

## Lesson 8: The Golden Horde

The history of the Golden Horde is inextricably entwined with the history of the Mongols. I will not go into the history of the Mongols, except to mention that the Mongolian invasion is similar in many ways to the Arab invasion. Both the Arabian peninsula and Mongolia were located along very important international trade routes. The power of Gengis Khan can be compared with that of Mohammed. Both were extremely interested in trade since both were merchants. When Gengis occupied China, he appointed traders and merchants to be governors of various Chinese provinces, as also happened in Eastern Europe. For example, the governor of the territory that is now Ukraine was a man called in the Hypatian Chronicle "Koremza," from Khorezm, the important trade metropolis.

Gengis Khan was certainly a great military genius, but if no one had financed his army, the Mongolian invasion would not have occurred. Generally, historians have treated such invasions as dei ex machina, that is, somehow unconnected with political and economic realities of the time. It was not a deus ex machina, but a well-planned invasion organized by people who knew quite well the political and economic situation and who saw advantages in having access to these territories.

Mongolian advance troops pursued the Khorezm shah, who at that time held hegemony over the Eastern Muslim world, across the Caucasus, and penetrated for the first time into what is

now Southern Russia and the Ukraine. These advance troops defeated a united army of the Cumans, the Kipchaks (or Polovtsians), and the Old Rus'ian princes at the battle of Kalki (1223). They also raided cities in the Crimea, which occupied a very important position from the point of view of international trade (1222-1223).

In 1236 they launched new campaigns against the West. The realm of the Volga Bulgars was annihilated in 1236-1237, a victory that opened the way to what is today Russia proper. Central and northern Rus' and the Ukraine of today, which consisted of independent principalities and republics, fell one by one to the attacks of the Mongol armies between 1238 and 1240. A very severe winter finally brought the Mongol advance toward the Baltic Sea to a standstill. Thus, the Republic of Novgorod, a rich trading center, was one of the few East European towns not to be sacked.

Resistance in Rus' ceased after the fall of Kiev in 1240. Further raids hit Galicia, Volhynia, and Poland. Advance parties even reached Breslau and Silesia. A joint force of Polish and German knights suffered a crushing defeat near Lednica in 1241. But the Mongols turned south in order to join their other forces operating in Hungary. This army, led by the famous general Sübe'tai, succeeded in defeating the Hungarians of Mohacs in 1241. The advance of the Mongols in Europe, as in the Near East, was stopped by the death of the great Kagan Ögedei in December, 1241.

In 1242, two sons of the eldest son of Genghis received an immense territory as an appanage including the recently conquered parts of Eastern Europe. Oriental historians called this appanage Ulus Jochi or, after the former masters of the steppe, the Deshti Kipchak. Due to a misunderstanding, European scholars called it the Golden Horde.

Ulus Jochi is especially interesting to historians because it not only represents the beginnings of a Eurasian empire, but it also provides an example of Mongolian rule over semi-sedentary and sedentary peoples. Then, too, Ulus Jochi became the model for what later became the tsardom of Muscovy. Its nomadic part, as did all Eurasian nomadic realms, consisted of two wings: the eastern, or Kök Ordu (Blue Horde), higher in rank, with its center in Signak, located in the Kazakhstan of today, under the line of Jochi's oldest son, Orda; and the western, or Ak Ordu (White Horde), originally lower in rank, with its capital at Sarai, located on the lower Volga delta, sixty-five miles north of Itil, the old capital of the Khazars, and belonged to the line of Batu. Only the members of these two branches were allowed to rise to the throne according to the rules of seniority.

Members of the dynasty, including the non-ruling branch or branches, were granted hereditary appanages, such as in the Crimea, in the Dnieper-Dniester basin, the lower Volga basin,

the Ural basin, the Astrakhan basin, the former territory of the Bulgar state, western Siberia, and so on. Each of these appanages was grouped according to a system of ranks. During the second half of the thirteenth century, the branch of Orda had supremacy over the whole Ulus Jochi and the title Kök Ordu. During the reign of Toktu, supremacy went over to the branch of Batu and remained there until the middle of the fourteenth century, when the branch of Orda regained the lost hegemony.

