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**THE ISLAMIZATION OF THE GOLDEN HORDE:
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The author of this article points out that although the Golden Horde was created as the result of conquests that terminated the existence of such Muslim states as the Khwarazmian Empire and Volga Bulgaria, nevertheless Muslims perceived the territory of the Golden Horde as “Dar al-Islam”, that is the “territory of Muslims”. In the author’s view, the reasons for this lie in the fact that Jochi himself and Batu were in close contact with the Baghdad Caliphate, whence the first Sufi missionaries came, who together with the Central Asian missionaries engaged in spreading Islam among the population of the Golden Horde, and especially among the Tatar elite. Particularly successful in this were Qalandars, Sufis from Anatolia. Islamization took place not only among the sedentary and, first of all, urban population, but the similar transformations happened also among nomadic population of the Golden Horde. Even during the reign of non-Muslim rulers in the Golden Horde, who came to power after khan Berke, the process of Islamization was not interrupted. The author believes that Sufis had been active from the first days of the Golden Horde, and they documented their vision of the Golden Horde history. In the author’s opinion, the history outlined in original Turkic-Tatar sources, for example written by Ötemish Hajji and Abdulgaffar Kyrymi, transmit exactly this “Islamized” history of the Jochids. When the story concerns Muslim khans, such as Berke and Uzbek, it accentuates the role of sheikhs. Data from the theological work the “Qalandar-name”, created in the Golden Horde, provides much new factual material on the issue of spread of Islam. The Qalandars were very knowledgeable about Islam and they were practicing Sufis who devoted themselves to proselytizing Islam. They distinguished themselves from other missionaries through their appeal, first of all, to the rulers. Therefore, their activities were clandestine and secret. The author connects their appearance in the Golden Horde with khan Berke’s activities, because he married to a Seljuk princess and rescued the last Seljuk princes from Byzantine captivity. According to the “Islamized” history of the Golden Horde, khans Berke and Uzbek as well as Janibek were pious Muslim rulers, who possessed all the best Muslim qualities, and absolutely the most important, they also participated in spreading of Islam as disciples of one or another sheikh. It is known that, for example, khans Janibek and Berdibek were raised by atalyks, that is by Sufi mentors. The

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history of the first Golden Horde khans draws parallels with the history of Islam during its early centuries, where khan Berke resembles the companion of the prophet Abu Bakr, and khan Janibek the companion of Omar.

Keywords: Golden Horde, Islam, Qalandar-name, Kyrymi, Sufis, khan Berke, khan Uzbek.

Islam divides the world into “Dar al-Harb” دار الحرب and “Dar al-Islam” دار الإسلام, in other words, into the “territory of Muslims” and “the territory of war”. Muslims perceived the territory of the Golden Horde as “Dar al-Islam,” although the Golden Horde was created by Mongol conquests which terminated the existence of such Muslim states as the Khwarazmian Empire and Volga Bulgaria. Yet the initial involvement of Muslims in the state-building process of the Jochid ulus resulted in the inclusion of the entire territory of the Golden Horde, Muslim territories in the Middle Volga and Khwarazm as well as the non-Muslim Northern Black Sea and Lower Volga regions and Siberia, in the “Dar al-Islam” [12, p. 7].

There are several works, written both in English and Russian, on the Islamization of the population in the Golden Horde [17]. Most of them are based on data from narrative sources. However, there are some works in the Russian literature, which, unlike those written in English, analyze the process of Islamization on the basis of archaeological and numismatic data [10; 15].

According to archaeologists, it is quite obvious that the process of Islamization in the Golden Horde went on actively and continuously, basically from the first half of the 13th century. Already the first khans launched numerous projects of city-construction. Almost all of these cities originally had Muslim populations and were built according to Muslim traditions of Central Asia and Anatolia. Recent surveys show that the Anatolian influence both on architecture and on the processes of Islamization in the Golden Horde is undervalued: for example, traces of Anatolian culture are in found abundance in the western regions of the ulus of Jochi, including Bolghar.

