

ОРИГИНАЛЬНЫЕ СТАТЬИ

УДК 930.2(47)

DOI: 10.22378/2313-6197.2019-7-2.208-224

**COMPARING EASTERN AND MISSIONARY SOURCES
ON THE GOLDEN HORDE'S HISTORY*****Roman Hautala***^{1,2}¹ *Marjani Institute of History of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences
Kazan, Russian Federation*² *University of Oulu
Oulu, Finland
romanhautala@gmail.com*

Abstract: *Research objectives:* The author of this article seeks to draw the attention of researchers to the whole body of little-known Latin sources concerning the details of the development of Catholic missionary work in the territory of the Golden Horde since the second half of the 13th century.

Research materials: These sources seem to be important primarily because they include “internal” sources, namely, reports of Catholic missionaries compiled in the territory of the Golden Horde and sent to the leadership of the Mendicant orders (mainly the Franciscan Order of the Friars Minor) in Europe. The body of writings also includes “external” sources, that is, papal bulls addressed to the Golden Horde rulers, the missionaries themselves in the dominions of these rulers, and their subjects in the steppes and cities of the Golden Horde whom the Roman curia regarded as immediate targets for their missionary activity. In addition, narrative descriptions of the Franciscan chroniclers who received information either directly from missionaries returning from the Golden Horde, or through their unperished letters, are discussed here as “external” Latin sources.

The *novelty of this study* stems from its comparison of the already well-known sources on the Golden Horde with the content of reports of the Mendicants, papal bulls, and Franciscan chronicles, which allows the author to significantly diversify the information on its history.

Research results: In particular, the author resorted to a comparison of missionary and Eastern (Mamluk, Persian, Russian, Greek, and Armenian) sources, completely independent of each other. In doing this, the author sought to demonstrate the usefulness of such a comparison to clarify the existed data and to obtaining new information. In addition, the author tried to justify the importance of the missionary sources presented in the article.

Keywords: comparison of heterogeneous sources, history of the Golden Horde, Eastern sources, Catholic missions in the east, Franciscan reports, papal bulls, Franciscan chronicles

For citation: Hautala R. Comparing Eastern and Missionary Sources on the Golden Horde's History. *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie=Golden Horde Review*. 2017, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 208–224. DOI: 10.22378/2313-6197.2019-7-2.208-224

The study of the history of the Golden Horde is greatly hampered by the fact that, unlike the Ilkhanate of Persia or the Yuan Empire in China, its researchers do not have at their disposal a sufficient number of contemporary sources written on its territory. The history of the Golden Horde can be traced on the basis of “external” Arabic, Persian, Russian, Armenian, Greek and Latin sources. “Internal” contemporary sources are preserved in a very limited volume and the introduction of each of such sources into current scholarly discussions brings new, completely unknown information on the history of the Golden Horde or confirms and clarifies the information of already known sources.

The author of this article seeks to draw the attention of researchers to the whole body of little-known Latin sources concerning the details of the development of Catholic missionary work in the territory of the Golden Horde since the second half of the 13th century. These sources seem to be important primarily because they include “internal” sources, namely, reports of Catholic missionaries compiled on the territory of the Golden Horde and sent to the leadership of the Mendicant orders (mainly the Franciscan Order of the Friars Minor) in Europe. The body of writings also includes “external” sources, that is, papal bulls addressed to the Golden Horde rulers, the missionaries themselves in the dominions of these rulers, and their subjects in the steppes and cities of the Golden Horde whom the Roman curia regarded as immediate targets for their missionary activity. In addition, narrative descriptions of the Franciscan chroniclers who received information either directly from missionaries returning from the Golden Horde, or through their unpreserved letters, are discussed here as “external” Latin sources.

The information of these missionary sources predictably relate mainly to the proselytizing activity of the Mendicant Friars in the territory of the Golden Horde. These sources, however, contain extremely interesting information about the religious policy of the rulers of the Golden Horde, on the relations of missionaries with the nomads and local Christians among whom they deployed their activity and even about political events in the Golden Horde, although, as will be shown below, in this aspect missionary sources only supplement the information of the much more reliable Mamluk chronicles.