The confederacy consisted of several classes of tribes, such as, the ruling tribes, the brother-in-law tribes, the tributary tribes, the slave tribes, etc. The ruling tribe consisted of the tribe of the dynasty, which was Mongol, and four brother-in-law tribes, with whom the members of the ruling dynasty intermarried. The leaders of the brother-in-law tribes, who were called Ulus-emir or Karachu or gürgen, constituted the highest governing body of the Ulus Jochi. The Ulus-emirs were subject to the system of elevation and the highest of them was called beglerbeg, the prime minister, so to speak.

Berke Khan (1257-1267), the brother and successor to Batu, had been converted to Islam in his youth and made his new faith the cornerstone of his policies. As a Mohammedan, he was in a position to enter friendly relations with the Mamluk state in Egypt. This resulted in a conflict with his cousin, Hülegü, the ruler of Iran, which now was ruled by Mongols and was called the Ilkhanid state.

The great Kagan Mongke's death in 1259 resulted in a protracted crisis in the Mongol Empire. Two pretenders to the

throne emerged--Kubilai Ka'an and Arik Bugha. While Hülegü backed Kubilai as the emperor, Berke recognized Arik Bugha. The civil war between the pretenders lasted until 1264. In this atmosphere of general uncertainty and confusion, the conflict between Berke and Hülegü came into the open.

A new factor entered the already complex situation with the overthrow of the Latin Empire in Constantinople and the restoration of the Byzantine Empire by Michael Paleologue of Nicaea in 1261. This resulted in a general realignment of political and commercial trends in the Eastern Mediterranean. As the Latin Empire had been supported by the Venetians, Michael granted privileges to the Genoese merchants instead. The Empire of Nicaea had traditionally been friendly with the Mongol Empire in Iran. Now, with the transfer of the Byzantine capital back to Constantinople, Michael was in an advantageous position to negotiate with the Kipchak Mongols as well. In fact, the political and commercial revolution on the Bosphorus opened a convenient maritime route between the Golden Horde and Egypt via Byzantium. This route was used for the exchange of emissaries between Berke and the Mamluk sultans. Berke's intervention in Transcaucasia in 1265 saved Egypt from Mongolian Persian attacks. Modern scholarship has shown that Berke was honored as sovereign of the Mamluk state. Contingents of Kipchak (Polovtsian) troops were sent from southern Ukraine and southern Russian to Egypt on several occasions in order to reinforce the Mamluk army in Egypt.

Under Berke's successor, his nephew Mangu-Temir (1267-1280), the Golden Horde became virtually independent of the Great Kagan Kubilai in Peking. Although he was not a Muslim, he continued the foreign policy of his predecessor in regard to Egypt and Iran. Here, we shall dwell on his policy toward Rus', because it established the pattern of the official policy in that land.

The princes of Rostov Land, later the Grand Duchy of Vladimir, and later Moscow, became Mangu-Temir's favorites. They proved to be a group whom he could trust without any reservations and whom he could use to strengthen Mongol rule in the event any opposition appeared in Rus'. Rostov Land comprised the famous Viatichi cities, located on the basin of the Volga, the same river on which Sarai, Mangu-Temir's capital, was located. If the capital of the Golden Horde had been in Constantinople or in the Crimea, certainly Kiev would have regained importance. However, because the capital was located at Sarai, the Volga trade route and the Volga became more important. The Mongols were very eager to maintain this highway, which connected the Baltic and Caspian seas.

There was another factor for the favoritism shown Rostov Land: after an agreement between the Grand Duke of the Rostov Land, Vsevolod III, and the Republic of Great Novgorod in 1211, only the princes of the Rostov dynasty, practically the princes of the Vladimir-Suzdal area, were considered eligible for the princely office in Novgorod. Novgorod was a region of Rus' that Mangu-Temir paid considerable attention to. His motive was commercial, since he desired to promote the Baltic trade of

which Novgorod was the main channel for Eastern Europe and the Orient. This was the time of the prosperous Baltic trade under the mastery of the association of North German towns, the so-called Hanseatic League. The most convenient route from Sarai to Novgorod was through the upper Volga region, through the Rostov Land and through the Grand Duchy of Vladimir. On the other hand, the old capital of Rus', was not of interest to him after the main trade routes changed and Kiev lost its commercial value. While Novgorod was the most convenient northern outlet for Mongol foreign trade, the Crimean ports were of paramount importance in promoting Black Sea and Mediterranean commerce, which was handled chiefly by Italian merchants--the Venetians and the Genoese. Consequently, both Novgorod and the Crimean ports attracted Mangu-Temir's attention.