Islamization took place not only among the sedentary and, first of all, urban, population, where the process naturally went more quickly, but also a similar transformations happened among the nomadic population of the Golden Horde. Even during the reign of non-Muslim rulers, who came to power after khan Berke, the process of Islamization was not interrupted. According to written sources, Muslim scholars often moved to the Golden Horde to do “irshad”, namely to spread Islam. Many of them remain unknown for us, because these scholars tended not to show off their activities. However, their descendants recorded the names of some sheikhs in their genealogies (shezhere). For example, several Tatar shezheres have as the first great-grandfather, the founder of their clan a

native of Erzurum [8, p. 22], who came to the new territory with an aim to spread Islam “during the time of khan Batu”. In our opinion, their migration can be related to the period when khan Berke was in power.

We believe that the very first Muslim preachers had connections with Sufis. There are several reasons to support this conclusion. First of all, Sufis dedicated their lives given spreading Islam and they expressed their readiness to sacrifice everything in the name of religion. Secondly, already the earliest Sufi tariqats had imam-sheikhs, who basically performed the tasks of leaders in the own communities (Jamaat). Reliance on each other could already ensure effective results. This is confirmed by the fact that at the time of khan Uzbek, when Islam became the State religion, Muslims became the main pillar of the central government. Muslims were prepared structurally to assume this role, as they had ample human resources, will, and goals to pursue.

We believe that Sufis had been active from the beginning of their appearance and that they documented their vision of Golden Horde history. In our opinion, the history outlined in original Turkic-Tatar sources, for example, written by Ötemish Hajji and Abdulgaffar Kyrymi, precisely present the “Islamized” history of the Jochids. When the story concerns Muslim khans such as Berke and Uzbek, the role of sheikhs is accented; the reign of khan Berke is notable in particular. And then, although, as I have already said, according to archaeological evidence, the process of Islamization did not stop, not all khans prior to Uzbek were Muslims, and authority was not transmitted from father to son, which is more typical for Muslim tradition, but on the basis of seniority in the clan. However, these Turkic-Tatar sources consider khan Uzbek as the second “sacred” ruler after Berek, rather than, say, Mengu-Timur or Tuda-Mengu or Tokhta.

Indeed, during khan Uzbek’s reign, active Islamization process took place among the population of the Golden Horde. Numerous cities, mosques, and madrasas were built. Among the most important constructions, we can name the mosque and madrassa of Uzbek in the Crimea and the Cathedral mosque in Bolghar. Unfortunately, due to the complete destruction of the Lower Volga cities, it is difficult to give other specific examples, but there were definitely more of them. The research of archaeologists in the Lower Volga area proves the previous existence of a large number of Islamic religious buildings and funerary complexes. Muslim sheikhs actively preached in these areas and taught their followers, expanding the tariqats. It was during the Golden Horde time, that the shezheres of the Prophet and the famous Sahaba descendants began to grow, for example, tracing their genealogy back to Abu Bakr, Omar and Ali. Certainly, their ancestors in the Golden Horde were among those sheikhs who spread Islam.

Over the last year, we started introducing into scholarship data from the “Qalandar-name” [3; 4; 5; 6; 7]. This great theological work, created in the Golden Horde, provides much new factual material on the history of

