

A new political map came into being in the mid-1430s, since henceforth there would be additional states created while the Crimea would continue on an independent course, as would the "Great Horde". The first such development came when Uluğ Muhammed fled to Belev in 1437, after which he took Kazan in 1438. With this, the ancient area of Bulğar had left the system of the Golden Horde together with the Crimea; the "Great Horde" was left as a nomadic state. The xanate of Kazan was thus founded in 1436, 1437 or 1445, depending on which scholar's views one wishes to espouse. According to Vel'yaminov-Zernov, this took place in 1445. Most recently Pelenski has argued 1437, while Keenan argues for the date 1436.[87] All these arguments miss the crucial question of how (and when) four socio-political groups joined Uluğ Muhammed (the Çingisid sovereign) to become "ruling tribes" and thus create a "state".

It is not certain which "ruling tribes" participated in the earliest history of this xanate, except that they must have numbered four. The evidence presented by Vel'yaminov-Zernov for 1497-1502 allows one to propose that in the beginning the "ruling tribes" in the xanate of Kazan were the same as the original four in the Crimea, namely the Şirin, Barın, Arğın, and Qıpçaq. Eventually, the Mangıt also found their place in the xanate.[88] It should also be kept in mind that the former area of Bulğar, by this time known as Kazan, was not uninhabited, but

[87]   See the discussion and references in Yakubovskiy, *Zolotoya Orda*, pp. 414-417; and Pelenski, *Russian and Kazan*, pp. 23-25.

[88]   *IKTsTs*, i, p. 209 n. 70; and ii, p. 427. See also the discussion in Chapter II.

there is too little information available on which "ruling tribes"

participated early on in the xanate to posit migrations or political re-

alignments of other kinds.

Another important new state was founded in 1452, namely the

xanate of Kasimov. The creation of this xanate goes back to 1446, when

two of Uluğ Muhammed's sons, Qasım (for whom the xanate was named) and

Ya'qub/Yusuf, entered the service of Vasiliy II ("the Blind", r. 1425-

1462). In 1452 Vasiliy gave Qasım the town known as Gorodets (or

Meşçerskiy gorodok) as an appanage, or at least this is the traditional

interpretation based on the work of Vel'yaminov-Zernov.[89] For one reason

or another, this xanate had the same contingent of four "ruling tribes"

as did the other xanates of the Later Golden Horde. According to

Vel'yaminov-Zernov, the four "ruling tribes" in the reign of Uraz

Muhammed (r. 1600-1610) were the Arğın, Qıpçaq, Calayir, and Mangıt,

with the Calayir a later replacement for the Şirin.[90]

Vásáry discusses an interesting genealogy relating to this area

which suggests that the Şirin had been in there for a long time prior to

the establishment of the Kasimov xanate; the following is his

translation of the relevant section of the document:[91]

> In the year 6706 (1298) the Širin prince Bachmet,
> son of Usejn, came to Meščera from the Great
> Horde, and conquered Meščera and settled down
> there, and his son Beklemiš was born in
> Meščera. ...

[89]   IKTsTs, i, p. 26 ff.; and Yakubovskiy, Zolotaya Orda, p. 418.

[90]   Qadır Ali Calayir/Berezin, pp. 170-171; and IKTsTs, ii, pp.  403-407 and 431-435 n. 58.

[91]   I. Vásáry, "The Hungarians or Možars and the Meščers/Mišers of the Middle Volga Region", Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 1 (1975), pp. 237-275, especially p. 264. The document was originally published in Rodoslovnaya kniga knyazey i dvoryan rossiyskix i vïezjïx, ii/2 (Moscow, 1787), p. 239.

Vásáry continues that at the very beginning of the 14th century a new appanage with this ruling dynasty of Tatar origin came into being. This territory was later granted by Toqtamış to Vasiliy I (r. 1389-1425), and in short formed the basis for the later territory of the Kasimov xanate.[92]

This genealogy raises a number of questions at the close of this chapter's discussion, namely what the Şirin were doing in this territory at so early a date. In fact, the date 1298 given by Vásáry actually appears as 1198 in the original source, and according to Vásáry it is usually emended to *1298.[93] According to the discussion earlier in this chapter, however, the future Şirin of the Crimea are discussed in connection with Toqtamış and possible migrations later in the early part of the 15th century.

First of all, it is quite well known (as noted in Chapter I) that genealogies can be problematic sources due to falsification and other reasons. This particular source may have been compiled as late as 1555 and it is quite possible that legendary accounts were incorporated into this account as well; this point is acknowledged as early as by Smirnov.[94] If the details regarding the life of Aleksandr Ukoviç can, in fact, be used to establish without any doubt that the Şirin Baxmet line was already in this territory in the 1360s, there is created a contradiction within the sources as to the origins of the Şirin "ruling

[92]    "The Hungarians or Mozars", pp. 264-266.

[93]    "The Hungarians or Mozars", p. 264 n. 94.  See also the discussion in M.I. Smirnov, "O knyazyax meşçerskix XIII-XV v.v.", Trudï Ryazan'skoy uçenoy arx. kom. za 1903 g. 18:2 (1904), pp. 161-197. According to Smirnov, some manuscripts of the Rodoslovnaya kniga give 6606 (i.e., 1198), and some give 6706 (i.e., 1298), which he prefers (p. 170).

[94]    "O knyazyax meşçerskix XIII-XV v.v.", p. 173 note.

tribe" in the western territories. Though several local dukes are known in the tradition, the only person who can be attested historically is Aleksandr Ukovič, whose name occurs in documents which must be dated to the 1360s.[95] Of course, there could have more than one socio-political unit with this name, perhaps even extending to this area. If the dating of this "dynasty" rests, in fact, on tenuous genealogical and other sources dating from a later period, one could suggest that a date further emended to *1398 would harmonize better with the other data presented thus far in this chapter.

The foundation of the xanates of Kazan and Kasimov was followed by the foundation of the Giray line in the Crimean xanate in 1449. It would be a mistake to consider that the Crimean xanate emerged in a vacuum, since it has already been demonstrated that through the 1430s the Crimea competed as one of the centers of the Great Horde, and it should be understood that figures such as Uluğ Muhammed tried to rule over the entire territory of the Golden Horde. The history of the xanate is usually begun with the invitation of the Crimean "land" to Haci Giray (nephew of Devletberdi b. Taş Temür).[96] With this final event, the loss in the territorial integrity of the former Golden Horde was made permanent, since the Crimean xanate was to join the Ottoman Empire. The xanate continued in this capacity as the last survivor of the Golden

[95]    "The Hungarians or Možars", p. 264; and Smirnov, "O knyazyax meşçerskix XIII-XV v.v.", pp. 173-176 and notes for additional references to the dating of this individual.

[96]    See the genealogy in Mu'izz/Tizengauzen 2, p. 62. On the genealogy of Haci Giray as well as the invitation for him to rule in the Crimea see also Smirnov, Krïmskoe xanstvo, p. 207 ff.; and H. Inalcik, "Hâcî-Giray I", İslâm Ansiklopedisi, v (Istanbul, 1977), pp. 25-27.

Horde up until the Russian annexation of the Crimea from the Ottomans Empire according to the terms of the Treat of Küçük Kaynarca.[97]

Though the events in the Crimea in this period have received more attention than the history of its sister xanates, it is not certain who the various heads of the Crimean *ulus* beys (by now the *qaraçı* beys) in this period were. Certainly shortly after this time the head of the *ulus* beys was Mamaq b. Tegine, who was succeeded by Eminek b. Tegine.[98] The struggle between the various factions of the "land", as well as the struggle between the "land" and the dynasty, is well known. From the discussion in Chapter II it is clear that as early as 1508 the four "ruling tribes" in the Crimea were the Şirin, Barın, Arğın, and Qıpçaq.[99] Therefore, the Şirin "ruling tribe" in what is officially called the Crimean xanate was little more than a continuation of the "land" that had ruled the Crimea for most of the first half of the 14th century, if not longer. It is clear that the appellation "Crimean xanate" is used out of deference to the line established by Haci Giray and not the constant elements of the "ruling tribes".[100]

[97]    See H. Inalcik, "Yeni vesikalara göre Kırım hanlığının Osmanlı tâbiliğine girmesi ve ahidname meselesi", *Belleten* 8 (1944), pp. 185–229; and A.W. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1772-1783* (Cambridge, 1970).

[98]    Sïroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego vassali", pp. 30–31. Inalcik ("Yeni vesikalara göre", p. 200) follows the *Es-seb üs-seyyar* (Muhammed Rıza/Kazembek, p. 73) in noting that Tegine was dead by the time of the rivalries following Haci Giray's death in 1466. See also Bennigsen et al., *Le khanat de Crimée*, pp. 316–324; and Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate", pp. 308–309.

[99]    SIRIO 95, pp. 20; and Sïroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego vassali", p. 38–39.

[100]   Again it should be noted to his credit that Smirnov does follow the role of Tegine and the other leaders of the Şirin, though he does not conceive of it as part of the "four-bey system".

The last entity which remained of the original White Horde of the
Golden Horde was the nomadic "Great Horde" led by Seyyid Ahmed. There is
no need to closely follow the history of this group; suffice it to say
that after Seyyid Ahmed the Great Horde continued under Ahmed, and then
Şeyx Ahmed.[101] It was against this group that the Russians won a victory
in 1480 and which has found a place in Russian historiography as the
throwing off of the "Tatar Yoke".[102] After the break-up of the "Great
Horde" in 1502-1505 the former "ruling tribes" of this "state" joined
the surrounding states, which accounts for the sudden addition of
"ruling tribes" to the Crimea xanate.[103]

Finally, in 1508, in the Crimean xanate there were listed the
"ruling tribes" of the Şirin, Barın, Argın, and Qıpçaq, together with
the additional groups of the Qıyat, Mangıt, Sicivut, and "Kourat"
(Qongrat).[104] These additional groups may be supposed to have been the
"ruling tribes" of the Great Horde before its downfall. Clearly,
elements of the Mangıts joined the Crimea. They also joined the xanate
of Kazan, and certain groupings were also aligned with the Central Asian
Şeybanids.[105]

[101]  On the history of the "Great Horde" see Spuler, *Die Goldene
Horde*, pp. 162-208; Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*, p. 414 ff.; and the
standard treatment of the end of this period K.V. Bazileviç, *Vneşnyaya
politika russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva. Vtoraya polovina XV
veka* ((Moscow, 1952).

[102]  Kargalov, *Konets ordïnskogo iga*, pp. 80-114; and Halperin,
*Russia and the Golden Horde*, pp. 70-73.

[103]  On the end of the "Great Horde", see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*,
pp. 200-208; and "Kïrïm", *EI²*, v (Leiden, 1986), pp. 136-143, especially
p. 137.

[104]  SIRIO 95, p. 20; and Sïroeçkovskiy, "Muxammed-Geray i ego
vassalï", p. 38-39.

[105]  See the discussion and references in Chapter II.

The fact that the four "ruling tribes" of the Great Horde had presumably been the Qıyat, Mangıt, Sicivut, and Qongrat can serve as a basis for speculation on what the "ruling tribes" of the Golden Horde itself might have been. Although there have been discussions in the secondary literature (based on indirect references from the 16th century) that Noğay of the 13th century was a Mangıt, this information can serve neither to prove nor disprove such a hypothesis. One notes with great interest, however, that according to the *Umdet üt-tevarih* (based on the *Tarih-i Dost Sultan*) that Mamay is supposed to have been of the Qıyat, and there are other persons mentioned as being affiliated with the Sicivut.[106] It is still premature, however, to accept such later data for events prior to about 1380 without reservation, especially since many of the names listed in these two sources do not coincide with the individuals discussed in Chapter IV.

Thus this chapter has established that what began as a system of four "ruling tribes" in the White and Blue Hordes comprising the Golden Horde continued through the 15th century and beyond. The "ruling tribes" of the Blue Horde seem to have migrated to the western territories and taken their place beside their ruler Toqtamış, who was probably originally from the Blue Horde, too. The "four-bey system" thrived in this area after 1381, and—no doubt related to the increase in the number of Çingisids available—it spawned a new set of competing centers, each based on the "four-bey system". It is striking in the case of the "Great Horde" that one can speculate on the basis of its

[106]   On the supposed importance of the Qıyat in the earlier period, see for example Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, pp. 19 and 32, and pp. 40 and 45 for references to Mamay as a Qıyat. See also Kafalı, *Altın orda hanlığı*, for numerous references to supposed "ruling tribe" affiliations of earlier figures (based on the *Tarih-i Dost Sultan* and the *Umdet üt-tevarih*).

composition that it continued what was in all likelihood the same set of "ruling tribes" as the earlier Golden Horde. Most importantly, it has shown that the origin of the "four-bey system" in the Later Golden Horde can be traced back to the earlier Golden Horde, certainly to before the reign of Özbek Xan, and dating back perhaps to the very origins of the Golden Horde. This shows conclusively that the data for the Later Golden Horde can be applied with complete justification to the sources for the earlier Golden Horde, and therefore to the other Çingisid states of the 13th-14th centuries.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION


This dissertation has attempted to suggest that the "four-bey system" known from the successor states to the Golden Horde (i.e., the Later Golden Horde) was the major socio-political organizing principle of all the Çingisid states of the 13th-14th centuries, and in particular of the Golden Horde. According to this system, a "state" consisted of a Çingisid sovereign called a xan who ruled the "state" in cooperation with the leaders of four socio-political units constituting the major unit in the citizen population of what may be called the "land". The first chapter of this dissertation has attempted to deal with the methodological problems relating to the study of this system, among which the most important is problem of the definition of the four socio-political units (in this work these units are called "ruling tribes") which each of the four beys individually led.