Under his successor, Tuda-Mangu, actual power rested with Nogai, a member of the southern branch of the Jochi dynasty. Nogai was a prince who had distinguished himself in several campaigns and had united the right wing of the Golden Horde, called the Nogai Horde, behind him. He united them originally against the authority of the central horde. His pretensions led to war and he was defeated in 1299 by Toktu, the legitimate khan (1290-1312). Soon, the Nogai Horde disintegrated. A section of it, which eventually became known as the Little Nogai, recognized Toktu's sovereignty and was allowed to remain in the Pontic Steppes. The other Nogai clans preferred to return to their former territories in the Ural River basin north of the Caspian Sea, and became known as the Great Nogais.

In 1305, Toktu concluded a peace with the Ilkhanid, the Mongolian Persian dynasty. The result was the revival of trade between the two Mongol realms.

Toktu's successor was his Muslim nephew Özbek Khan (1313-1341), whose reign has been called "the Golden Age of the Golden Horde." Upon his accession, the Muslim faith became the official court religion. Most of the Khan's Mongol and Turkic subjects, who sooner or later adopted Islam, became Turks linguistically for two reasons: there was a Turkic province of Islam and Turkic was one of the *linguae francae* of that territory. The Mongols, who were apparently too weak to create their own or to create a province of Islamic religion on their own, adopted the third version of Islam. The so-called Tatars, whom we encounter later in Europe, were these former Mongols who had become Turks linguistically.

Muslim travelers and historians praised Özbek highly for his protection and spreading of the Muslim religion, for the orderliness of his rule, and for his encouragement of trade. Even Ibn Battuta, the Islamic Marco Polo who traveled through Özbek's realm in 1333, describes Sarai as a grand and lovely city with wide streets, beautiful mosques, water mains, centrally-located houses, public baths, and markets. Six communities of people lived there--Mongols, Alans, Kipchaks, Circassians, Rus'ians, and Greeks--each being assigned a section of the town of Sarai. A special walled area was set up for merchants and the protection of their goods. The later rulers of the Golden Horde were confronted with new problems on their frontiers



when the former vassal of the Ilkhans, the Ottoman Turks reached the Dardenelles in 1354. This not only weakened the Horde's maritime ties with Egypt, but also cut the Khanate from the Mediterranean and, thereby, from Southern Europe. In an attempt to overcome these problems, Jani Beg (1342-1357) defeated the Ilkhans and took Tebriz in 1357, but his early death prevented the consolidation of the Golden Horde in Persian Azerbaijan. The Caucasus was also given up.

Another dangerous enemy of the Khanate was Lithuania, which during the first half of the fourteenth century extended its frontiers across the upper Dvina, northeast to the Dnieper, and southeast to Kiev by the middle of the fourteenth century. One of the sons of the Grand Duke of Lithuania became the Grand Duke of Kiev.

The last undisputed khan of the Golden Horde was Tokhtamish. He joined forces with the White Horde, and renewed the vassalage of the Moscow princes. Shortly afterward he met a new enemy in Timur (Tamerlane), his former protector who destroyed Sarai-Baghdad in 1395. Now, the struggle of rival branches of the dynasty for the throne started. The possessors of certain provinces claimed themselves khans and, in a short period of time, several virtually independent khanates emerged, of which the Khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, Crimea, and Siberia should be mentioned. This was the end of the Golden Horde as a political unit. The main historical role of the Golden Horde for Eurasia was that it prepared the way for its successor, the tsardom of Muscovy.