the Golden Horde, including the issue of spread of Islam. It also allows us to understand the level of knowledge of the sheikhs, their sermons, and the topics they dealt with. Everything written there demonstrates the depth of their knowledge of Islam. The “Qalandar-name”, or with another title, the “Qalandariya”, is a well-preserved manuscript of 800 pages [2]. The treatise consists of five books put together into one, each of which begins with a chapter on monotheism, the Prophet, and the four righteous caliphs. In other words, we are dealing with a real Sunni treatise. According to its author, four volumes were written in the time of khan Uzbek, and the fifth volume dates for the times of khan Janibek. The source is written in Persian. Its author, Abu Bakr, explains his migration to the Golden Horde by as follows: the “Qalandar went to Qrim to do Irshad”, that is, to the call of religion. Abu Bakr also mentions his “yaranahs” or follower-students. Undoubtedly, the activities of the Qalandars’ tariqa, Abu Bakr and his work, all contributed to the spread of Islam in the Golden Horde. According to Turkic-Tatar sources, khan Uzbek himself converted to Islam under the influence of Sayyid Ata, who was also Sufi, a follower of Bab Arslan Zangi-Ata associated with Yasawiyya tariqa. However, the Anatolian sheikhs were also among those preachers invited to the Golden Horde. It is possible that these Anatolian sheikhs were better connected exactly with the activities of khan Berke. It is obvious that the “Qalandariya” was written for a specific circle, for those who had enough knowledge to understand it. Therefore, the “Qalandariya” resembles a textbook. Its author was quite well-known. For example, Ibn Battuta reported about him: in the spring of 1333 during a visit to the capital city of the Crimean ulus, Iske Qrim, Ibn Battuta met Abu Bakr, who at that time was imam of the grand mosque built by the Mamluk ruler Malik al-Nasir. Only a religious leader who was close to Uzbek khan, could be appointed to this position. This appointment demonstrates that Abu Bakr was already at that time a well-known and respected theologian. Of course, he was among the active preachers of Islam, which became the State religion in the Golden Horde.

Already in the early 13th century, Muslim scholars started to conduct active missionary work in the Genghisid states. The confrontation between the Khwarazmian Empire and the Baghdad Caliphate subsequently shaped the attitude of Muslims towards the Mongols. According to Ibn al-Athir, the caliph of Baghdad had secret relations with Genghis Khan. Further, the sources report that Jochi also had connection with the same caliphate. Another example: Berke told his brother Batu to stop the campaign led by Hulagu against the Baghdad Caliph, giving as his reasons that there was a close connection between them and the Jochids. In the notorious embassy of Genghis Khan sent to Khwarazm there were Muslims as well. The war of the Mongols with a part of the Islamic world made Muslims create historical works, where the Mongol conquest was described as the end of the world. At the same time, some Muslims actively cooperated with Mongols. In a relatively short period of time, three of the four uluses created by the

Genghisids became Muslim. The relationship with the caliphate established by Genghis Khan was continued in the ulus of Jochi. The persecution of Muslims in the Yuan Empire under Khubilai during the clash with Arik-Buga backed by Jochids or long time support of Christians by Hulaguids in the Muslim Iran, all also stressed the fact that the Jochids had close political contacts with the caliphate and that the Islamic issue played an important role in their foreign policy. Muslim scholars secretly conducted their missionary activities also among the Genghisid elite. The greatest success they had in the ulus of Jochi.

Scholars of the religious situation in the Golden Horde cannot designate which tariqa was the leading one. The study of the "Qalandariya" in that sense gives direct hints that, alongside with the Yasawiyya tariqa, the Qalandars were among the first Sufi orders. In their exposition, the Tatars were called to convert to Islam already in the time of Genghis Khan. There is a chapter in the Abu Bakr's work which is titled "Dastan of Genghis Khan and how Sheikh Muhammad Ille, Allah's mercy to him, edified him". In this chapter, the author speaks about a certain Sheikh Muhammad Ille, who, despite all hazards and difficulties, went to Genghis Khan and showed him a right path. We do not know to what extent Muhammad Ille was a real person. However, given the fact that this information is transmitted by the author, who would not lie, at least, because of his piety, we may assume that this sheikh existed. Genghis Khan assigned Muslims to numerous positions. We know that he was interested in various religions, such as Buddhism, Christianity, and, undoubtedly, Islam. In our opinion, Sheikh Muhammad Ille could have had connection with the Caliph of Baghdad, and could have been among those through whom secret communications were established.

The history of the states ruled by Genghisids during the following centuries shows that this kind of sheik had enough power and authority to make the state governors listen to them. It was also important for the credibility of preachers, because it stressed the fact that although the founders of the Genghisid dynasty were not initially Muslims, they kept Muslim preachers close to themselves, whose opinion was important for them. Thus, we have a view of a believer on the recent past.