Comparison of the already well-known sources on the Golden Horde with the content of reports of the Mendicants, papal bulls and Franciscan chronicles allows the author to significantly diversify the information on its history and represents the main goal of this article. In particular, the author resorts to a comparison of missionary and Eastern (Mamluk, Persian, Russian, Greek, and Armenian) sources, completely independent of each other. In doing this, the author seeks to demonstrate the usefulness of such a comparison both to clarify the existed data and obtaining new information. In addition, the author tries to justify the importance of the missionary sources presented in the article.

The “case” of the ringing of bells

The very first document clearly evidencing the permanent presence of the Franciscans in the Golden Horde, points to the apparently tense relations of Western missionaries with Muslim residents of local cities. Along with the mention of the fact that the Franciscans had at their disposal convents in Caffa and Sarai, a church in Solkhat and houses in Qırq Yer in Crimea and in Vicina in the Danube

delta, the custodian or the head of the Northern Black Sea's Franciscans named Ladislaus reported in his message to the west of April 11, 1287, details of the conflict erupted in Solkhat in August 1286 between the local Franciscans and Muslims. The latter tore off the bell from the Franciscan church in Solkhat, apparently irritated by its ringing, and the Minorites lodged a complaint against these actions to Tula-Buga Khan (1286–1291) and Nogai (d. 1300). Both Mongol rulers took the Franciscans' side and sent, in addition to their representatives, a "special ambassador" who entered Solkhat with military force and forced the Minorites' offenders to pay them ample compensation. In addition to the fact that the Franciscans were allowed to hang three bells in their church instead of one torn off, shortly after these events, Nogai's wife, "empress Iaylak", arrived in Solkhat and expressed her desire to be baptized, to the sheer joy of the Franciscans. She was baptized from the hands of Ladislaus himself in the Crimean city of Qırq Yer [43, p. 248–250].

The patronage of the Mongol rulers played a decisive role in this conflict, but it was not necessarily the result of some special sympathy for Christianity. According to the account of the Mamluk author Baybars al-Mansuri, in 1270/71 Nogai notified the Egyptian Sultan about his conversion to Islam [45, p. 101]. Also the Golden Horde "ambassador" mentioned by friar Ladislaus was a Muslim, which did not prevent him from punishing the Franciscans' offenders in Solkhat, despite the fact that they, unlike the Minorites, were his co-religionists. Obviously, the Golden Horde "ambassador" sought in this case to restore the established order, where the right of the Franciscans to ring the bell was considered weightier than the reluctance of Muslims to hear it. Nevertheless, the attitude towards this right changed dramatically 30 years after this conflict, in connection with the ascension of Uzbek Khan, converted to Islam as well as Nogai, but who preferred the opinion of Muslims regarding this "issue".

In his yarlik of 1314 (which will be discussed in more detail below), Uzbek Khan (1313–1341) strictly forbade attacks on the Franciscan church in the Genoese Caffa and allowed the Minorities to ring bells on it [22, p. 65], and, according to the personal testimony of Ibn Battuta, this permission remained in force 20 years after this [47, p. 470–471].

For his part, Pope John XXII apparently believed that this khan's permission extended to other cities of the Golden Horde, reminding Uzbek in his letter of March 28, 1318, how the khan "allowed the said Christians to have and freely ring the bells, to which sound they could gather for divine services". Nevertheless, a year after granting this permission, Uzbek, according to the Pope, "seduced by the deceitful perseverance of the enemies of Christ", forbade Christians to ring bells [5, p. 148].