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From the period of the Rus' principality, the lands of the future Muscovite tsardom inherited a dual system of organization. One part of the system was the feudal principalities and republics, of which the most important politically was the great principality of Vladimir and the most important economically was Lord Novgorod the Great. But because of the primitive system of dividing appanages within the great principality of Vladimir, a whole series of principalities arose. They tried to outbid each other with the Mongol administration to receive a yarlik, a charter, to the great principality of Vladimir. Of all these, the one principality that succeeded in achieving a superior position for itself in the fourteenth century was the principality of Moscow. Through its traditional allegiance and subservience the Muscovite dynasty won the trust of its Mongol sovereigns, who in addition conferred a protectorate over Novgorod to it.

The alliance between Ivan Kalita and the Kievan metropolitan of all Rus' led to the transfer of the metropolitan's residence to Moscow in the fourteenth century, after which the metropolitans cooperated closely with the princes of Moscow. The Muscovite prince added to his title the phrase "of All Rus'," which until that time had been limited to the metropolitan only.

The other part of the system was the Kievan, later the Vladimir, metropolitane of All Rus', which since 1267 had acknowledged concurrently two sovereigns, the Byzantine emperor and the kagan of the Golden Horde. Not only was it an institution of the Byzantine Church and Empire, but it was the only institution that encompassed all the lands of Rus', including

the rivals of Moscow, such as Tver, for instance, the Orthodox now under Lithuania, and the Ukrainian territories under Polish rule (such as Galicia). For this reason, the metropolitans of the first half of the fifteenth century tried to maintain an objective attitude to all their faithful. This may be seen in the example of chronicle writing. In addition to the collections of the great princes, there now appeared at the metropolitan's chancellery, All-Rus' collections, those of Cyprian (1408) and of Photious (1418), in which the editors attempted to give all the lands the opportunity for expression.

The union of the Byzantine Church with Rome, achieved in Florence in 1439, created a new situation. The Muscovite government did not recognize Cardinal Isidore as metropolitan. After some contention, a council of bishops without the patriarchate's approval elected and consecrated in Moscow in 1448 a new metropolitan, Joanna, whose title was now restyled to conform to that of the great prince--Metropolitan of Vladimir, Moscow, and All Rus'. The new metropolitanate, which had occupied a quite insignificant place in the system of the patriarchate of Constantinople, but now due to the downfall of the Byzantine state ascended to the dominant place in the Orthodox world, became practically autocephalous. Until 1490, the great prince of Moscow did not name the metropolitan of Moscow for it had become the custom that the metropolitan chose his own successor, but events move on.

In 1453, the Ottoman Turks had occupied Constantinople, the second Rome. This extraordinary event was of double

significance for the future Muscovite state. First, after the fall of the Orthodox Balkan states, and now of the Byzantine Empire itself, the only guardian of the Orthodox faith was northern Rus', because southern Rus' was within the system of the Catholic Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The south Slavic conception of the Third Rome was now transmitted to the north during the era of the second South Slavic influence.

Second, the destruction of the Genoese trade colonies by the Turks in Crimea (1475) shifted European trade with Persia and Central Asia to the Volga. Just as formerly during the time of the Golden Horde, the pax Mongolica in Eastern Europe was based on the trade route of Novgorod-Volga-Crimea, now the route Novgorod-Volga became the chief artery. The occupation of Novgorod by Ivan III in 1478 was a kind of answer to the introduction of Ottoman garrisons in the Crimea and the expulsion of the Genoese from Kaffa. Merchants from all of Europe, including England, but especially from Milan, now replaced the Genoese in Eastern Europe. The most important structures erected in Moscow in the sixteenth century were by the Milanese.

From the political point of view, the tsardom of Muscovy was a successor state to the Golden Horde. But, as a commercial power, it was the successor to Novgorod.

The Genghis dynasty of Tukatumir took possession of Kazan, the Crimea, and, in 1502, Astrakhan. For various reasons, it was unable to introduce a new pax in Eastern Europe. The Nogais and other remnants of the Golden Horde now turned to Moscow as the only power capable of insuring peace. In the mid-sixteenth

century, the Nogai prince Ismail wrote to his brother Yusuf: "Your men go to Bukhara to trade and my men go to Moscow. But should I start fighting with Moscow, then I myself would go naked and there would be nothing from which to sew shrouds for the dead."