The second chapter of this dissertation is the first attempt at a synthesis of the "four-bey system" in the Later Golden Horde since the original description of this system over a century ago by Vel'yaminov-Zernov. None of the works mentioning or focusing on the role of the "tribes" or "clans" (i.e., "ruling tribes") of the Later Golden Horde since that time has examined a more extended set of characteristic features other than the fact that the qaraçı beys, as they were called, numbered four and participated in the selection of xans. This chapter extends the discussion of characteristic features beyond the mere fact of their numbering four. The list of features examined included the points that:

1. each bey led his own "ruling tribe";

2. the leader of a "ruling tribe" had his own deputies (and thus a ruling hierarchy) separate from the ruling hierarchy of the Çingisid xan;

3. the chief of the four *qaraçı* beys, called the *beylerbeyi*, etc., had a special role as a *primus inter pares* meaning that he was the chief spokesman for the four beys representing the "land";

4. the *beylerbeyi* was the head of the army;

5. the four *qaraçı* beys chose the xan;

6. the four *qaraçı* beys particiapted in the ritual elevation of the new xan;

7. the *beylerbeyi* corresponded with foreign rulers;

8. and the four *qaraçı* beys approved documents and sealed them with a *tamğa*.

Some of these features are well-documented in the sources for Later Golden Horde, while others can be recognized more clearly with the information of the sources for the earlier period. Similarly, while certain features are not stressed in the sources for the earlier period, they can be sufficiently documented by applying the categories stressed by the sources for the period of the Later Golden Horde.

Chapter III applied this set of characteristic features (minus the additional category of "religious *qaraçıs*" not attested for the earlier period) to a variety of official and unofficial sources for the 13th-14th centuries. The aim of such an approach was to attest the existence of this same "four-bey system" in the Golden Horde, the Ilxanate in Iran, the Çağatay xanate in Central Asia, the Mongol Yüan dynasty in China, and the Great Xanate.

Just about all the earlier studies of these states examined each Çingisid state independently of the other Çingisid states. This meant first of all that with one or two minor exceptions (such as Smirnov's history of the Crimean xanate) no work ever took into consideration the relatively detailed information for the Later Golden Horde in studying the 13th-14th centuries, even in the case of studies of the Golden Horde. Second, scholars rarely questioned the perspective or biases of their sources, with the result that studies of the individual states approached the unique set of sources for each state and reworked and synthesized the information available without ever questioning why certain details known for the other states were not included in the sources for that particular state. This has resulted in a different traditional approach to the sources for each of the major Çingisid states, resulting in a completely different picture of the organization of each of these states.

In contrast to these earlier studies, the third chapter of this dissertation stressed the accounts in unofficial sources such as Mamlūk chancellery handbooks and travelogues, and even sources which might best be termed anti-dynastic (as opposed to official dynastic histories) to find the data common to these states which suggests the presence of the "four-bey system" hitherto only known from the Later Golden Horde. The result was a picture quite different from any proposed thus far for the organization of not only a single state, such as the Golden Horde (for which the "four-bey system" has been inaccurately described on several occasions), but the Ilxanate, the Çağatay xanate, and possibly the Great Xanate and Yüan China (which carried the mantle of the Great Xanate). This chapter may therefore be considered the first study to

seek the unity in the socio-political organization of the Çingisid states, based, of course, on a later, well-documented paradigm.

The fourth chapter of this dissertation attempted to systematically trace the "four-bey system" established for the Golden Horde on the basis of known individuals rather than scattered descriptions. It took as its working premise the existence of this system in the Golden Horde from its very inception. On this basis, it was able to demonstrate that the career of Noğay in the second half of the 13th century, which has puzzled scholars for many generations, can best be understood as the head of the *ulus* beys in the Golden Horde. (There is too little evidence to comfortably discuss any earlier individuals as fitting this pattern.)

It also showed that Noğay was followed by Qutluq Temür, who himself participated in the selection of Özbek as the new xan, which in itself lends support to the view that the "four-bey system" did not find its origin in the supposed "reforms" under Özbek, as certain theories hold. There are a number of other individuals known from later in the 14th century who also fit this pattern. The "four-bey system" also allows one to follow the continuity in the state even while there were numerous competing xans, for example during the 1360s-1370s. The result is what may be characterized as an "alternative history" of the Golden Horde describing not the history of the ruling house, but of the leaders of those socio-political units which formed the basis of the vertical organization of the *whole* of the rank-and-file "citizen" (or "tribal") population (as opposed to tax-paying subject populations consisting of captured peoples and nations).

This chapter concluded with a discussion of the earliest division of the Golden Horde into two separate *uluses*, the western territory (or White Horde) of Coçi b. Çingis and the eastern territory (or Blue Horde) of Orda b. Çingis. While Fedorov-Davidov and other scholars have tried to analyze the social organization of the Golden Horde on the basis of the division of the Golden Horde into right and left flanks, the data offered by the "four-bey system" denies the validity of such a line of analysis. An awareness of the presence of four "ruling tribes" creates the possibility of asking whether the division into flanks is on the basis of the entire state (i.e., the whole of the Golden Horde), within each of the *uluses* of Coçi and Orda (known as the White and Blue Hordes, respectively), and later within each of the separate "states" ruled by xans. The possibility that every single reference to a right or left flank must be understood within this context had not even occurred to Fedorov-Davidov and others.

The fifth chapter of this dissertation attempted to bridge the gap between the existence of the "four-bey system" in the Later Golden Horde (15th century and beyond) and the Golden Horde in the 13th-14th centuries. Until now one could only theorize that there was a continuity in the organization of the Golden Horde into the period of the Later Golden Horde. (Many did theorize this without even being aware of the existence of the "four-bey system" in the Later Golden Horde, let alone being able to prove its existence in the earlier period.)

This chapter resumed the discussion of developments in the Golden Horde starting with the reign of Toqtamış, who came from the eastern territories (the Blue Horde) to conquer the territories of the White Horde in 1381. If one accepts the accounts in later sources, Toqtamış

came to the western territories in the company of four "ruling tribes" which were originally in the territory of the eastern Blue Horde. This could mean that under Toqtamış the whole of the Golden Horde was re-united under one xan and one set of "ruling tribes". This situation was not to remain for long, since Temürleng (Toqtamış's erstwhile patron) sponsored a rival to Toqtamış named Temür Qutluq, who of course had his own set of "ruling tribes" led by Edigü of the Mangıt.

A decade following Temür Qutluq's defeat of Toqtamış in 1398 there was a new set of divisions within the Golden Horde. The descendants of Toqtamış joined what the later sources describe as the main "ruling tribes" under their father to challenge the rule of the successors of Temür Qutluq, still led by Edigü as the chief bey. (It is still not clear whether in the preceding decade the various [former-] "ruling tribes" peacefully co-existed or whether there were other activites which continued unbeknownst to us.) Once again there were competing sets of four "ruling tribes", and this situation continued until the end of the history of the Later Golden Horde.

The former "ruling tribes" of Toqtamış formed the basis of the "states" which formed under a series of rulers, most notably Uluğ Muhammed, culminating finally in the beys' invitation to and the establishment of Haci Giray in what would come to be known as the Crimean xanate. Uluğ Muhammed established a "state" in Kazan in cooperation with a by-definition-independent set of "ruling tribes" (some or all of which bore the same name as and were possibly related to the "ruling tribes" in the Crimea) which came to be known as the xanate of Kazan. The sons of Uluğ Muhammed entered Russian service, but the vassal xanate which they helped found included four "ruling tribes" like

all the other xanates. Although there were other states as well in the
Later Golden Horde, the last one to be discussed was the Great Horde,
the remnant of what was the once more extensive Golden Horde. The
"ruling tribes" in this state were quite different from the "ruling
tribes" in the other successor states and were probably the same as the
four under Temür Qutluq, who had earlier defeated Toqtamış. It is a
matter for further speculation whether Temür Qutluq's "ruling tribes"
might not have represented the original set of "ruling tribes" of the
White Horde, i.e., the western division of the Golden Horde. Of course,
there is the final conclusion that the "four-bey system" must have been
equally operative in both the White and the Blue Hordes.

The preceding analysis is one level on which the "four-bey
system" discussed in this dissertation may be considered significant.
The first chapter of this dissertation discussed yet another level on
which the evidence offered by the "four-bey system" may be considered
significant. This relates to the discussions of "tribalism" in the
professional anthropological literature and the working definition of a
"ruling tribe" offered in this chapter.

There is no definition of "tribe" or "clan" in the
anthropological literature which can fit the description of the larger
socio-political units discussed in this work. The seven points of this
definition are not intended to constitute a general theory of tribe
applicable to other regions of the world, let alone to Eurasia in other
periods. They are, however, the attempt of one historian—perhaps in
agreement with no other historian or anthropologist—to arrive at a
definition based on historical evidence which would be applicable in one

political-cultural area at one period in time. The main points of this definition may be summarized as follows:

* * *

> 1.    In the Çingisid states of Eurasia in the 13th-18th centuries, any socio-political group which could act in concert with three other socio-political groups to constitute the "land" in a contract with the "sovereign" (a member of the ruling house descended from Çingis Xan) to form a "state" was by definition a "ruling tribe". The number of "ruling tribes" in a given state numbers four except in the rarest and most unusual circumstances.

This first point in the definition does not presume that there were any special requirements as to the origins of the "ruling tribe"; such a requirement held only for the sovereign, who had to be a descendant of Çingis Xan. This allows one to explain the rise to prominence of "ruling tribes" such as the Şirin, who were a branch or minor group of the *As*. Likewise, a group which was formerly a "ruling tribe" but had since lost its status (perhaps the Mangıt who joined the Crimean xanate before their rise in status within the xanate, and the Qıpçaq after the rise of the Mangıt) was, by definition, a former "ruling tribe". By means of this semantic device, the definition avoids applicability to every single socio-political unit in the Eurasian steppe in this period. This is not to say that every single one of these units could not have become a "ruling tribe", since this dissertation holds the opposite as most likely to have been the case. Rather, too little is known about these other groups except for their names.

> 2. Each "ruling tribe" was a socio-political
> group united around a locus of power on the basis
> of a common ideology. A "ruling tribe" could be
> left or joined, so that the rank and file
> membership was fluid and dynamic, and not
> restricted, static, and immutable. A "ruling tribe"
> could also be be created by a small group of
> individuals and expand in size as it attracted new
> members, calling itself either a new "ruling tribe"
> or the branch of an existing "ruling tribe".

This point in the definition is in response to the justified

criticism of anthropologists to kinship-based systems of tribes. In a

discussion of medieval states, it is simply not possible to expect that

the sources can be sufficiently abundant to offer a detailed picture of

social and political life down to the last individual. The same holds

true of any model which posits that there were rigidly defined

political, linguistic, physiological, or other boundaries between the

diverse groups rallying around a particular ideological flag in a given

place and time. Instead, the term "locus of power" is intended to mean

that the central actors--the leader of the "ruling tribe and his

deputies--are well known in the sources, but that the lesser actors are

hardly known. At the same time, although kinship is held to be the

ideological "glue" binding a "ruling tribe", shifting allegiances were a

commonplace among states and presumably on the level of "ruling tribe"

membership, too. It is therefore best to treat them as an amorphous

group as indicated in Table I without excluding the possibility of the

formation of new groups.

> 3. The locus of power in each "ruling tribe" was
> a separate hierarchy led by a leader or bey
> independent of the ruling Çingisid dynasty. The
> leader or bey was descended from earlier leaders of
> the "ruling tribe".

Though many studies have taken all the offices and titles known

from the various sources and lumped them together in a descending order,

there were, in fact, two independent hierarchies within the Çingisid states. The xan and the ruling dynasty had one series of offices under them, while the leadership of the "ruling tribes" had another completely independent set of offices. This may be used to understand the role of the vezirate in the Ilxanate and the Çağatay xanate as opposed to the vezirate as described in the sources for the Golden Horde. In Iran and in Central Asia, for example, the vezir served at the will of the sovereign, the Çingisid xan. There was no question as to whether he could be removed or not, and he certainly exercised no control that we know of over the xan.

The leaders of "ruling tribes", on the other hand, were not directly controlled by the xan. The xan seemingly played a role in the naming or legal acceptance of a successor to a deceased tribal leader, just as the tribal leaders ratified a new xan. Otherwise, the only way a xan could have a tribal leader killed was, in effect, to wage an open war against him. (This is exactly the example of Noğay.) It is also clear in the Later Golden Horde that the tribal leader had a whole series of deputies in descending order beneath him. Thus, we know from the Crimean xanate that the tribal leader had his deputies such as first the *qalğa* and beneath him the *nur ed-din*.

> 4.    The basis for unity within a "ruling tribe"
> was a common ideology. This ideology may be defined
> as the shared belief in a bond of kinship between
> members of the "ruling tribe". The membership of
> the "ruling tribe" could also recognize that their
> "ruling tribe" was descended from an earlier
> "ruling tribe" of the same or a different name with
> whose members they may recognize some degree of
> kinship. The members of a "ruling tribe" below the
> level of the ruling elite led by the leader or bey
> did not necessarily share actual kinship bonds, nor
> are there sources to prove the case for or against
> actual kinship.

Though it has already been noted above that kinship can serve as the ideological "glue" binding a "ruling tribe", this point asserts that such kinship can also be fictive, as it would have to be to accommodate new members joining a "ruling tribe". (In the case of the dynasty or the ruling elite of a "ruling tribe", however kinship was an important element.) This principle of fictive kinship can also be applied to the purported relationships between various "ruling tribes". While it is possible to date the sons of Edigü forming multiple Mangıt "ruling tribes" in connection with the emergence of more than one candidate for xan, there are other "ruling tribes" who supposedly shared ancient kinship ties to distant "ruling tribes" with the same name.

> 5.    Each of these four "ruling tribes"
> participated in the formation and governing of one
> "state" and that "state" alone. Each "ruling tribe"
> functioned independently from related "ruling
> tribes" and from unrelated "ruling tribes" of the
> same name in other "states".