Probably, this prohibition was directly related to the confrontation between the Greek population of Soldaia (where the Franciscans also had one convent) and Uzbek's governor in Crimea, Tuluk-Timur. Two synchronous notes on the margins of the "Sudak Synaxarion"¹ show that this confrontation led to open conflict and that Soldaia was attacked by the military forces of Tuluk-Timur in August 1322

¹ Notes of the 12th–15th centuries on the margins of the "Sudak Synaxarion" (that is, a collection of abbreviated saints' lives composed in Greek in Soldaia in the 12th century) were published in 1863 by Archimandrite Antonin Kapustin [4, p. 595–628]. However, subsequently the original manuscript of the Synaxarion was lost [51, p. 261, nota 3].

and January 1323 [4, p. 600, 621]. Pope John XXII, being informed about these attacks, turned to the Golden Horde's khan again, regretting in his bull on September 27, 1323 that Christian inhabitants of Soldaia were "driven out of the city by Saracens, and after the bells had been removed from their churches, the churches were turned into mosques". In this connection the Pontiff urged Uzbek to both allow local Christians to "return for living in the said town" and give them back "the mentioned churches and bells" [3, p. 203]. Nevertheless, Uzbek did not listen to the Papal request; according to Ibn Battuta, in 1334 Soldaia was largely populated by the "Turks"².

The identification of "Coktoganus"

The baptism of "empress Iaylak" in 1286 reflected certain sympathies of some representatives of the Golden Horde elite towards Christianity and probably soon after that the Franciscans managed to convert to the Catholic religion "one great king of the Tartars". According to the Umbrian Franciscan Giovanni Elemosina, "secured by his benevolence", the Friars Minor "built 10 places in that Tartary: 5 permanent walled places in Tartar cities³ and 5 mobile places in pavilions or tents⁴ among the multitude of the Tartars"⁵. This same Chinggisid was also mentioned in the list of "the children of the emperors⁶ who were baptized by the Friars Minor" [13, p. 73]⁷, where he is called "Coktoganus" and where it is also reported that three of his sons were baptized with him: "Georgius, Curamas and Abusca", of whom only "Abusca" remained alive by the time this list was compiled (circa 1321). Apparently, a number of other Franciscan sources had also in mind precisely this Mongol prince in their reports that he was buried afterwards in the Franciscan convent of St John located three miles from Sarai⁸.

Despite the relatively numerous references to this Mongol prince in Franciscan sources⁹, his identification causes certain difficulties. Girolamo Golubovich and

² The ringing of the bells was forbidden in Solkhat as well, since Ibn Battuta never mentions it [47, p. 471–472 (Solkhat), 499 (Soldaia)].

³ Both full-fledged convents and more modest residences in Golden Horde's cities could be intended by "places" in Franciscan sources.

⁴ Giovanni Elemosina meant here the mobile altars that the Franciscans carried on wagons following the ever nomadizing "Tartars" [13, p. 125].

⁵ See the "Book of Histories of the Holy Roman Church" (1335) by Giovanni Elemosina, as well as his "Chronicle" (1336) [13, p. 107, 120].

⁶ The Golden Horde's khan Mengu-Timur (1267–1280) and ilkhan Arghun (1284–1291) were referred to here as "emperors".

⁷ This list is contained in the codex Nero A. IX (fol. 101^v) from the British library.

⁸ See the "Chronicle of the 24 Generals of the Order of the Friars Minor" by an anonymous Aquitanian author (perhaps Arnaud de Sarrant, the Minister of the Franciscan province of Aquitaine [32, p. 20]), in [1, p. 456]; a record "On the holy brothers resting in the Northern Vicariate" from the codex Canon. Misc. 525 of the Bodleian library, in [12, p. 46]; and the treatise "On the Conformity of the Life of St Francis to the Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ" by Bartolomeo Pisano, in [2, p. 557].

⁹ One would assume that all these Franciscan sources reported on various representatives of the Golden Horde's elite. However, with the exception of the fragment from the codex Nero A. IX, each of the above-mentioned sources mentions only one high-ranking Chinggisid baptized by the Franciscans, which makes it possible to assume that all together they mean the same person.