We argue that atalyks, who were among the teachers of such khans as Janibek and Berdibek, performed a special role of sheikhs-educators. Atalyk might have taught how to govern a State, but it is also quite possible that the principle of silsile (Turkic *Ata*, Persian *Pir*) from the Sufi world is meant here. The term atalyk itself is an indirect confirmation of the fact that the sheikhs had connections with Anatolia. It is quite possible that the followers of the Qalandar tariqa could become this kind of teachers.

Undoubtedly, the treatise "Qalandariya" was a sort of an active dialogue. It was written for a narrow circle of people, who were engaged in missionary activities. In several places, Abu Bakr literally states that only

those dedicated to spreading Islam will understand him. As far as the Qalandars are concerned, here we talk about the early Qalandars who had connections with Anatolia. These were people who had a great command of Islamic knowledge, and what is more important, they were practicing Sufis, who devoted themselves to Islamic missionary work. Therefore, the name Qalandar was often used to describe all Sufis. Unlike other tariqats, the Qalandar tariqa was not numerous. As we can see, they distinguished themselves from other orders through their appeal, first of all, to the rulers. Therefore, their activities were clandestine and secret. However, those sheikhs were close to khan Uzbek and Janibek. Perhaps, among their predecessors were already subjects of khan Berke among the last Seljuk princes, who were rescued from the Byzantine captivity by khan Berke. Khan Berke himself was married to a Seljuk princess. As it is well known, already khan Berke gave to Muslim missionaries from Anatolia the territories in Qrim and the Black Sea region including Dobrudja, as well as the territory of contemporary Moldova and Romania (Eflyak).

The informant about Abu Bakr Qalandar, a certain Ahmed Eflyaki, says that his father was a Muslim scholar and close to khan Uzbek. From his father he inherited considerable property, including a large library. However, Ahmed Eflyaki, at the insistence of his teacher, did not go to Saray to acquire that heritage, but remained a novice of a Sufi sheikh. We believe that the name Eflyaki suggests that Ahmed was from the western regions of the Golden Horde, from one of those places which were given to Anatolian missionaries by khan Berke. In the Tatar-Turkish language, Romania is called precisely Eflyak (from the words Flyack, Vlyah, Valach). Perhaps the father of Ahmed Eflyaki was one of those sheikhs who conducted missionary work in the western uluses of the Golden Horde. When khan Uzbek came to power, they became one of the main pillars of the Islamization policy. Perhaps that is the reason why Ahmed Eflyaki mentions Abu Bakr Qalandar.

As true missionaries, Muslim preachers did not tend to advertise their activities. In our opinion, this is the reason why before that, we have almost no information on the Qalandars on the territory of the Golden Horde. Exactly the introduction of "Qalandariya" into the scholarly discussion gives us a great deal of information about them and their activities. Despite their secrecy, it is clear that the Qalandars, as well as other tariqats, created their own "history", their own circle, and interpretation of the history of the Tatar khans. Therefore, saying that the "khans of Tatarstan, Berke and Uzbek, brought infidel Tartars to Islam" [1, p. 67, 76], conveys this personalized history. It was much easier this way to explain the religion and the activities of their sheikhs, who, after showing the right path to a Khan, had converted the entire population to Islam. It also strengthened the role of the sheikhs in the eyes of their followers. Of course, the reality was more complex, for example, the same khans Berke and Uzbek were the rulers who allowed, for example, Catholics to expand

their missionary work on the territory of the Golden Horde. However, the Islamized history omitted this detail. For them, khans Berke and Uzbek as well as Janibek were pious Muslim rulers, who possessed all necessary qualities, and what is more important, they also participated in spreading Islam. However, here I would like to draw attention to the fact that these khans spread Islam as followers of one or another sheikh, in other words, they were members of a “circle” or “chain” of tariqats. It also shows that such histories were written by representatives of tariqats.