This point makes it clear that the Şirin "ruling tribe" in the Crimean xanate was independent from the Şirin "ruling tribe" in the xanate of Kazan and in other "states".

> 6.    There could be more than one "ruling tribe" by
> a given name owing to the great geographic expanses
> covered by the Mongol world empire. Thus, branches
> of the same "ruling tribe" with the same or a
> different name may have existed at the same time in
> the territory of the Golden Horde, in the Ilxanate
> in Iran, in the Çağatay xanate, and in Yüan China,
> as well as in each one of the states of the Later
> Golden Horde. Some "ruling tribes" carried the name
> of a pre-Çingisid socio-political group or "state"
> known to have had its own internal divisions, but
> these internal divisions are no longer discernible
> in the Çingisid period.

One good example to illustrate this point would be the Calayir "ruling tribe" of the Kasimov xanate, which probably had more in common with the competing "ruling tribes" within the same xanate than it did with the Calayirs in Iran who in the 14th century broke away from the Ilxanate to found their own line, or with the Calayirs who were one of the tribes in the Çağatay xanate in the time of Temürleng.[1]

> 7. One of the "ruling tribes" and the leader of that "ruling tribe" within a "state" had special responsibilities in the governing of that "state" as a *primus inter pares* functioning as the chief spokesman for the "land".

This point relates to the role of the *beylerbeyi* within the system of the four "ruling tribes". This was a feature shared by all of the independent sets of four "ruling tribes", and it is especially important to any historical analysis because often only this person is documented in the sources, with the example of Edigü in many instances.

\* \* \*

Finally, there are numerous new avenues for investigation which are opened up by an application of the "four-bey system" as a working hypothesis. Certainly, this dissertation has not offered the final word on the Golden Horde; this is just the first book-length treatment of the data for this system. There is much more work to be done both on the Golden Horde and on the Later Golden Horde, let alone separate projects focusing on the Ilxanate, the Çağatay xanate, and Yüan China. It is the hope of this writer to investigate these problems in a future stage of the project of which this dissertation is only the first step.

[1] See also M. Fried, *The Notion of Tribe* (Menlo Park, 1975), pp. 87-88.

Another fruitful project would be further research with an eye to offering a more comprehensive study of "tribalism" in medieval Eurasia than has been offered to date. While it is the hope of this writer that professional anthropologists will consider the evidence presented in this work and offer their own models, there is a wealth of data for medieval Eurasia that remains untouched. It is the hope of the present writer that historians and other scholars will work to gather, make available, and interpret these data.

One of the important questions which arises from the scanty but very suggestive data for the early 13th century is what the origin of this fascinating phenomenon of socio-political organization might have been. None of the scholars who have dealt with the institution of the *qaraçı* beys has offered a satisfying answer to this question.[2] On the basis of the evidence presented in this dissertation, one cannot help but wonder whether the Çingisid world empire itself arose through this system. This theory is plausible once it is remembered that the accounts of the rise of Çingis Xan in the *Secret History* or other official

[2]    One might note as examples that according to Keenan, there was an agricultural or commercial basis for these "magnates", as he calls them ("Muscovy and Kazan", p. 551). Manz felt that this system was founded by Özbek Xan, as discussed above ("Clans of the Crimean Khanate", p. 281). Inalcik says in part that the *qaraçı* beys go back to the *qaraçu bo'ol* in the *Secret History*, and he also mentions the *nökers*, or "companions", the latter showing that he is selecting just one of the terms used in the sources for the Later Golden Horde and seeking that particular term in the 13th century ("The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", p. 448 n. 8 and 451-452 n. 17). In the same notes Inalcik refers to the works of Togan, who actually discusses the three subordinates to the Xazar *xaqan*, citing also the subordinates to the leader of the Mangıt "ruling tribe" (see Z.V. Togan, *Umumî Türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul, 1979[2], pp. 108 and 114; and *Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 24:3, Leipzig, 1939/Nendeln, 1966, Exkursus 94 and 100a). Xudyakov (*Oçerki*, p. 188-189; citing N.N. Firsov, *Çteniya po istorii Srednego i Nijnego Povolj'ya*, Kazan, 1919, p. 70) also refers to the possible Volga Bulgarian origin of this system, also based on the account of Ibn Fadlân. See also Veselovskiy, "Neskol'ko poyasneniy", p. 535, for further conjecture on precursors of this system.

dynastic histories such as those written by Raṣîd ad-Dîn and Cuvaynî are likely to be biased or even fictionalized. Such a model was not applied to the history of the Mongol world empire because it was not known. Now that it has been described for the 13th-14th centuries, pre-13th century sources should also be examined with an eye to establishing the antecedents or precursors of the "four-bey system" in the pre-Çingisid states of medieval Eurasia.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Bibliography consists of four sections. Except for the last section, it is intended not to be complete, but to provide a general orientation for the non-specialist reader. The first essay briefly reviews the categories of sources available for each state of the Mongol world empire. The second essay briefly reviews the historiography on the states of the Mongol world empire. The third essay offers a survey of the most important and representative literature concerning the study of "tribalism" in general and the study of "tribes" in Eurasian history in particular. The fourth and final section offers a bibliography of all the works cited.

## I. Review of Sources

It is not the intention of this essay to offer an exhaustive survey of all the sources for the states covered in this dissertation.[1] It emphasizes instead those sources which proved useful in arguing the thesis of this work. It should be noted that certain sources are

[1]     For additional references to the sources for these states, one may consult the bibliographies of the following works: For the Great Xanate and Çingisid history in the 13th century see D. Sinor, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie Centrale* (Wiesbaden, 1963), pp. 294–304. For the Mongol Yüan dynasty in China, see *China under Mongol Rule*. For the Çağatay xanate and the later successor states, see Aubin, "Le khanat de Cagatai et le Khorassan"; Bartol'd, "Ulugbek i ego vremya"; and *Materialï po istorii kazaxskix xanstv XV-XVIII vekov*. For the Ilxanate, see Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*. For the Golden Horde, see Grekov and Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda*; and Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*. For the Later Golden Horde see Bennigsen et al., *Le khanat de Crimée*; Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*; Keenan, "Muscovy and Kazan' 1445-1552: A Study in Steppe Politics", Ph.D. dissertation; Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate"; Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan*; and Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *IKTsTs*.

important for more than one state, and in these cases the appropriate details will be given either under the heading of the state in which the particular source originated, or under the state for which the particular source is most important. Other sources have been noted only once, but they are included nonetheless. Bibliographic and other information on the primary sources cited in the course of the first bibliographic essay will be found in the fourth section of the Bibliography, including the necessary references in [brackets] following each entry in the bibliography.

## *The Great Xanate*

There are several groups of sources for the Great Xanate itself. Many scholars have naturally turned to the *Secret History of the Mongols* (*Mongqol-un niuça tobça'an*) for the origins and earliest history of the Mongol world empire. The position taken in this dissertation is that the *Secret History*, much of which discusses events prior to the thirteenth century, is an official document of limited, even dubious historical value. (This is not even to mention the formidable philological problems in the correct interpretation of many passages, since this work was pre-classical Mongol transcribed with Chinese characters and with an interlinear Chinese translation which may not be reliable.) Much of what is related in this work, especially as its relates to events before the reign of Çingis Xan and especially before he was born, is arguably fictionalized or at best legendary.

Additional sources on the Chinese side include the *Shen wu ch'in cheng lu*, which gives an account of the early campaigns and is said to be based on very early official records, and the *Meng ta pei lu*. For the

purposes of this work, however, such sources offer too little detail to be of much use when confronted with the data of the later sources.

Dynastic histories such as the *Târîx-i cahânguşâ* of Cuvaynî and the *Câmi' at-tavârîx* of Raşîd ad-Dîn (discussed under the Ilxanate) present the official view of the history of the Mongol rulers from the early 14th century; but when confronted with the evidence of the other sources, one must question their content regarding the role of the various "ruling tribes" and other socio-political units in the rise of the Mongol world empire. Otherwise, very little reliable information is available for the role of the various tribes in the rise of the Mongol world empire which might hint at any pattern outside the official dynastic sources.

Among the most important unofficial sources for later centuries are the travelers; but in the 13th century they, too, are very often ill-informed. John of Plano Carpini left Lyons in 1245 on his mission across Eurasia to an audience with Batu and to luckily witness the installation of Güyük. The mission of William of Rubruck (1253-1255) also took him to see Batu and the later xan Möngke. These two travelers offer many important observations, but they were not sufficiently well informed of the structure of Mongol society to understand what they were observing.

One additional source which can be mentioned here is Haython's *La flor des estoires de terres d'Orient* written in Old French. Haython lived in Armenia at the beginning of the 14th century and presented this work to Pope Clement V in 1307. It incorporates the accounts of earlier individuals such as the trip of Xetum to the court of Möngke Xan in 1253-1255 and the trip of Smbat to Güyük in 1248.

*Yüan China*

The Islamic sources, especially Raṣîd ad-Dîn, are important for the foundation of Mongol rule in China insofar as they concern the life of Qubilay Xan. After that the main source must be considered the official dynastic history of the Yüan, the *Yüan shih*. It is argued in this dissertation that the *Yüan shih* must be treated as a dynastic history with its own official perspective fitting events into the traditional patterns of the Chinese annals. Since this work was composed at the beginning of the Ming dynasty which followed, one can arguably treat the *Yüan shih* as a later document which may not accurately represent the Mongol traditions still existing earlier in the Yüan period. The translation by Ratchnevsky to which reference is made is a portion of chapter (*chüan*) 85 relating to administration included in his published translation of chapter 112.

Another Chinese source, the *Keng shen wai shih* of Ch'üan Heng, covers the period 1333-1368, therefore the later period of the Yüan dynasty. This work was also compiled during the Ming dynasty. It is hoped that a later stage of the project of which this dissertation is an early stage will also be able to incorporate data from the *Yüan tien chang*, which includes correspondence between the rulers and various officials.

Special emphasis is placed in this work on the Islamic sources for the government of Yüan China. These consist of the section dealing with China in Raṣîd ad-Dîn, and two travelers quoted in the chancellery manuals by 'Umarî and the later work of Qalqaṣandî (for details see the sections on the Ilxanate and the Golden Horde respectively). There is great value attached to these reports in this dissertation because they

are external--and in the case of the travelers "unofficial"--observers.
They offer a completely different perspective--fitting in with the model
described in this dissertation--on Yüan administration in contrast to
the official *Yüan shih*. Since these reports are based on first-hand
observation, they are in every way legitimate sources.

## The Çağatay Xanate

There is a dearth of sources on the history of the Çağatay
xanate, which explains why so few works have treated its history in
depth. While the important dynastic histories such as the *Câmi' at-
tavârîx* offer details on the early history of the xanate, there is a gap
for what follows. In the Temürid period there is already an abundant
corpus of primary sources on which to draw.

Special emphasis is placed in this work on the writings of Ibn
'Arabşâh, who was born in Damascus in 1392. He  moved to Samarkand in
1400-1, studied in Mongolia in 1408-9, went via the Crimea to Edirne
where he served as private secretary (*kâtip üs-sirr*) to Mehmet I, then
to Aleppo in 1421, and finally to Cairo in 1436, where he knew Abû l-
Maḥâsin. He died in 1450. Both of his works quoted, the *'Acâ'ib al-
maqdûr fî axbâr Tîmûr* and the *Fâkihat al-xulafâ'*, offer unique
information relating to the model described in this dissertation. Though
the autobiography is widely cited as a standard source on the "tribal"
composition of the Çağatay xanate, the *Fâkihat al-xulafâ'* has been
mysteriously ignored by most scholars. Later works also offer
interesting observations on tribal organization in this state, and the
Temürid-period chronicles offer extensive details on the relations of
Central Asia with the Golden Horde at the end of the 14th century.

One of the important works for the history of the Temürid state
is Niẓâm ad-Dîn Şâmî's *Ẓafarnâma*. Niẓâm ad-Dîn Şâmî was living in
Baghdad when it was taken by Temürleng in 1392-3. In 1401-2 Temür
ordered him to write in simplified language the history of his campaigns
based on the official chronicles, which includes events to 1404. Niẓâm
ad-Dîn Şâmî died by 1409 or 1411-2. Another of the important Temürid-
period sources was the *Ẓayl-i Câmi' at-tavârîx* by Ḥâfiẓ-i Abrû (d.
1430), who was another friend of Temürleng.

The *Tarix-i Raşidi* was written by Mirza Muhammed Haydar Duğlat
(1499-1500--1551), who was of the eastern branch of the post-Çağatayid
rulers which ruled in Moğolistan or Cata. This work, much of which
consists of extracts from the *Ẓafarnâma* by Yazdî, was written in the
1540s and is one of the main sources for its period.

Muḥammad b. Valî was born in Balx, served Sayyid Mîrakşâh
Kâsânî, and left for India in 1625. He returned to Balx in 1630, and at
the command of the Astarxanid ruler Nâdir Muḥammad he began his work,
the *Baḥr al-asrâr fî manâqib al-axyâr*, in 1634.

Abu l-Ġazi lived 1603-1663 and was the son of the Şeybanid Arab
Muhammed Xan. He spent a decade starting 1629 in exile at the Safavid
court and in 1644-5 became xan of Xiva. His historical work, the *Şecere-
yi Türk*, is one of the important chronicles, in part because of the rich
genealogical material for which he is sometimes the only source. (Of
course, this also begs the question of his reliability.)

One collection of sources relating to the later successor states
to the Çağatay xanate is the *Materialï po istorii kazaxskix xanstv XV-
XVII vv.*. This work collects translations from Persian and Turkic

sources, mostly unpublished, relating to the history of Central Asia and especially the Kazakhs in the 15th-17th centuries.