Devin DeWeese were inclined to believe that the Franciscans had in mind Toqta Khan (1291–1312) when writing about “Coktoganus” [13, p. 73, nota 1; 14, p. 171; 9, p. 98–99]¹⁰. In particular, Girolamo Golubovich argued that most of the sources called “Coktoganus” the emperor, that is, the supreme ruler of the Golden Horde. Indeed, the anonymous author of the “Chronicle of the 24 Generals” calls “Coktoganus”, who took the name of John at baptism, “dominus Iohannes, the emperor of the Tartars” [1, p. 456]¹¹. However, a record “On the holy brothers resting in the Northern Vicariate” (from the codex Canon. Misc. 525 of the Bodleian library) [12, p. 46] and the treatise “On the Conformity of the Life of St Francis” by Bartolomeo Pisano [2, p. 557] call “Coktoganus” the “king of the Tartars” (*rex Tartarorum*), that is, the ruler who was subordinate to the Golden Horde “emperor” or khan. Moreover, in two separate bulls of Pope John XXII addressed on November 22, 1321 and February 28, 1322 to “Abuscanus”¹², son of the same “Coktoganus” (called “Cotoganus” in both bulls), “the cherished in memory Cotoganus” is called “the king in the regions of Tartary” [5, p. 214; 3, p. 186]¹³; while in all bulls addressed to Toqta Khan’s successor, Uzbek Khan, Popes John XXII and Benedict XII invariably referred to Uzbek as the “emperor of the Tartars”¹⁴. It is obvious that Pope John XXII would not fail to call “Cotoganus” the emperor, if he would have meant by “Cotoganus” the predecessor of Uzbek – Toqta Khan.

In his attempt to prove that “Coktoganus” was Toqta Khan, Devin DeWeese referred to a letter of the Franciscans of Caffa addressed on May 15, 1323 to the cardinals of the Roman Curia and the general chapter of their Order, which was not known to Girolamo Golubovich [9, p. 98–100]. In one fragment of this letter, its anonymous authors briefly described the political struggle in the Golden Horde, which flared up after the death of Toqta Khan in August 1312. According to the Franciscans, Toqta Khan died a Christian and left behind him three baptized sons. Two of these sons set on foot a conspiracy against Uzbek Khan, who became Toqta’s successor in early 1313, and they left the Christian faith, according to the

¹⁰ Jean Richard at first expressed doubts about the validity of this identification [36, p. 157], but later changed his mind to the opposite [35, p. 239; 34, p. 350 (English translation); see also 38, p. 292, nota 49].

¹¹ See also the “Register of the Friars Minor of London”, where John is ranked among the deceased friars of the Franciscan Order and called the “emperor of the Tartars” as well [20, p. 539].

¹² Obviously, “Abusca” from the above codex Nero A. IX from the British library, the youngest son of “Coktoganus”, is meant here, who remained alive, unlike his brothers, at least until 1323.

¹³ Jean Richard clearly misread the statement of the Pope in the first of these bulls of November 22, 1321 that God directed “Abuscanus” “to the chamber of his bride” (*ad sponsae suae thalamum*) and concluded that John XXII mentioned here the baptism of the wife of “Abuscanus” [36, p. 157, nota 125; see also 38, p. 293]. In fact, the Pope had in mind the Roman Church when speaking about God’s “bride” and the corresponding communion of “Abuscanus” with it.

¹⁴ See the bulls of John XXII of March 28, 1318 [5, p. 148], September 27, 1323 [3, p. 202] and October 1, 1333 [5, p. 558], as well as the bulls of Benedict XII of June 13, 1338 [6, p. 60], October 31, 1338 [6, p. 64] and August 17, 1340 [6, p. 77]. It is curious that Pope Benedict XII called the Yuan khan Toghon Temür (1333–1370), senior among other Chinggisid khans, the “emperor of the emperors” [6, p. 58].

Minorites, “in their ambition to obtain the imperial honour”¹⁵. However, Uzbek Khan killed these two of his sons. The third son of Toqta, in turn, remained a “firm and stable” Christian and did not take part in the conspiracy of his brothers. Uzbek spared him therefore and treated him kindly, and by the time the letter was written (1323), Uzbek considered this younger son of Toqta his main heir [22, p. 111 (Latin text); 24, p. 365 (English translation)].