The next step for Muscovite policy was to gain possession of Kazan and Astrakhan, the second part of the Volga route. The official policy of the great prince of Moscow in relation to the so-called Tatars was based on pragmatism, without any nationalistic or religious sentiments. In contrast, the policy of the Moscow metropolitanate, which now was becoming the center of international Orthodox propaganda, used the power and prestige of the new emergent political power for its purposes.

The princes of Moscow needed Kazan and Astrakhan for yet another reason--when the great princes of Moscow first entered the arena of European politics in the second half of the fifteenth century, their status was unclear. Their pretensions to a connection with the First Rome through a genealogy (1480) traced back to Augustus and with the Second Rome through the legend of Monomakh's cap (1523) were not treated seriously by the European diplomatic world. They needed the charisma of a state organism that everyone would know and respect. The successor states to Genghis, Kazan and Astrakhan, were such organisms. For this reason, Ivan the Terrible accepted, as the basis of his new title, the formula "The Tsar of Kazan and Tsar of Astrakhan." He could be tsar only after he obtained a capital of tsardom. Moscow was never a tsardom within the

system of the Golden Horde. The seat of the tsardom was Sarai. In contemporary sources, the tsar of Rus' was, of course, the khan of the Golden Horde. Several successor states to the Horde emerged, Kazan and Astrakhan among them. It was necessary to conquer them in order to acquire a title with charisma.

After his marriage to Zoe Sophia Paleologue, Ivan III began to reserve for himself the privileges of the Byzantine emperors. After the death of Metropolitan Gerontius (1473-1489), who, to the discomfort of the great prince, had succeeded in maintaining his independence, Ivan III began to appoint the metropolitan himself: the first being Zosima in 1490. This resulted in a sort of nationalization of the metropolitanate as the metropolitan became a tool of the ruler. During the prince's illness or during the minority of the heir, he exercised political and spiritual leadership, as Macarius, for example, did during the first years of Ivan the Terrible. Of course, it is difficult to determine now the exact demarcation line between the actions of the principality and the actions of the metropolitanate. I would like again to stress the importance of the fact that the only institution that combined all the Eastern European, or the so-called Rus', territories, was, of course, the metropolitante of Kiev, late the metropolitante of Vladimir.

New situations demanding important decisions arose: for example, to what extent could the metropolitan pursue the foreign policy of the metropolitanate independently of the great prince's foreign policy, such as receiving envoys from Lithuania and

from the Ukrainian territories. Such questions were decided ad hoc throughout the Time of Troubles and the dyarchy of the patriarch and the tsar, which led to the well-known conflict between Patriarch Nikon and Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, and were resolved only by the abolition of the patriarchate by Peter I.

I present these facts here in order to explain why the Mongols followed the policy of strengthening that principality from which the Moscow principality came into being. It was not important for them to cooperate with the Ukrainian territories because from the point of view of international trade, this connection between the Baltic, Mediterranean, and Caspian Seas had to be maintained. This was the cornerstone of their foreign and internal policies.

The history of the Kievan metropolitanate and its successors is also very important. In order to reconstruct the political views of the metropolitanate, it is helpful to study the emergence of an autotochthon historiography. The first center for chronicles was Kiev, because Kiev was the first religious center in Eastern Europe. In the first half of the twelfth century, the second center of chronicler's activity came into being, that is, Great Novgorod. By the end of the twelfth century, we have the third center--Rostov. Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii, who was unsuccessful in obtaining an independent metropolitanate for his own territory, was murdered before a chronicle compilation could be made for him. But, after a period of trouble, during the reign of his brother Vsevolod

in 1194, when Vsevolod became the senior in the Monomakh dynasty, a special compilation was made for him.

It is interesting to see how the different chronicles tried to establish their political and cultural genealogy. The Hypatian Chronicle, which is associated with western Rus' --Halych, and later Volhynia, incorporates Kievan chronicle writings. From the point of view of thirteenth-century ideology, Halych-Volhynia regarded themselves as the successors of Kiev. They, therefore, incorporated without significant changes the Kievan traditions. As for northeastern Rus' --Rostov, and later Vladimir, the situation is different. The Kievan tradition is maintained in their compilation, as represented by the Laurentian codex, only until the middle of the twelfth century, when they begin an independent version. The same is true of Novgorod.