*The Ilxanate*

There are several important categories of sources for the Ilxanate. The most famous are the dynastic histories of Cuvaynî, Raşîd ad-Dîn, and Vaṣṣâf together with a series of later works. The earliest of these was by Cuvaynî, who lived 1225-1283. Cuvaynî was a leading Ilxanid official, a fact which is reflected in the official point of view in his work, the *Târîx-i cahân-guşâ*. It was completed in 1260, prior to most of his appointments.

The great historian Raşîd ad-Dîn, compiler of the first universal history, the *Câmi' at-tavârîx*, was born in 1247-8 in Hamadân. He was a leading Ilxanid official, serving as vezir under Ġâzân (r. 1295-1304) and Ölceytu (r. 1304-1316), but he fell into disfavor in the following reign of Abû Sa'îd and died in 1318.

Vaṣṣâf dedicated his work, the *Tacziyat al-amṣâr va-tazciyat al-a'ṣâr*, also known as the *Kitâb-i mustaṭâb-i Vaṣṣâf* or simply as the *Târîx-i Vaṣṣâf*, to the Ilxan Ölceytu Xudâbanda in 1312, when his patron, the vezir Raşîd ad-Dîn, presented him to the ruler.

Ḥamd Allâh Mustafvî Qazvînî (1280--1349-50) served as a leading Ilxanid official, ruling over various territories. His *Zayl-i câmi' at-tavârîx* is a continuation of the *Câmi' at-tavârîx* for the years 1336-1344 originally intended as an appendix to the *Ẓâfarnâma*, but appended by his son Zayn ad-Dîn to the *Târîx-i guzîda*.

Muḥammad ibn Hindûşâh Naxçivânî was born in the late 13th century into a family serving the Ilxans. He served in the chancellery

or *dîvân al-inşâ'* under Ġiyâş ad-Dîn, who was vezir to Abû Sa'îd (r. 1317-1335) and Arpaxan (r. 1335-1337). He began this handbook in the reign of Abû Sa'îd, but finished it late enough to dedicate it to the Calayirid ruler Uvays (r. 1356-1374).

The *Târîx-i Şayx Uvays* by Ahrî (also Aharî) referred to in this work deals primarily with the Calayirids. The author lived in Azerbaycan in the first half and middle of the 14th century and dedicated this work to the Calayirid rule Şayx Uvays (r. 1355-1374).

Finally one should mention Ġaffârî (1515--1567-8), who dedicated his world history, the *Nusax-i cahân-ârâ*, in 1564-5 to Şâh Tahmâsp. In many of his points Ġaffârî follows Natanzî, which is why he is mentioned in this work. (On Natanzî see below under the Golden Horde.)

The most important unofficial works quoted here for the Ilxanate are the Arabic chancellery manuals, notably those of 'Umarî, who is also quoted by Qalqaşandî. (These works are discussed in greater detail in the section on the Golden Horde.) These sources offer details which do not emerge from the dynastic histories, but which coincide completely with the system described in this dissertation. The authors of the chancellery manuals were not interested in forcing a point of view; rather, they were intending to be as accurate as possible when it came to these states. For this reason, without the chancellery manuals the institution to which this dissertation is devoted could not be described at all for the Ilxanate, since it represents interests contrary to those of the dynasty.

*The Golden Horde*

The sources for the Golden Horde, the main focus of this dissertation, deserve a bit more detailed appraisal than might be necessary for the other states. As stated in the Introduction, the sources for the Golden Horde can be divided into four groups, namely the indigenous official and "unofficial" sources, and the external official and "unofficial" sources.

Falling in the category of external "official" source would be the Russian chronicles. Much use has been made of them by scholars, but it should be noted that the Russian chronicles, while extremely valuable for the second half of the 14th century and beyond into the period of the Later Golden Horde, only create confusion when it comes to any time before the middle of the 14th century; this point has also been made in the discussion of the role of Noğay in Chapter IV. In the later period of the Golden Horde this dissertation has made use of the Nikon chronicle, which includes many different sources from earlier periods.

The most valuable sources for this period are without a doubt the external official and "unofficial" sources from the Middle East, namely the Arabic encyclopedic and chancellery works composed at the Mamlûk courts. Though some of these narrative sources can be considered official sources, they do not seem to have imposed a serious bias on events in the Golden Horde. First of all, though the Ilxanate was a hostile state, the Mamlûk states were allied with the Golden Horde. Merchants and envoys traveled between the two states, and much of the information is based on first-hand accounts of knowledgeable informants. This is extremely clear when the career of Noğay is considered, because the wealth of what is taken here to be accurate detail is in sharp

contrast to the laconic word or two of misinformation contained in the Russian chronicles. The Arabic sources continue to provide valuable information in the later period as well. In particular the virtues of the (arguably) "unofficial" chancellery manuals cannot be emphasized enough. Their information is indispensable for arguing the main thesis of this dissertation, since much of the remaining data would not necessarily prove sufficient for describing institutional continuity from the time of the Golden Horde down to the Later Golden Horde.

All scholars dealing with the Golden Horde have made use of the extremely useful collection of extracts edited and translated by Tizengauzen, and the present dissertation is no exception. Tizengauzen's work, which is also known under the French title *Recueil de matériaux relatifs à l'histoire de la Horde d'or*, consists of extracts from various Arabic sources for the history of the Golden Horde together with bio-bibliographic information for each source included. Given the high standards of Tizengauzen's editing, other editions have been consulted in this dissertation only when there have been particular philological problems requiring comparison of editions.

This work has created a false impression which too many scholars relying solely on Tizengauzen's translations have taken for granted, namely that Tizengauzen exhausted the corpus of Arabic and Persian sources. In some cases it is true that the extracts exhaust what is to be found in a particular work (such would be the case with Mufaḍḍal and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa). In other cases, additional material repeating earlier sources is extracted (as is often the case with Qalqaşandî), while details concerning later periods of Çingisid period are left out (as in the case of Cannābî). It is clear, however, that Tizengauzen has

not exhausted all the material in Qalqaşandî's 14 published volumes. There are also some authors whose works have still not been published to this day, such as Muhibbî, making comparison difficult.

Another problem which is especially vital is that one simply cannot always rely on Tizengauzen's translations. Though he is usually reliable, in some instances one must take exception to his interpretation of a particular passage (the translation might not even hint that he is emending the text or reading an unclear word or name in a very subjective manner), and especially important for institutional history is that he translates various technical terms from Arabic and Persian either inconsistently or very often with the same generic word. This is fine if one checks the original; unfortunately many scholars (especially Soviet scholars) have all too obviously not checked the originals. In this way, many works written relying solely on the translation in this work are seriously flawed. Tizengauzen's work must, however, be considered one of the most important contributions to the study of the sources for the Golden Horde to date.

While the volume of Arabic sources edited and translated by Tizengauzen was already published during the 19th century, the second volume of Persian sources was published posthumously only in the 1940s. One should keep in mind that this one volume of extracts and translations includes Raşîd ad-Dîn, Cuvaynî, and a whole series of other authors. Obviously in this treatment of the Persian sources Tizengauzen is much more selective than in the case of his extracts from Arabic sources. What is more, the Persian texts are given only for the less common works.

Coming now to the individual works themselves, the Arabic-language work which forms one of the cornerstones of this dissertation is the *Masâlik al-abṣâr fî mamâlik al-amṣâr* by Ibn Faḍl Allâh al-'Umarî, whose writings on the Mongol world empire were recently published by K. Lech. 'Umarî was born in Damascus in 1301 into a family which served the Baḥrî sultans of Egypt from about 1293-1393 in the chancellery or *dîwân al-inşâ*. Despite various fluctuations in his career, he served in the chancellery in Damascus until his death in 1349. His *At-ta'rîf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ aş-şarîf* is a shorter work which also contains valuable information.

Another author of such a manual was Muḥibbî; unfortunately his work, the *Taṯqîf at-ta'rîf bi-l-muṣṭalaḥ aş-şarîf*, is not yet published. Muḥibbî (also known as Ibn Nâẓir al-Cayş [or: al-Cuyûş]) was born in 1326 in Aleppo, where his father was in the military as *nâẓir al-cayş*. During his father's lifetime Muḥibbî worked in the chancellery for thirty years. After his father's death in 1377 he joined the military himself, where he continued to serve until his death in 1384.

Both of these authors, as well as others, are incorporated into the *Ṣubḥ al-a'şâ fî ṣinâ'at al-inşâ'* of Qalqaşandî, who was born 1355. Qalqaşandî started work in the chancellery in 1389 and continued perhaps until his death in 1418.

Another "unofficial" source is Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, who was born in 1304 in Tangier and died in Morocco in 1368-9 or 1377. It is important to note that his travelogue or *Riḥla* was retold from memory—without the notes which he had lost—years after the fact and was written down by Ibn Cuzayy, who may share some of the responsibility for problems

regarding parts Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account, namely to Volga Bulgaria, China, Syria, and Arabia.

Among the scholars composing other genres of historical works, Rukn ad-Dîn Baybars, author of the *Zubdat al-fikra fî târîx al-hicra*, died in 1325. Much of his work for the earlier period is derived from Ibn al-Aṯîr.

Ibn Duqmâq was born around 1349 and was a zealous Ḥanafî. His commissioned history of Egypt, the *Nuzhat al-anâm fî târîx al-islâm*, goes up to A.H. 779/1377-8 A.D. According to one scholar, Ibn Duqmâq's sources in another work on Islamic cities was based on better authorities than used by Maqrîzî. His works were also used by 'Asqalânî and 'Aynî.

'Aynî was born in 1361 in Syria and knew Turkish, which he used for the purposes of translation and correspondence. He worked as inspector of pious foundations (*nâẓir al-aḥbâs*) and later as *muḥtasib*, in 1425-6 he became chief *qâḍî* of the Ḥanafîs, and he was a professor at the Mu'ayyadîya medrese. He fell from favor in 1449-50 and died in 1451. His history extracted by Tizengauzen is entitled the *'Iqd al-cumân*.

'Asqalânî lived 1372-1449 and his career included positions as lecturer, professor, head of a college, and *muftî*, finally reaching Al-Azhar in Cairo. Most of works were compilations. The work included here is his history entitled *Kitâb anbâ' al-ġamr bi-abnâ' al-'umr*.

Mufaḍḍal continued the work of Ibn al-'Amîd (d. 1273), and his own work, *An-nahc as-sadîd wa-d-durr al-farîd fîmâ ba'da târîx bin 'Amîd* was completed in 1358.

Nuwayrî (1279-1332) was one of the great encyclopedists. He rose to the ranks of *nâẓir al-cayş* and later to *nâẓir ad-dîwân*. His famous work is the *Nihâyat al-arab fî funûn al-adab*.

Ibn Xaldûn was born in Tunis in 1332, spent much of his earlier career in Andalusia and North Africa, and finally reached Cairo, where he died in 1382. He is famous for his work in history and sociology, including the *Kitâb al-'ibar wa-dîwân al-mubtadâ wa-1-xabar fî ayyâm al-'Arab wa-1-'Acam wa-1-Barbar* used here.

The work referred to in this dissertation as the compilation *Târîx salâṭîn Miṣr wa-ş-Şâm wa-Bayt al-muqaddas wa-umarâ'ihâ* by Ibrâhîm Muġulṭây, who may be the same as 'Alâ' ad-Dîn Muġulṭây (d. A.H. 762/1360-1 A.D.), repeats the account in an untitled manuscript also studied by Tizengauzen. That particular work seems to constitute the eighth volume of some larger work.

Another famous Mamlûk historian, Maqrîzî (1364-1442), was an imam at the *Ḥâkim* mosque and a professor at the Mu'ayyadîya medrese. Of his many works quoted here is the *Kitâb as-sulûk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulûk*.

Additional works about which little can be said are the marginal notes in a manuscript of Dahabî which this dissertation refers to as the Continuator of Dahabî, and the anonymous *Taşrîf al-ayyâm wa-1-'uşûr bi-sîrat al-malik al-Manşûr*.

The Persian-language sources composed at various courts are also of great importance for the Golden Horde, both in the earlier and later periods. The sources for the earlier period would again include Raşîd ad-Dîn and Cuvaynî, which must be considered indigenous "official" sources. When the affairs of the Golden Horde become closely associated with the Temürid struggles, one can mention Temürid chronicles such as

Şaraf ad-Dîn 'Alî Yazdî's and Niẓâm ad-Dîn Şâmî's repective
Ẓâfarnâmas, the work by Ḥamd Allâh Mustavfî Qazvînî and its various
continuations, the continuation of Raşîd ad-Dîn's universal history, and
so on. For the Golden Horde these later sources can be considered
official, though external, sources.

The *Mu'izz al-ansâb fî şacarat al-ansâb*, which was composed in
1426-7 at the command of Şâhrux, is a work of genealogy based on the
*Şu'ab-i pancgâna* of Raşîd ad-Dîn with the addition of many later
personages of the 14th century. This work offers many genealogies which
cannot be corroborated from any other sources, especially as relates to
personages affiliated with the Later Golden Horde. It is therefore not
entirely clear how one should evaluate this work.

One work receiving considerable attention in this dissertation
was written by Naṭanzî, who was probably from Sistan and lived at the
court of Iskandar b. 'Umarşayx, to whom he dedicated one work in 1413.
After this Naṭanzî went to Herat to the court of the Temürid Şâhrux, to
whom he dedicated this version of his work entitled the *Muntaxab at-
tavârîx*, also known as the "Iskandar Anonymous".

The *Muntaxab at-tavârîx* (and several works which draw on it,
notably Ġaffârî), in contrast to the other works which can be used
without serious misgivings, has caused a great deal of confusion in the
study of the divisions of the Golden Horde. Yakubovskiy, who wrote one
of the standard works on the Golden Horde, made use of the extracts of
this work from Persian sources which formed a part of the *Nachlass* of
Tizengauzen, emphasizing them heavily. First Aubin, then Safargaliev,
and most recently Yudin, have called into question the reliability of
this source. Many theories have been built on the unique assertions of

this work regarding the divisions of the Mongol world empire, and in this work all the information in this work has been used with caution and clearly labeled as suspect. (See the detailed discussion in Chapter IV.) The position taken in this dissertation is that the information contained in this work for the problem of the "Blue" and "White Hordes" and other matters of Golden Horde history is to be considered unreliable.