It was the Qalandars who became very close to power-holders. Therefore, they did not form their tariqa by establishing certain rituals and characteristics, as other tariqats did. Yet they were able to reach the rulers and to become their mainstay. The khans of the Golden Horde trusted them, even those khans, who were not Muslims, because the Qalandars were devoted servants and followers of the cult of power. Those sheikhs, who arrived in the Golden Horde in the time of khan Berke, participated in the education of khan Tokhta's son, preparing him to take power in the State. This certainly happened with the permission of the khan and his family members. This confirms the version of the numismatists, who argue that Tokhta converted to Islam by the end of his reign [15]. Followers of tariqats certainly spread the rumors that khan Batu and even khan Jochi had converted to Islam. It is possible that they were not unfounded, because the first sheikhs were close to the ruling dynasty, became its mainstay; the sheikhs were treated well and supported, they were allowed to preach. Therefore, there were rumors that both Jochi and Batu converted to Islam secretly.

The members of these tariqats dedicated themselves to the mission: they did not ask for any goods and considered it their duty to serve the ruling dynasty. It is obvious that such behavior was advantageous for the Jochids. Therefore, they gradually renounced the steppe customs and adopted Islamic law. In order not to cause popular discontent, the rulers did not introduce abrupt changes. However, during the first serious crisis in the transfer of power that broke out after the death of khan Tokhta, it was Muslims who backed up the Jochid dynasty. In order to prevent similar situations from happening, reforms in the system of government and power transmission were implemented. If khan Berke had children, already at that time authority could have been transmitted from father to son. However, it did not happen with Tokhta's son either. As for the candidacy of khan Uzbek, he was proposed by Muslim groups, who came to a certain agreement with him concerning the strengthening of the position of Islam. It is possible that someone from the non-Muslim Jochids was also nominated to for the throne; however, it was khan Uzbek who came to power. Many Jochid families had to pay a heavy price for Uzbek's accession: of at least 15 Jochid lines (according to *Shu'ab-i panjganah* of Rashid al-Din [14, p. 60]), only three survived.

Before Uzbek ascended to power, the Jochid dynasty was in danger. Uzbek defeated a Uighur, Bajir Tuq Bugha, who not only took over the throne, but also wanted to eradicate all the Jochids and establish his own dynasty as the ruling family. Therefore, the support that Muslims gave to the Jochids led to the strengthening of the Islamic position. In other works written according to the Jochid traditions (for example by Ötemish Hajji), we read that after these events Uzbek punished some of the Jochids and committed them to submission to the Kiyats, rebuking them for not opposing “Qarakishi”. Supporters of khan Uzbek solemnly declared: “Let accessions to power of black-bone people cease from this time!” [16, p. 104].

It is true that khan Uzbek brought together Muslim scholars from around the world, however the very first sheikhs came in the time of khan Berke. Therefore, it would be plausible to assume that politics and Islam began to intertwine in the period of Berke’s reign. The logical outcome of this process was the Islamization of the Golden Horde in Uzbek’s time. The succeeding khans, Janibek and Berdibek were raised by atalyks, when power passed from father to son, and Islam was considered as a State religion.

We do not argue that the Anatolian sheikhs were the leading and most powerful ones. However, without any doubt they were among Islamic missionaries. The Qalandars, as well as other Sufi brotherhoods with Central Asian roots, were close to rulers. In Turkic-Tatar sources, they are documented exactly as the main actors in the Islamization process. Let us give some examples from the work “Umdet al-Akhbar” by Abdulgaffar Kyrymi. In our opinion, the Islamized history is perfectly transmitted in the following fragment:

“The Prince Berke bin Jochi khan with God’s help had the character of a Muslim; wherever he met followers of Prophet Muhammad, he befriended them, but recoiled from pagan Tatars. As his relatives and statesmen considered him out of his mind, they did not want to see him anymore, and thus alienated from themselves. Therefore, he had to move to the side of vilayat Sygnak, where he came to the great theologian and respected Khazret Sheikh Sayf al-Din al-Khwarizmi. He engaged in prayers and studies, with understanding of God. With the help of the Almighty he became a sheikh and could perform wonders (Sahib Keramet). The army of the Mogols lost sight of him and did not know what he was doing. At that time the ‘Padishah of the Volga’ (Idil padishah-i) died and the ‘desire was directed towards Hulagu’. The leader of all sheikhs addressed Berke khan saying: ‘O, dear son of the great ancestors, the holders of the throne, which is now left without a master. Now you have the opportunity to take this high position’” [1, p. 64].