There are also some fairly early Turkic documents preserved in Russian and Italian translations, and some original-language ones preserved from the end of this period. Otherwise, the later Turkic sources do have references to this period as well, but some of them are so late that it is difficult to trust them completely. The *Tarih-i Dost Sultan*, also known as *Ötemiş Haci tarihi*, has been studied by several persons, most notably Bartol'd, Kafalı, and Yudin. (It is also available to scholars through the information passed on in Abdülgaffar Kırımi's *Umdet üt-tevarih*, since the original history is unavailable even in manuscript.) This work offers many details not corroborated by other sources, and in the case of the White Horde-Blue Horde controversy offers yet a third possibility, the "Gray Horde" (see Yudin's discussion.)

Other "unofficial" sources for the early period, the travelers John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck, are important for the early Golden Horde, but do not offer much detail which has been incorporated in this work for the Golden Horde. For the period of transition from the Golden Horde to the Later Golden Horde, the remarks of Schiltberger and Herberstein have been found useful since their accounts are applicable to the earlier period as well.

*The Later Golden Horde*

For the Later Golden Horde there are a great number of official indigenous sources which may be used. A whole series of chronicles were written in the Crimean xanate by writers who were often members of the Çingisid Giray line. For example, the *Gülbün-i hanan* was written by Halim Giray Sultan (d. 1823), a Cingisid descended from Mengli Giray.

The *Umdet üt-tevarih*, on the other hand, is an outstanding example of an official indigenous source representing the point of view of the Şirin "ruling tribe". Its author, Abdülgaffar Kırımi, whom the xan banished from the Crimea in 1744, was a member of the Crimean aristocracy, namely the Şirin "ruling tribe". Rather than presenting a simple history of the Giray line of Çingisids that ruled the Crimea, this work stresses the importance of the role of the Şirins in the history of the xanate. Much of this work's account of the earlier period is based on the *Tarih-i Dost Sultan*, the unique complete manuscript of which was in the library of Togan and has been used by Kafalı. It is yet to be proven how reliable this work is for the early period prior to 1380. This work publishes many important Turkic documents emanating from the states of the Later Golden Horde, some published for the first time. This work is also known under the title *Ötemiş Haci tarihi*.

In addition, a series of other chronicles have also been consulted, including the *Es-seb üs-seyyar*, the published translation of which is highly abbreviated. Its author, Seyyid Muhammed Rıza (d. 1756) was also a member of the Crimean aristocracy.

The *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han* was written by Remmal Hoca, who was physician to Sahib Giray and later entered the service of Sultan Selim

II. This work pays particular attention to the upheaval in the system of "ruling tribes" in the early Crimean xanate.

The *Tarih-i Islam Giray Han*, on the other hand, pays very little attention to the "ruling tribes". Its author, Haci Mehmed Senai, flourished in the 1640s.

Finally, one may make note of the *Telhis ül-beyan fi kavanin al-ı Osman used by Smirnov, which does not seem to be the most reliable* source for a discussion of the "ruling tribes" in the Crimea.

Though no indigenous source from the xanate of Kazan seems to have survived, for the Kasimov xanate there is a very important work by the *qaraçı* of the leading Calayir "ruling tribe", at the beginning of the 17th century, Qadır Ali Calayir. His history is a condensed translation of Raşîd ad-Dîn's *Câmi' at-tavârîx* with an appended history of more recent events relating to the history of the steppe and the foundation of the Kasimov xanate. Berezin never published his planned translation of this work, which has been utilized by Vel'yaminov-Zernov. It is an invaluable source on the "ruling tribes" of the Kasimov xanate.

Another category of sources is the diplomatic correspondence (the letters being called *yarlıq*s), which should also be considered official indigenous sources, since they offer a very narrow perspective on a portion of the ruling elite. One work by edited by Vel'yaminov-Zernov and Molla Hasan Fayzhanoğlu (*MIKX*) published a number of *yarlıq*s issued by the Crimean xans. The originals of these documents are unavailable today. Bennigsen *et al.* have also published a work on the documents preserved in the Ottoman archives. Many of them are published for the first time, while many had been published earlier by Kurat and others.

Additional documents for the Crimea in later periods have been published by Laşkov.

There are also the exchanges of diplomatic correspondence preserved in the Russian archives, but very little of this has been published. Certain volumes publish portions of the Crimean Acts, while others portions of the Noğay Acts. The archives of the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union still contain a wealth of unpublished and inaccessible source material.

In this period the Russian chronicles are very important, as are all sorts of other East European sources. This dissertation has referred to the Nikon chronicle for the earliest period, relying on the work of Keenan, Pelenski, and others for sifting through them for this period for certain details not forming the basis of the argument of this dissertation. One exception to this is a recent work containing translations from Russian chronicles relating to the history of the so-called Siberian xanate in this period. Certain other East European sources such as those for Lithuania have been used by Spuler and have not been consulted directly.

One unusual source is Prince Kurbskiy's *History of Ivan IV*, which was written by a former member of the Muscovite court who defected to Poland. Although this is an antagonistic official work with a definite bias, there is no reason for considering his passing remarks about campaigns against the xanate of Kazan to be unreliable as passing observations. (There is an on-going debate over the authenticity of this work.)

Another unusual source is the genealogical work *Rodoslovnaya kniga knyazey i dvoryan rossiyskix i v'iezj'ix*. This particular source may

have been compiled as late as 1555 and it is quite possible that legendary accounts were incorporated into this account.

Also important are "unofficial" sources such as the Western travelers such as Herberstein, who was ambassador in Moscow from 1517-1526, and Schiltberger traveled to this area in the early 15th century. Peysonnel and Baron de Tott, on the other hand, were later observers of the Crimean xanate. Peysonnel lived in the Crimea from 1753 on, and Baron de Tott was at the court from 1767 on.

II.    Historiographical Essay

In this section as well it is not possible to cover in depth the entire historiography relevant to the history of the Çingisid states ranging from medieval Russia and Iran to China. It would be useful, however, to briefly review the standard scholary accounts of Mongol rule in each of these states, emphasizing those works which treat the organization of these states.[1] (Those works which have already been cited in the course of this dissertation will not be cited in full.)

[1]    See also Sinor, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie Centrale*, especially pp. 305-319. Complete references are not given for those works already cited in the body of this dissertation.

*The Mongol World Empire*

There are a number of older works which attempt to survey the whole of Çingisid history, including the works by C. D'Ohsson[2] and H. Howorth.[3] Though these still have some value for the translations which they offer to those unable to deal with the original, they are sadly out of date. (The latter also has a reputation for unreliability.) The classic work by R. Grousset involved no first-hand use of primary sources and is also to be considered obsolete.[4] The recent survey by J.J. Saunders, though completely based on primary and secondary literature available in European languages (excluding Russian!), is the most readable recent synthesis by a single author with any semblance of accuracy.[5] The collective work *Central Asia* includes brief surveys of the various Çingisid states often based on original research.[6] The collective work being produced by the researchers of the "Sonder-forschungsbereich 12, Orientalistik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Zentralasiens" affiliated with the University of Bonn will have to be considered the most authoritative synthetic treatment of the whole of the Mongol world empire once it is available.[7] In all cases in each of the subsequent sections the reader is referred to this volume for additional references to secondary works.

[2]     *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz khan jusqu'à Timour bey ou Tamerlan*, i-iv (The Hague-Amsterdam, 1834-1835).

[3]     *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th century*, i-iv (London, 1876-1888).

[4]     *L'Empire des steppes* (Paris, 1939).

[5]     *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (London-Boston, 1971).

[6]     *Central Asia*, ed. G. Hambly (New York, 1969).

[7]     *Die Mongolen. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur*, ed. M. Weiers et al. (Darmstadt, 1986, in press).

*The Great Xanate*

There have been a number of studies of the rise of the Mongol
world empire, but there have been very few attempts to deal with the
organization of the Mongol states in this period; needless to say none
have discussed anything even approaching the "four-bey system". The most
notable work is Vladimirtsov's *Obşçestvennïy stroy mongolov*, which is an
important evaluation of the social structure of the Mongols from the
time of Çingis Xan through the Mongol states of Inner Asia in the 16th-
17th centuries. Vladimirtsov was, however, a linguist by training, and
his evaluations of social categories (within a Marxist framework) were
based according to terminology rather than seeking a common framework.
The other general histories of the Mongol world empire have also
attempted to deal with the organization of the Mongol world empire, but
their efforts, often centered around the *Secret History*, bear no
relation to the system described in this dissertation.

*Yüan China*

The Mongol dynasty in China has not received all that much
attention, surprisingly enough, which is why several recent works are
all the more welcome. Franke's *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*,
though considered out of date by specialists in Chinese history, remains
the only general treatment of Chinese history which is useful for the
historian of the organization of the peoples of the Eurasian steppe. The
same can be said for his treatment of the the Yüan period. Dardess has
written a book on the Later Yüan, but his main interest is in
Confucianism. Franke's recent work on the transformation of the Mongol
state into the Yüan dynasty discusses select topics in the

transformation of the Mongol-style ruler to a Buddhist Chinese-style
ruler, though of course he is not aware of the "four-bey system"
discussed in this dissertation. Finally, the work *China under Mongol
Rule* edited by Langlois contains much useful information, but it lacks
such basic discussions as the composition of the *Yuan shih*. The
discussion of Yüan administration by Farquhar also slavishly follows the
official annals, as discussed in Chapter III.

## The Çağatay Xanate

The Çağatay xanate has not received the kind of general
historical treatment that it should, in part because there is a serious
dearth of source material for the earlier period. Barthold's *Turkestan
Down to the Mongol Invasion* contains the standard treatment of the early
history of this xanate, but there is no work covering the later period
with the exception of the brief survey by Hambly in the collective
volume mentioned earlier. The most authoritative treatment of the period
1334-1380 is Aubin's article "Le Khanat de Čağatai et le Khorassan".
Most recently, Manz has written a dissertation ("Politics and control
under Tamerlane") and related articles concerning this xanate, but her
discussion of the notion of tribe and tribal organization should be
compared with the system described in the present dissertation.

## The Ilxanate

Medieval Iranian history has received many monographic treatments
in the various periods. The Mongol period received its first treatment
by J. Hammer-Purgstall in his *Geschichte der Ilchane, das ist der*

*Mongolen in Persien*,[8] and more recently by Spuler in his *Die Mongolen in Iran*. The latter work is encyclopedic in nature, as is usually the case with the works of Spuler, but does not offer any conceptual advancement in its treatment of this state. The articles in the *Cambridge History of Iran* by J.A. Boyle[9] and Petruşevskiy (this article is a distillation of his larger monograph in Russian) may be considered standard treatments of Ilxanid history. A cursory analysis of the history of the Ilxanate based on the "four-bey system" reveals that the work of Petruşevskiy does not even include those institutions which are of importance for this study; one must often conclude that Petruşevskiy—like any other historian—is extremely selective in his work in order to buttress the model upon which he bases his analysis. Spuler's work does briefly mention certain institutions which are relevant here, though with entirely different conclusions, as discussed already in Chapter III. Interestingly, many of the sources on the Ilxanate referred to in this dissertation have already been cited in an early work by Uzunçarşılı, but his treatment has remained completely outside the mainstream of studies on the Ilxanate.[10]

*The Golden Horde*

The major studies of the Golden Horde have been written by Hammer-Purgstall, Spuler, and Yakubovskiy, Vernadsky, and Safargaliev.[11]

[8]     i-ii (Darmstadt, 1842-1843).

[9]     "Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns", *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, pp. 303-421.

[10]    *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*.

[11]    A thorough review of the historiography of the Golden Horde may be found in Fedorov-Davïdov, *Obşçestvennïy stroy Zolotoy Ordï*, pp. 3-25.

The first put together very diverse sources and drew the outlines for the study of the Golden Horde. Spuler wrote an intimidating work of an encyclopedic nature focusing in its political history section on Mongol relations with Eastern Europe. Though it incorporates many more sources than the present author is equipped to handle, Spuler had no imagination whatsoever in his treatment of the organization of the Golden Horde. Anybody who is mentioned in the sources under one title or another is lumped together with everyone else in his table of rulers at the end of the work. By its very thoroughness in certain respects, however, subsequent Western scholars have made the assumption that there is very little left to say on the Golden Horde.

Yakubovskiy, who calls Spuler a charlatan, does not necessarily offer a better treatment than Spuler. Though his work is a substantial improvement over earlier efforts by other Russian scholars such as Nasonov (unfortunately, Barthold did not express much interest in the Golden Horde at all), his accounts are very often based on one version in the sources which he uses without really analyzing the differences between the accounts, especially the conflicting accounts. An especially harmful result of his work was the wide-spread acceptance Naṭanzī's views concerning the Blue and White Hordes as more accurate than the reports of the other sources. It has taken many decades to recover from this misinterpretation.

In the West a very influential scholar has been Vernadsky, who wrote many volumes on the history of medieval Russian, all of which refer heavily to steppe history. Unfortunately, Vernadsky's method cannot be considered acceptable today, and every conclusion he makes on the basis of the non-Western sources must be considered unreliable.

Though the work of Safargaliev has received a warm reception, his work contains many new interpretations which are often based on a method which must also be considered unacceptable. Except for an isolated reference or two, he seems to have not used Arabic and Persian sources in the original. His work has in turn been at the root of a new series of misinterpretations especially by students of the Golden Horde with an orientation in Russian history.

Another Soviet scholar, Egorov, has attempted to give a new picture of the organization of the Golden Horde. Although he is to be commended for finally taking into serious consideration the sources on the existence of the *ulus* beys, his method—when viewed in terms of the later sources—is flawed in that he attributes a completely different institution and function to each different title given in the sources (even though some of these are clearly different translations of the same presumed original title). This comes out most clearly in an article in which he gives a schematic diagram of the organization of the Golden Horde.