Berke objected to that and gave the example of Ibrahim Edhem, who abandoned the throne for servitude to God. However, the sheikh insisted and persuaded him to ascend to the throne of his father and lead a campaign against Hulagu. The sheikh himself helped him with it. It is worth highlighting that the sheikh treated the family of Jochi and Genghis Khan with great

respect and did not question its right to the throne. Thus, it shows that the Islamic world did not perceive the Genghisids as a hostile dynasty, in contrast, they were called the *great ancestors*. It is obvious that the sheikh and his supporters as well as many Muslims were against the invitation to Hulagu to sit on the throne of the Jochids. Undoubtedly, the Toluids wanted to take control over the ulus of Jochi and there were supporters of Hulagu's candidacy for the "throne of Jochi". The data from Abdulgaffar Kyrymi shows to what extent the role of Muslims in the formation of the Jochid dynasty was important. They had an advantage in this issue, which Muslim sheikhs maximized, namely the presence of a Muslim Jochid. For the Jochids it was already their second test in the great family of Genghisids. The first one was the confrontation with the families of Ogodeids and Chaghataids, which led to defeat of the latter. The second one was the clash with the Toluids, who had managed to take control over the whole empire. After the death of Batu they could easily conquer the Jochids as well. If the first time the Jochids relied on the Toluids, now in order to keep the dynasty and, most importantly, to establish a State, they had to look for support among Muslims, trying to cooperate in particular with associations of Muslim sheikhs and merchants. Because if Hulagu could subdue the ulus of Jochi, the Jochids would have been destroyed, and only the Toluids would have remained as the ruling dynasty throughout the empire. For Muslims the rule of Hulagu in the Golden Horde also did not promise anything good, as his attitude towards Islam was quite controversial. Exactly Hulagu's policy in Iran, the Near East, and Anatolia, where he did not take into account the interests of Muslim populations, led to this situation, when many sheikhs and Muslim circles started looking for support from the Jochids and backed them up. Support of Muslims became source of independent force, which made Islam a State religion already in the period of Berke, because it accommodated the interests of the State and the ruling dynasty of the Jochids. It developed a State ideology and provided support for the government.

A psychological point also stands out. It is known that Berke actively assisted his brother Batu and was among the first state-founders. However, the story told by Kyrymi that Berke was moved away from the family as a result of his cognition of God makes his biography similar to the Prophet's and his companions. It stresses the idea that the faith supersedes everything else, including family, which is proved by the example of Berke, one of the first rulers of the Golden Horde. Through this story, he is linked to the Prophet's companions, highly respected by Muslims. This was a certain message to the ruling dynasty of the Jochids. We think that this kind of explanation of Jochid history was presented quite early, perhaps already in the period of Berke's reign. The creators of this version were definitely from the Sufi circles; Kyrymi simply retold the broadly circulating "Islamized" history of the khans and Islam in the Golden Horde.

Kyrymi says that in the times of khan Berke, the entire population of the State converted to Islam. However, after his death, many of them became “fire-worshippers” (ateshperešt) again. After that, the four most famous “Evliyaulahs” of that time began to spread “Muhammed’s religion” “among the population of Dasht-i Kipchak, in the ulus of Jochi”. They were Sheikh Majid al-Din Shirvani from the descendants of Hazreti Ali; Baba Toklas Sheikh Najib al-Din from the descendants of Abu Bakr al-Siddiq and two Sayyids from the descendants of the Prophet – Sheikh Ahmed and Sheikh Hassan Gurgani. After the author has told the story of the deeds and witchcraft of the “fire-worshippers”, he says that khan Uzbek with his people converted to Islam and they led to the faith “the whole of Tatarstan from the very east to the west” [1, p. 76].