Another recent writer on the Golden Horde, the Turkish scholar Kafalı, also gives a picture of the organization of the Golden Horde which is clearly misguided when viewed from the perspective of the same institutions in the time of the Later Golden Horde. His references and coverage of sources is extremely uneven.

As for the organization of the Golden Horde, the first serious work was conceived and written by Berezin, whose views must be considered obsolete, though his work is still widely used. Another major work devoted soley to the social structure of the Golden Horde, that by the archeologist Fedorov-Davidov, is another work which should be

considered controversial. Though his thoroughness is to be admired, the preference of Soviet archeologists and ethnographers for writing history has in general not led to very fruitful results. Fedorov-Davïdov bases his work on his conception of the *ulus* system and its relation to the division of the state into right and left flanks. He does not, however, differentiate the various levels of flanks to which the sources might refer.

Most recently, Halperin has also written a work treating Russian and the Golden Horde. As a historian of Russia, the author studies the history of the steppe from the perspective of its impact on Russia. Though this is a common approach to the study of Russian history, the author displays numerous misconceptions about the history of the Golden Horde, and, despite numerous references to the scholarly literature on the Mongol world empire, misses much of the most important literature on the Golden Horde.

*The Later Golden Horde*

The study of the Later Golden Horde has been a field apart from the rest of the study of the Mongol world empire. Some scholars such as Spuler, Yakubovskiy, Vernadsky, and Safargaliev have taken the events of the Golden Horde past 1500, well into the period of the Later Golden Horde. Unfortunately, it must be said that their conception of the organization of the Later Golden Horde was limited to a Western-style autocracy. On the other hand, the scholars focusing strictly on the Later Golden Horde took it for granted that the specialists on the earlier Golden Horde had spoken the final word.

The first major study of any of the successor states to the Golden Horde was Vel'yaminov-Zernov's study of the Kasimov xanate. It is a testament to his scholarship that this study (based on Oriental, Slavic, and Western sources) remains the basic work on this state to which modern scholars still refer.

The next major study, not counting Hammer-Purgstall's brief history of the Crimean xans extracted from his history of the Ottoman Empire, was Smirnov's history of the Crimean xanate, which also surveyed a wide range of Slavic and Oriental sources. This major undertaking, complemented by Laşkov's numerous studies of land tenure in the Crimea,[12] is still not surpassed with the exception of certain additional studies to be found in the recent useful work by Bennigsen et al. on documents from the Ottoman archives relating to the Crimea.

Special mention must be made, however, of the article by Siroeçkovskiy on the reign of Muhammed Giray. Although this scholar did not have access to Oriental sources, his work is otherwise a model of synthesis based on Slavic and Western sources.

For the xanate of Kazan the first major history was the work by Xudyakov. Xudyakov relied mostly on the Slavic sources, as have more recently Keenan and Pelenski. There have been no other recent scholarly treatments of the history of this xanate. With the exception of studies on the Noğay Horde, including most recently the article by Bennigsen and Quelquejay, the study of the other successor states to the Golden Horde is even less developed.

[12]    See the bibliography in Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*.

*The "Four-Bey System"*

The institution of the *qaraçı* beys was first examined by
Vel'yaminov-Zernov in a twenty-six page study forming a part of the
second volume of his monumental history of the Kasimov xanate. Though
later scholars have not improved upon the main outlines of this
institution as drawn by him, this is not to say that more cannot be said
about this topic: since the 19th century, many weighty tomes have been
written on the history of the various Mongol states and many more
sources have been made available. Though Vel'yaminov-Zernov identifies
the *qaraçı* beys in the xanates of the Crimea, Kazan, Kasimov, the
Noğays, and Siberia, he limits himself to describing them as the heads
of a group of "ruling tribes" which at first numbered four and to
listing the names of the "ruling tribes" which were involved. Any modern
work must take as its first step the work of Vel'yaminov-Zernov, as does
Chapter II of this dissertation.

Smirnov discusses certain features of the "four-bey system", even
comparing early individuals such as Noğay with later figures such as
Tegine. His early discussion of the *qaraçı* beys was not, however,
complete with regard to the various facets of their role, nor was his
source on them, the *Telhis ül-beyan*, reliable.

Sïroeçkovskiy's 1940 article on the Crimean xan Muhammad Giray
(r. 1515-1523) and his vassals also examines the role of the *qaraçı* beys
in the Crimea. On the characteristics of the *qaraçı* beys Sïroeçkovskiy
follows Vel'yaminov-Zernov, adding additional references in the Russian
and other East European sources; he does not make use of the Islamic
primary sources. He identifies the Şirin in the Crimea as early as the
14th century and says that they spread elsewhere from the Crimea.

Quite another approach to the question of the *qaraçı* beys in the Crimean xanate can be found in the works of the Ottomanist H. Inalcik. He offers profound insights into the questions regarding the value of the Ottoman and late Tatar-Ottoman source material, many of which he himself introduces to the study of the role of the *qaraçı* beys. Unfortunately, he makes token use of the Russian secondary materials and does not take Russian primary sources into account at all. Regarding the origins of the system, he takes the term *nöker* used in connection with the *qaraçı* beys in some later sources to mean that the system should be equated with earlier usages of the term for the 13th century.

E.L. Keenan, Jr. has taken the opposite approach to the question of the role of the *qaraçı* beys, basing his work mainly on the Russian chronicles. Although he is the first to really use the abundant material contained in these sources for the study of the diplomatic relations between Muscovy and the various states of the Later Golden Horde, his use of these same sources is less than adequate for understanding the role of the system within the xanates themselves, which without direct access to the Islamic sources (only barely in evidence in his work) is futile. His conclusions regarding this institution is to call them "magnates" without explaining further what he means. In an earlier review of the work by Safargaliev he does refer to the presence of four emirs in Iran and the Golden Horde, but he does not pursue this point further.[13]

Manz has produced an interesting series of works, one of which deals directly with the "clans" of the Crimean xanate. This article,

[13]    "Review: M.G. Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoy Ordï*", *Kritika* 4:1 (1967), pp. 1-9.

which is based mainly on Polish and Russian sources, offers a very useful survey of the role of the four main "ruling tribes" in the history of the xanate. One of the main objects of her article is to establish the genealogy of the Şirin beys. Inalcik, however, had shown both earlier and in a subsequent article in the same journal that Abdülgaffar Kırımi's *Umdet üt-tevarih* already gives this information. Manz also offers one of the only interpretations to date of the origins of the "four-bey system". She followed the misrepresented translation in Safargaliev's work (as discussed in Chapter IV) to conclude that Özbek Xan had founded this system as a part of his efforts to centralize this state. Both theories must be rejected on the basis of the evidence presented in this dissertation.

Finally, Bennigsen and his colleagues have written an interesting number of works trying to assess the role of the various "ruling tribes" in the states of the Later Golden Horde. A most important work is their recent assembly of Crimean documents from the Ottoman archives, which brings some new sources to bear on the question of the *qaraçı* beys. Though their work is notable in combining both the Ottoman and the Slavic sources, they do not break new ground conceptually regarding this system.

III.    Review of Literature on "Tribalism"


        This section will briefly survey the important anthropological

works on tribes and pastoral nomadic societies in general and follow it

with a section surveying the important works on tribes and pastoral

nomadic societies in Eurasia. Such a review of the literature is a

useful survey of the state of the field, but it should be noted that

this literature does not form the intellectual basis of the argument of

this dissertation. If anything, the reader should note that since the

data for medieval Eurasia do not dovetail with the synchronic and

diachronic data studied by anthropologists, their models—as they exist

—are not suitable for the historian of the states discussed in this

dissertation. This section therefore offers an appropriate backdrop and

contrast to the empirical working definition of a "ruling tribe" in

Eurasia in the Çingisid period offered in the Introduction and based on

the "four-bey system".

        A useful survey of the whole question of "tribalism" may be found

in *Tribesmen* by M.D. Sahlins.[1] Sahlins surveys what are considered to be

the main models of a tribe, the varying degrees to which patterns of

kinship determine what constitutes a tribe in different societies, and

the different social structures prevalent among tribal societies. He

[1]     (Englewood Cliffs, 1968). More recently, D.F. Eickelman offers an
up-to-date survey of the most relevant literature and an intelligent
commentary on the problems of applying models of tribes and pastoral
nomadic societies. (*The Middle East. An Anthropological Approach*,
Englewood Cliffs, 1981, especially pp. 63-104.) R. Trapper's
"Introduction" to *The Conflict of Tribe and State in Iran and
Afghanistan* (ed. R. Trapper, London, 1983, pp. 1-82) also offers a
useful survey of recent literature on the "tribal problem" and the
"problem of tribe". A wealth of data and references can be found in A.M.
Khazanov, trans. J. Crookenden, *Nomads and the Outside World*, Cambridge
Studies in Social Anthropology 44 (Cambridge, 1983).

also underscores the opposing concept of tribal descent as a political ideology rather than a statement of actual fact.[2] Though Sahlins's work surveys a range of "tribal" societies, there is no model described which fits the data for the "four-bey system" in medieval Eurasia during the Çingisid period.

One of the parts of the world which has been the focus of various theoretical approaches to the study of tribal society is the Near East.[3] A recent attempt at a detailed description of a nomadic society in the Near East is D.P. Cole's *Nomads of the Nomads. The Āl Murrah Bedouin of the Empty Quarter*.[4] Applying a series of terms based on the conventions of the group studied, Cole defines a tribe as all the male and female descendants of a pre-Islamic personage named Murrah. According to Cole, the tribe marks significant social, cultural, and even linguistic boundaries because of the differentiation created by the practice of endogamy. He further defines other units such as the 7 clans of 4-6 lineages each constituting the tribe, and the households uniting according to principles of patrilineal descent to form segments inclusive of kinship.[5] Though this work represents a pragmatic approach, the level of society Cole examines cannot be studied for medieval Eurasia, nor would his approach be free of criticism from certain scholars such as Fried whose work will be discussed in a moment.

Another view of the problem of "tribe" is offered by E. Marx. He has written series of articles arguing that, at least for the Middle

[2]    *Tribesmen*, pp. 54-55.

[3]    For a survey of the literature on nomadic societies in the Near East see Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, pp. 274-290.

[4]    (Arlington Heights, 1975).

[5]    *Nomads of the Nomads*, pp. 82-104.

East, the tribe was "a social aggregate of pastoral nomads who jointly exploit an area providing subsistence over numerous seasons".[6] The territory each tribe controlled was for its own subsistence or for the use of others, but various kinship and other structures existed for the purpose of controlling these resources. He also expresses the view that tribes can exist without a structural organization and a central leadership, but that these are likely to develop under the influence of neighboring polities.[7] In a response to Marx, P.C. Salzman takes issue with aspects of Marx's definition.[8] In particular, he disagrees with Marx's assertion that people will organize to control a certain territory because there exists a need to control it. According to Salzman, there is no connection between the territory a tribe controls and the subsistence area it does not control as a factor affecting tribal size and organization.[9]

Iran also offers fertile territory for work on the question of nomadic society.[10] One of the classic studies of any nomadic society, F. Barth's *Nomads of South Persia. The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh*

[6]     E. Marx, "The Tribe as a Unit of Subsistence: Nomadic Pastoralism in the Near East", *American Anthropologist* 79:2 (1977), pp. 343-363; "The Ecology and Politics of Nomadic Pastoralists in the Middle East", *The Nomadic Alternative*, ed. W. Weissleder, (The Hague-Paris, 1978), pp. 41-74; and "Back to the Problem of Tribe", *American Anthropologist* 81:1 (1979), pp. 124-125.  The quote is from "Unit of Subsistence", p. 358.

[7]     "The Tribe as a Unit of Subsistence", p. 344.

[8]     P.C. Salzman, "Tribal Organization and Subsistence: A Response to Emanuel Marx", *American Anthropologist* 81:1 (1979), pp. 121-125.

[9]     Salzman, "Tribal Organization and Subsistence", p. 122.

[10]    For a review of the literature for the Middle East (meaning for Khazanov Iran and Afghanistan) see Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, pp. 263-273.

*Confederacy*,[11] offers a very detailed and useful discussion of Basseri economy. Barth's remarks on the size of herds needed for survival and related issues have nearly universal application. He also describes in brief the organization of the Basseri tribe (or *il*) as consisting of subgroups in the order tribe, section, *oulad*, and tent.[12]

Most recently, the essays in a collective volume discussing tribal society in Iran and Afghanistan offer a representative sampling of the most recent attempts to come to an understanding of problems of tribe and society in this area.[13] The definitions of tribe, state, and empire offered in this work, however, are intended strictly as tools for understanding the problems of tribe vs. state and the phenomenon of revolution in the modern period. No attempt is made at a comparison of the organization of the tribes in this area in the Ilxanid or post-Ilxanid period.[14] In this work, L. Beck offers the following description of the vertical organization of the Qaşqai tribes:

[11]    (Oslo-London, 1961).

[12]    For a re-appraisal of Barth's findings see T.J. Barfield, *The Central Asian Arabs of Afghanistan. Pastoral Nomadism in Transition* (Austin, 1981).

[13]    *The Conflict of Tribe and State in Iran and Afghanistan.*

[14]    The main works on the Ilxanate do not cover the issue of tribal society adequately (see Chapter III). A recent work by J.J. Reid is devoted to tribal society in Iran in the post-Mongol period, but drawing on Mongol history as well. (*Tribalism and Society in Islamic Iran, 1500-1629*, Malibu, 1983). Reid writes that the two major elements in the organization of the *qizilbaş* system were "the *il* (sub-tribe, tribe) and the uymaq. The *il* was a conceptualization of the union of all the different qizilbash tribes. It was similar to the concept of *ulus* then current in Central Asia among the Üzbeks, and the remnants of the ulus Chaghatai" (p. 28). It should be noted, first of all, that Reid leaves his terms undefined, and that his description of the organization of the Uzbeks and certainly of the Çağatay xanate does not coincide with the overview of the organization of the Çağatay xanate offered in Chapter III. Cf. also J.E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire. A Study in 15th-9th Century Turko-Iranian Politics* (Minneapolis-Chicago, 1976), especially pp. 8-12.

1.    confederacy (*il* led by a member of the ruling
family called an *ilkhani*);
2.    consisting of five large tribes (*taifeh*) and smaller
tribes led by a *kalantar* (from a family of *xans* called
*khavanin*);
3.    of which each tribe consisted of a vast group of
sub-tribes (*tireh*) ruled by a headman or *kadkhuda*;
4.    *tirehs* consisted of pasture groups composed of
encampments composed of households.[15]

Finally, E. Gellner offers the following definition of "tribe" in a companion essay to the articles in this work:[16]

> A mutual local mutual-aid association, whose members jointly help maintain order internally and defend the unit externally. This assumption of peace-keeping and collective defence responsibility, which thus defines the tribe, is contrasted with a situation in which the maintenance of order, and defence, is assured by the central state and its specialised agencies (courts, nominated officials, police forces, army). ... These units may but need not be defined in terms of kinship ... The most significant trait of these groups is the simultaneous coexistence of diverse groups at different levels of size.

Gellner is clearly trying to reconcile the various contradictions inherent in the different descriptions of tribal society to date, such as what the role of kinship might have been in various tribes. Gellner draws, however, a clear distinction between tribe and state. Gellner's definition would not exclude the "ruling tribes" from consideration as "tribes", except that he sees an oppostion between the "tribe" and the "central state", while in the Çingisid period the "ruling tribes" are an integral part of the "central state".[17]

[15]   "Iran and the Qashqai Tribal Confederation", *The Conflict of Tribe and State*, pp. 284-313. The schema offered by G.R. Garthwaite is more closely approximating the description by F. Barth in his *Nomads of South Persia* ("Tribes, Confederation and the State: An Historical Overview of the Bakhtiari and Iran", pp. 314-330, especially p. 316.)

[16]   E. Gellner, "Tribal Society and its Enemies", *The Conflict of Tribe and State*, pp. 436-448, especially p. 438.

[17]   Gellner, "Tribal Society and its Enemies", p. 438.

An opposite point of view is represented by M.H. Fried, who first questioned the validity of the term "tribe" in an article entitled "On the Concepts 'Tribe' and 'Tribal Society'",[18] and who has since devoted a whole monograph to this subject.[19] Because Fried's work represents the nihilistic extreme and has found an echo in the writings of one recent writer on Eurasian history (Lindner), it is worth treating Fried's views in detail at this juncture. According to Fried, the term "tribe" has been used as a catch-all phrase describing any possible social aggregate. It has often been substituted for an accurate description of how a particular society was organized, nor do groups that have been referred to as tribes usually coincide with politically boundable groups.[20] The term does not necessarily imply that the members of a group cluster around a political leader, that kinship or anything else is the main social bond in the group, nor can it be used to predict how decisions are made in that group.[21] As Fried writes:

[18]    This article is reprinted in *Essays on the Problem of Tribe. Proceedings of the 1967 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society.*, ed. J. Helm (Seattle, 1968), pp. 3-20. The contributors to this volume, a symposium organized by Fried following the original publication of his article, follow his lead in questioning the validity of "tribe" as a unit of analysis. They offer a series of critiques of the concept of "tribe" based either on mathematical models or examples drawn from areas of the world other than Eurasia. The one constructive contribution in this volume, an attempt at a typology of 100 "tribal" societies, includes examples drawn only from Africa, North America, South America, and Oceania. (R. Cohen and A. Schlegel, "The Tribe as a Socio-Political Unit: A Cross-cultural Examination", pp. 120-149.)

[19]    *The Notion of Tribe* (Menlo Park, 1975).

[20]    *The Notion of Tribe*, pp. 8-9.

[21]    *The Notion of Tribe*, p. 66.

> ... there is no "tribal level" of polity. The
> concept of tribe has been used in connection with
> totally acephalous organization and with command
> structures at the veritable level of kingdoms, or
> at least of emirates. A terminology that implicitly
> equates one of the old men, who is given to
> haranguing the young among the Ona, with the *khan*
> of the Mongols, cannot be of much use.[22]

Fried himself is following a theory of historical determinism when he states that tribalism (in his terminology "secondary tribalism") is a secondary development which occurs as a reaction to the presence of complex political structures known as states.[23] While according to him some of its manifestations appear as early as the formation of the earliest states five millenia ago, the process of tribal formation has been mostly centered around the period of European colonialism and imperialism.[24] As for pre-state societies, local aggregates formed in them through devices which were not military or economic (unlike the later societies), but ideological and ceremonial.[25] He chooses to not call these pre-state aggregates "tribes".

Fried also associates the phenomenon of "secondary tribalism" with heavy military organization. According to Fried, although "secondary tribalism" does not necessarily lead to the formation of a

[22]   *The Notion of Tribe*, pp. 64-65. It should be noted here that, at least according to my understanding of the "four-bey system", the Mongol xan does not fall into the category of tribal leader.

[23]   *The Notion of Tribe*, pp. 99-105.

[24]   *The Notion of Tribe*, p. 10. Gellner also argues in favor of the view that tribes are formed by contact with states: "Nomads are used to a level of technology which presupposes centers of artisan production and trade, that is, towns, and protection of these town by a specialized agency, namely the state." ("Tribal Society and its Enemies", *The Conflict of Tribe and State in Iran and Afghanistan*, p. 442.) Elsewhere Gellner has referred to his own distinction between "primitive" and "marginal" tribalism (*The Saints of the Atlas*, London, 1969, pp. 2-3). See also   Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, pp. 151-152.

[25]   *The Notion of Tribe*, p. 77.

"secondary state", Eurasia is a special example where this has led to the creation of the great steppe empires which fall into the category of "secondary states".[26] In this regard Fried follows Lattimore, whom Fried quotes as stating that feudalism in China did not result from the conquest of an agricultural people by nomadic warriors, but rather that China helped form steppe society "by extruding fragments of 'backward' groups".[27]

Fried is correct in asserting that the term "tribe" cannot be a term with universal applications. He denies that a precisely defined social unit limited in time and space can be called a "tribe" (or any suitable neologism) and serve as a useful tool of analysis. Although Fried denies the validity of the term "tribe", a form of it ("secondary tribalism", which remains undefined) is nevertheless supposed to have come into being after the emergence of the first states. He simply skirts the issue by offering his own catch-all phrase, "secondary tribalism", which is, in fact, fraught with the exact same problems he notes for the term "tribe".

It is clear that anthropological thought on the question of tribalism and pastoral nomadic society in general ranges from a use of terms specifically geared to a particular society to the other extreme of denying any validity to the term "tribe" at all. At the same time it can be seen that any references to Eurasia at all are to works which are not authoritative on medieval Eurasian history and which are certainly not aware of the "four-bey system" discussed in this dissertation.

[26]  *The Notion of Tribe*, p. 72.

[27]  *The Notion of Tribe*, p. 102, citing O. Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (London, 1940), p. 408.

Works on tribes and pastoral nomadic society in Eurasia have usually not been at the forefront of professional debate in the discipline of anthropology.[28] Scholars who have discussed Eurasian society at all have done so relying almost exclusively on the secondary literature. In his discussion of pastoral nomadism in Eurasia, Sahlins bases himself strictly on the works of Lattimore and Krader, neither of whom was aware of the "four-bey system", for information on how the states of Eurasia were organized.[29]

Lattimore's classic works are certainly thought-provoking, but his use of primary sources is limited mainly to Chinese sources. His discussion of medieval Eurasia is based mostly on the secondary literature of his own day, and nowhere does he discuss any aspect of the history of the Çingisid empire in detail.[30] His view of the rise of pastoral nomadism is to consider it, as noted earlier, a marginal society arising as a result of state influence.[31]

Krader, like Lattimore, is not a medievalist. In one of his main works he offers a wealth of observations on the social systems of a number of modern Mongol peoples and the Kazakhs, but his discussion of the social structure of the Ordos Mongols in the 16th century is limited

[28]   For a review of works dealing with pastoral nomadic societies in Eurasia see the references in Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, pp. 233-263.

[29]   *Tribesmen*, p. 33-34, citing: O. Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, American Geographical Society, Research Series 21 (New York, 1951); and L. Krader, "Culture and Environment in Interior Asia", *Studies in Human Ecology*, Social Science Monographs 3 (Washington, 1957), pp. 115-138.

[30]   See most notably O. Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*; and *Studies in Frontier History. Collected Papers, 1928-1958* (London, 1962).

[31]   See *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, especially pp. 53-83.

to one Chinese description compared with a passage from the *Secret History of the Mongols*.[32]

The appearance of Khazanov's *Nomads and the Outside World*, however, is likely to change this approach for the better by introducing a significant amount of new data and literature to the discussion of nomadic societies in Eurasia in particular. The wealth of data in this work literally invites a page-by-page commentary, but it will suffice to note that Khazanov is not aware of the "four-bey system", which means that even his conclusions are not dirctly applicable to the discussion in this dissertation. There are, however, a number of works which do contribute to the discussion of what a medieval Eurasian nomadic tribe was, and they are worthy of review here.

E.E. Bacon's *Obok. A Study of Social Structure in Eurasia*[33] is one of the landmarks in the anthropological literature on Eurasian topics. The work is devoted to a description of what she calls *obok* structure, which is segmented lineage as first described by E.E. Evans-Pritchard.[34] In her description primarily of Hazara Mongol society in

[32]   L. Krader, *Social Organization of the Mongol-Turkic Pastoral Nomads*, Uralic and Altaic Series 20 (The Hague, 1963), pp. 19-26. See also his "Qan-Qagan and the Beginnings of Mongol Kingship", *Central Asiatic Journal* 1 (1955), pp. 17-35; and "Feudalism and the Tatar Polity of the Middle Ages", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1 (1958), pp.  76-99. A summary of his views on the clan as the unit of kinship and political organization and the building-block of empire may be found in *Formation of the State* (Englewood Cliffs, 1968), pp. 82-103, especially p. 97.

[33]   Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology 25 (New York, 1958/ 1966).

[34]   *Obok*, pp. vii-viii and 39-44. Though her unpublished description of segmented lineage predated Evans-Pritchard's *The Nuer. A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People* (Oxford, 1940), the delay in its publication allowed Evans-Pritchard's terminology time to gain acceptance (*Obok*, p. vii). For a survey of the literature on segmentary lineage see Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, pp. 144-148.

Afghanistan as well as of Kazakhs and other groups she examines descent, property ownership, and other subjects of immediate concern to the anthropologist.

Bacon's work is of special interest here because she attempts to apply to the medieval Mongols what she knows as an anthropologist concerned with the modern Hazara Mongols. For Bacon the medieval Mongol tribal genealogical groups were political and territorial units, but the tribe was ideally a patrilineal descent group. At the same time, numerous non-kin groups and individuals became attached to the Mongols and even became incorporated into subsequent genealogies.[35] Bacon's two main sources for these conclusions are the *Secret History of the Mongols* and Raşîd ad-Dîn's *Câmi' at-tavârîx*. It difficult to accept the *Secret History of the Mongols* as a reliable historical source for events before the life of Çingis Xan.[36] It is also widely know that genealogies are often subject to later manipulation, as Bacon herself demonstrates when she discusses Raşîd ad-Dîn's assertion that Çingis Xan's ancestors go back to Japheth, son of Noah.[37]

More recently J. Cuisenier has written on kinship and social organization among the Turkic peoples from the ancient Türks to the

[35]   *Obok*, pp. 47-65.

[36]   On these two works see the review of sources in Part I of the Bibliography.

[37]   *Obok*, p. 54. For a recent article on the problem of genealogy, see C. Humphrey, "The Uses of Genealogy: A Historical Study of the Nomadic and Sedentarized Buryat", *Pastoral Production and Society*. *Proceedings of the International Meeting on Nomadic Pastoralism* (Cambridge-Paris, 1979), pp. 235-260.

modern Türkmen.[38] This misguided attempt at a mathematical analysis of

the organization of these peoples fails because the author takes

fragmentary data for each period and then proceeds along the assumption

that the nomads of Eurasia were organized in exactly the same way in

each grouping in each historical period. Cuisenier offers the following

definition of the *oba*, the name for a "tribe" known according to the

author among the Selçuks:[39]

1. Families and camp groups cluster around an already existing entity that is identified by a name, various emblematic marks, and a legendary genealogy.
2. Power within the group is exercised by a war chief whose titles are inherited through the paternal line but whose real authority is based on talent and success.
3. The fact that families and camp groups attach themselves to an oba does not preclude the formation of larger aggregations made up of splinter groups belonging to a different oba.
4. Aggregations of a number of different oba or of splinter groups belonging to different oba usually have a warlike purpose such as raids, pillage in enemy territory, or conquest.[40]

Point 1 is somewhat puzzling, since it seems to preclude the possibility

of new *obas* emerging. Point 2 could actually be a valid statement for

the later period, except that Cuisenier does not make it clear whether

he means the oldest son or any descendant in the paternal line from a

[38]   J. Cuienier, "Kinship and Social Organization in the Turko-Mongolian Cultural Area", *Family and Society: Selections from Annales: Economies, Société, Civilisations*, ed. R. Forster and O. Ranum, trans. E. Forster and P.M. Ranum (Baltimore, 1976), pp. 204-236. [Originally published in *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 27 (1972)].

[39]   On this term among the Qumans see O. Pritsak, "Two Migratory Movements in Eurasian Steppe in the 9th-11th Centuries", *Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists, New Delhi 1964*, ii (New Delhi, 1968), pp. 157-163, especially p. 159 [*Studies in Medieval Eurasian History*, VI]; and "The Polovcians and Rus'", p. 335.