Further, Muslims were considered not only as supporters of the occupants of the throne and the Jochid family, but more as members of the inner circle. Uzbek’s son, Janibek, was raised in the Muslim tradition. The same can be said about Berdibek. Since his birth, Janibek was given an Islamic name – Sultan Mahmud Janibek. Kyrymi makes an interesting remark about Janibek, that he was often compared to Omar al-Faruq, the Prophet’s companion and the second Caliph, who is highly respected by Sunnis for his fairness and decisiveness. Was khan Janibek compared to Omar al-Faruq, because he, like Caliph Omar, conquered the remnants of Hulaguid Iran? These comparisons draw a parallel between the history of Islam in its first centuries and the history of the Golden Horde khans, where khan Berke is very similar to the companion of the prophet Abu Bakr, and khan Janibek to the companion of Omar. In my opinion, all of this confirms the fact that Sufi circles wrote the Islamized history of the Golden Horde.

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ИСЛАМИЗАЦИЯ ЗОЛОТОЙ ОРДЫ: НОВЫЕ ДАННЫЕ

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В статье рассказывается, что несмотря на то, что Золотая Орда была основана вследствие завоеваний, в том числе, и мусульманских государств, таких как государство Хорезмшахов и Волжско-Камская Булгария, все же мусульмане воспринимали территорию Золотой Орды как «дар ал-ислам», т.е. как «территорию мусульман». Причины этого, на взгляд автора, кроются в том, что сам Джучи и Бату находились в тесных контактах с Багдадским халифом, откуда пришли первые проповедники-суфии, которые совместно со среднеазиатскими миссионерами занимались распространением ислама среди населения Золотой Орды и особенно среди татарской элиты. На взгляд автора, в этом преуспели каландары, суфии из Анатолии. Процесс исламизации был характерен не только для оседлого, прежде всего, городского населения, но такая ситуация была характерна и для кочевого населения Золотой Орды. Даже после хана Берке, когда в Золотой Орде правили ханы язычники, процесс исламизации не был остановлен. Автор считает, что суфийские братства с первых дней действовали активно и фиксировали свое видение истории Золотой Орды. На взгляд автора, история, изложенная в собственных тюрко-татарских источниках, таких как сочинения Утемиш-хаджи и Абдулгаффар Кырыми, как раз и рассказывают мусульманизованную историю Джучидов. Где история крутится вокруг ханов мусульман, таких как Берке и Узбек, там фиксируется роль шейхов. Данные богословского труда «Каландар-наме», созданного в Золотой Орде, предоставляют много нового материала по вопросам распространения ислама. Каландары были людьми, имеющими очень хорошие знания об исламе и практикую-

щими суфиями, которые посвятили себя распространению ислама. Они отличались тем, что их призывы были обращены, прежде всего, к правителям. Поэтому они были скрытны, не особо распространялись о своих деяниях. Их появление в Золотой Орде автор связывает с деятельностью хана Берке, который был женат на сельджукской принцессе и спас последних сельджукских принцев из византийского плена. В мусульманизированной истории Золотой Орды ханы Берке, Узбек и Джанибек являются чистыми мусульманскими правителями, с прекрасными мусульманскими качествами, и, самое важное, они сами неизменно являются распространителями ислама как последователи того или иного шейха. Известно, что, например, ханы Джанибек и Бердибек воспитывались аталыками, т.е. суфийскими наставниками. В изложении истории первых ханов прослеживается сравнительная параллель с историей ислама первых веков его существования, где хан Берке похож на сподвижника пророка Абу Бакра, а Джанибек-хан – на сподвижника Омара.

Ключевые слова: Золотая Орда, ислам, Каландар-наме, Кырими, суфии, Берке-хан, Узбек-хан.

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