[40]   "Kinship and Social Organization", p. 215.

particular leader. Point 4 is not a very sophisticated statement on pastoral nomadic economy.

S. Szynkiewicz has devoted an article to kinship organization among the medieval Mongols.[41] He, too, bases his discussion on the *Secret History of the Mongols*. Since this dissertation takes the position that the data for the 11th century contained in this source has little historical foundation, it is of questionable relevance to a discussion of the later Çingisid states. Even so, his conclusions are not necessarily to be discarded since they may reflect on the practices within the ruling family at an early time.

Another important recent work is G.E. Markov's study of the nomads of Asia.[42] For the medieval Mongols Markov makes many general statements, and the main problem is pinning him down on his terminology (such as what he understands by the term "tribe"). He also bases much of what he writes on the *Secret History of the Mongols*, on the translation of Raşîd ad-Dîn's *Câmi' at-tavârîx*, and on Vladimirtsov's *Obşçestvennïy stroy mongolov*.

On the aspects of vertical organization Markov states simply that there were sub-tribes (*uruq*) and tribes (*irgen*). He describes the tribal system as an economic, military, and political organization whose

[41]  S. Szynkiewicz, "Kin Groups in Medieval Mongolia", *Ethnologia Polona* 1 (1975), pp. 113-133. "Grupy krewniacze u mongolów. Studium organizacji w spoleczenstwie postrodowym", *Ethnografia Polska* 20:2 (1976), pp. 85-145, was unavailable for the purpose of this discussion.

[42]  *Koçevniki Azii. Struktura xozyaystva i obşçestvennoy organizatsii* (Moscow, 1976), especially pp. 49-102 on the historical Mongols. E. Gellner offers a very stimulating review of earlier Russian writings on the question of pastoral societies in Eurasia covering the works of Vladimirtsov, Vyatkin, Potapov, Tolïbekov, Markov, and Khazanov in the "Forward" to Khazanov's *Nomads and the Outside World* (pp. ix-xxv). Though all of these works cannot be covered here, it should be mentioned that the historian must be ever mindful of the uncritical approach to historical sources which many of these authors represent.

genealogical-tribal structure developed very slowly and only as the result of strong ethnic and military-political collisions. At every moment the genealogical-tribal structure seemed an ossified traditional scheme unable to transform itself quickly enough according to the needs of military and economic organization. For this reason, he writes, the genealogical tribe did not always fully coincide with the existing elements of a communal-tribal organization.[43] According to Markov, the decimal organization of the army was a part of the social structure in the earliest period.[44] He also discuss the heads of *uluses*, but again only for the period of the *Secret History*.[45] For the later period Markov relies very heavily on I.Ya. Zlatkin's history of the Cungarian xanate.[46] His great "discovery" is that the social organization of the Mongols in the 16th-17th centuries rested on military-tribal organization. He says that for the 15th-16th century Mongols, however, that it is very difficult to describe their political structure. It should be remembered, however, that this is exactly the period of the four *qaraçı* beys in the Later Golden Horde.

Finally, a series of stimulating works in the historiography of Eurasia has come from the thoughtful pen of Rudi Lindner, who attempts

[43]    *Koçevniki Azii*, pp. 55-56.

[44]    *Koçevniki Azii*, p. 76.

[45]    *Koçevniki Azii*, p. 87.

[46]    *Istoriya Djungarskogo xanstva (1635-1758)* (Moscow, 1964). On this work see the excellent review by J. Fletcher in *Kritika* 2:3 (1966), pp. 19-29.

to reach a usable definition of a medieval Eurasian nomadic tribe.[47]

Incorporating many of the conclusions reached by anthropologists, he writes that "shared concerns" played a greater role in the formation of medieval tribes than did kinship, since the primary purpose of the tribe was the political one of defending and improving the position of the tribesmen *vis-à-vis* the outside world. Anyone willing to follow the tribal chief and share the interests of the tribesmen could join this political organism. As the tribe grew, the "idiom of kinship" came to be the symbolic explanation of "comradeship", and the ideology of kinship came to determine the structure and content of genealogies.[48]

Lindner's observations are a needed corrective to earlier studies of steppe history which discuss tribes without stopping for a moment to explain what is meant by a tribe.[49] His definition is not without its shortcomings, however, and the most important among these is that he does not offer any suggestions on how to understand the subdivisions within that unit which he calls a "tribe". His application of a sophisticated conception of a nomadic tribe to the Huns serves to demonstrate this inadequacy.

According to Lindner, the Huns were a single tribe with Attila as its leader. The Huns may have relied on pastoralism for their livelihood

[47]    R.P. Lindner, "Nomadism, Horses and Huns", *Past & Present* 92 (1981), pp. 3-19; "Stimulus and Justification in Early Ottoman History", *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27 (1982), pp. 207-224; "What Was a Nomadic Tribe?", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24 (1982), pp. 689-711; and *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series 144 (Bloomington, 1983).

[48]    "What was a Nomadic Tribe?", pp. 698-701.

[49]    One recent example of this is T.I. Sultanov's *Koçevïe plemena Priaral'ya v XV-XVII vv. Voprosï ètniçeskoy i sotsial'noy istorii* (Moscow, 1982), which attempts to catalog all sorts of "tribes" without any attempt to define the term or differentiate between the various groupings.

before they arrived north of the Black Sea, but once they crossed the Carpathians they turned to "predatory extortion". Their success attracted new members from the sedentary population who had no background as mounted archers, leading to a decline in "tribal military skill".[50]

The first question one must ask here is could the Huns have been a nomadic tribe at the same time as they were drawing on a sedentary population for members?[51] If they were no longer nomadic, can they still be considered a "tribe" according to Lindner's definition? In his application of the concept of tribe to the earliest Ottomans, Lindner concludes that once the economic base of the Ottomans had become sedentary, once they had a growing infantry at the core of their army, and once they had to adapt themselves to administering a sedentary and sedentarizing society, the tribal chief was then a settled ruler.[52]

More importantly, Lindner's two examples of the Huns and the early Ottomans simply does not take into account the other Eurasian groupings of socio-political units (also known as "tribal confederations") described in Chapter I.

There are numerous other works concerning medieval Eurasian history which have not been included in this survey, in part because they do not advance the understanding of what a medieval nomadic tribe in Eurasia was. Many of these works have been covered in the historiographical essay in Part II of the Bibliography.

[50] "What was a Nomadic Tribe?", pp. 701-706.

[51] Lindner suggests elsewhere that the Huns were no longer nomadic once they were in central Europe. See his "Nomadism, Horses and Huns", pp. 13-14.

[52] "What was a Nomadic Tribe?", pp. 706-709.

IV.    Bibliography of Works Cited


This bibliography includes only those works cited in the course of this dissertation. The list of abbreviations includes those primary and secondary works which were cited in full the first time and subsequently cited only in abbreviation. It also includes all those works which are cited in abbreviation only in Part B. Since the relative usefulness of various primary sources has been discussed in the Essay on Sources above, Part B will only list primary sources in alphabetical order, providing a minimal amount of biographical or other background information for those works cited in the body of the dissertation. The additional secondary works cited in the course of the Historiographical Essay and Part B are also included in Part C, the list of secondary works consulted.


Part A:       List of Abbreviations

$EI^2$          *Encyclopaedia of Islam$^2$*, i– (Leiden, 1960– ).

*GAL*          Brockelmann, C., *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (S = Supplementband).

*GOW*          Babinger, F., *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*.

*İA*           *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, i– (Istanbul, 1940– ).

*IKTsTs*       Vel'yaminov-Zernov, V.V., *Izsledovanie o kasimovskix tsaryax i tsareviçax*.

*MIKX*         *Materiali dlya istorii krïmskago xanstva, Izvleçeniya, po rasporyajeniyu Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk, iz Moskovskago glavnago arxiva Ministerstva inostrannïx del*, ed. Vel'yaminov-Zernov, V.V.

*PDRV*         *Prodoljenie drevney rossiyskoy vivliofiki*.

*PL*           Stori, Ç.A., trans. Bregel', Yu.E., *Persidskaya literatura. Bio-bibliografiçeskiy obzor*.

*PSRL*         *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisey*.

SIRIO               *Pamyatniki diplomatiçeskix snoşeniy moskovskogo gosudarstva s krimskoyu i nagayskoyu ordami i s Turtsiey*, i-ii, ed. Karpov, G.O., Sbornik Imperatorskago russkago istoriçeskago obşçestva 41 and 95.

Tizengauzen 1   Tizengauzen, V.G., *Sbornik materialov otnosyaşçixsya k istorii Zolotoy ord'i*, i: *Izvleçeniya iz soçineniy arabskix*.

Tizengauzen 2   Tizengauzen, V.G., ed. Romaskeviç, A.A. and Volinïy, S.L., *Sbornik materialov otnosyaşçixsya k istorii Zolotoy ord'i*, ii: *Izvleçeniya iz persidskix soçineniy*.

*TMEN*              Doerfer, G., *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*.

Part B:           Primary Sources

Abu l-Ğazi, *Şecere-yi Türk*, ed.-trans. Desmaisons, P.I., *Histoire de mongols et des tatares par Aboul-Ghazi Béhadour Khan*, (St. Petersburg, 1871-1874/London, 1970). [See H.F. Hofman, *Turkish Literature. A Bio-bibliographical Survey*, ii (Utrecht, 1969), pp. 11-32; and B. Spuler, "Abū 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān", $EI^2$, i, pp. 120-121.]

Ahrî, see Tizengauzen 2.

Ahrî, ed.-trans. J.B. van Loon, *Ta'rīkh-i Shaikh Uwais* ('s-Gravenhage, 1954). [See *PL*, p. 337-338.]

'Asqalânî, *Kitâb anbâ' al-ġamr bi-abnâ' al-'umr*, see Tizengauzen 1. [See F. Rosenthal, "Ibn Hadjar al-'Askalānī", $EI^2$, iii, pp. 776-778.]

'Aynî, *'Iqd al-cumân*, see Tizengauzen 1. [See W. Marçais, "'Aynī", $EI^2$, i, pp. 790-791.]

Bennigsen, A., et al., *Le khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı* (Paris-The Hague, 1978).

Martini Broniovii de Biedzfedea, bis in Tartariam nomine Stephani Primi Poloniae Regis legati, *Tartariae Descriptio* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1590).

Qadır Ali Calayir, *Cami üt-tevarix*, ed. Berezin, N.I., *Biblioteka vostoçnïx istorikov*, ii/1: *Sbornik letopisey. Tatarskiy tekst* (Kazan, 1854). [See Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoriçeskie istoçniki*, pp. 33-96.]

Continuator of Dahabî, see Tizengauzen 1.

Cuvaynî, trans. J.A. Boyle, *The History of the World Conqueror*, i-ii (Manchester, 1958).

————————, ed. M.M. Qazwini, *The Ta'rîkh-i-Jahân-gushá*, i-iii, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series 16 (Leiden-London, 1912-1937). [See *PL*, pp. 759-767.]

Ġaffârî, *Nusax-i cahân-ârâ*, see Tizengauzen 2. [See *PL*, pp. 408-413.]

Guagnini, A., *Sarmatiae Europeae Descriptio Alexandri Guagnini* (Spirae, 1631).

Ḥâfiẓ-i Abrû, *Zayl-i câmi' at-tavârîx*, see Tizengauzen 2. [See *PL*, pp. 341-349.]

Halim Giray Sultan, *Gülbün-i hanan, yahut Kırım tarihi*, ed. Cevdi, O. (Istanbul, A.H. 1327). [See Smirnov, *Krïmskoe xanstvo*, p. XVI ff.; and *GOW*, pp. 342-343 and 379.]

von Herberstein, S. ed.-trans. R.H. Major, *Notes upon Russia: Being a Translation of the Earliest Account of that Country entitled Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, ii, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society (London, 1852).

Haython, "La flor des estoires de la terre d'orient", *Receuil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens*, ii (Paris, 1906), pp. 11-363. [See S.M. Mirnïy, "'La flor des estoires de terres d'Orient' Gaytona kak istoriko-geografiçeskiy istoçnik po vostoku i po istorii mongolov", *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie* 1956:5, pp. 72-81; and J. Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'orient au Moyen-Age (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Rome, 1977), especially p. 202.]

Ibn 'Arabšâh, *'Acâ'ib al-maqdûr fî axbâr Tîmûr*, see Tizengauzen 1.

————————, ed. G.G. Freytag, *Fâkihat al-xulafâ'*, i (Bonn, 1832).

————————, ed. A. Shirwanee, *The History of Timour, in the Original Arabic* (Calcutta, 1818).

————————, trans. J. Sanders, *Tamerlane or Timur the Great Emir* (London, 1936/Lahore, 1976). [See J. Pedersen, "Ibn 'Arabshāh", *EI²*, iii, pp. 711-712.]

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa, *Rihla*, see Tizengauzen 1.

————————, trans. Gibb, H.A.R., *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325-1354*, i-iii, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, II, 110, 117, and 141 (Cambridge, 1958-1971).

————————, ed.-trans. C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, i-iii (Paris, 1949⁵). [See A. Miquel, "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa", *EI²*, iii, pp. 735-736.]

Ibn Duqmâq, *Nuzhat al-anâm fî târîx al-islâm*, see Tizengauzen 1. [See J. Pedersen, "Ibn Duḳmāḳ", *EI²*, iii, p. 756.]

Ibn Faḍlân, *Risâla*, ed.trans. Togan, A.Z.V., *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 24/iii (Leipzig, 1939/Nendeln, 1966). [IF, whose work is only cited in discussions of the views of other scholars, traveled to the Volga region at the behest of the caliph in the early 10th century. He is one of the most important sources on the Volga Bulgarians, Khazars, and other groups in the steppe.]

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