At first glance, this letter confirms that Toqta was that “Coktoganus” who was baptized by the Franciscans and significantly contributed to the development of their apostolate in the Golden Horde, and that the youngest son of Toqta was that “Abuscanus” who was alive by the time the letter was written, to whom Pope John XXII addressed two bulls in 1321 and 1322. However, this letter of the Franciscans transmitted clearly distorted information in this fragment, despite the fact that for the rest it contained quite reliable information about the activities of the Franciscans in the Golden Horde.

First of all, it should be noted that the Mamluk authors Ibn Duqmaq and al-Ayni, who followed the former, claimed from the words of the Mamluk ambassadors who arrived in the Golden Horde at the time of Toqta’s death, that Toqta did not leave behind the children, “neither male nor female” [45, p. 323, 515–516; see also 17, p. 114]¹⁶. According to these Mamluks authors, Uzbek faced the opposition of the amirs irritated by his conversion to Islam and the respective Islamization policy. However, his opponents were not headed by the sons of Toqta Khan, but amirs Tunguz and Taz, who previously enjoyed increased influence in the Golden Horde under the late Toqta Khan. Uzbek “killed both of them and several Tatar nobles along with them” and he did it after he became khan.

Undoubtedly, the Chinggisid princes could join the rebellious amirs and be among these “Tatar nobles” executed by Uzbek. However, the participation in the conflict with Uzbek of those sons of Toqta Khan who were eligible for the Golden Horde throne, seems dubious. In his “*Tarikh-i Uljaytu-Sultan*” (circa 1316) the Persian author Jamal al-Din ‘Abdullah b. ‘Ali Qashani referred to the words of the ambassadors of Uzbek Khan who arrived in the Ilkhanate in April 1313, and argued that, at the end of the conflict, Uzbek executed the son of Toqta along with more than a hundred Chinggisid princes [see 9, p. 107–109, with reference to the Iranian edition of Qashani in 33, p. 144–145]. Nevertheless, Qashani’s account is extremely doubtful, since he attributed the main role in plotting against Uzbek to amir Qutlugh Timur. In fact, Qutlugh Timur was one of the main supporters of the khan and his support contributed to Uzbek’s ascension [9, p. 108–109]. It is more important, however, that in Qashani’s account Toqta’s son plays an extremely secondary role, and that Qashani can not clarify his name¹⁷.

¹⁵ The authors of the letter probably meant by this that the camp of Uzbek Khan’s opponents consisted of adherents of traditional nomadic beliefs.

¹⁶ According to “*Shuab-i panjganah*” by Rashid al-Din (the genealogical supplement to his “*Jami at-tawarikh*” compiled by Rashid al-Din circa 1306), the sons of Toqta who had the right to the throne of the Golden Horde were Tukul Buqa, Ilbasar and Tukil-Buqa, all of whom apparently died before their father [16, p. 873–874; 9, p. 108, nota 91].

¹⁷ Devin DeWeese, in turn, was clearly mistaken in reading this account, when he claimed that Qashani wrote in its beginning on the conflict between Toqta’s two sons – Bayan and Mumqiya – and about the support that Toqta rendered to the former [9, p. 108]. In fact, Qashani wrote in this fragment about the conflict between the rival rulers of the eastern part of the Gol-

In the 1360s, the Persian author al-Ahari called in his “*Tarikh-i Shaykh Uvays*” this Toqta’s son by the name of Ilbasmish. He probably had here in mind the middle son of Toqta, Ilbasar, about whom it is reliably known that he died before his father [45, p. 123 (Baybars al-Mansuri), 174 (al-Birzali), 206 (al-Dhahabi), 384 (Ibn Khaldun), 513 (al-Ayni)]. Besides, he incorrectly dates these events to 1303/4 and further confuses Toqta with Ilkhan Ghazan, which casts doubt on the authenticity of his report [46, p. 100; see also 17, p. 114]. In turn, the anonymous continuator of “*Jami at-tawarikh*” (probably, Hafiz-i Abru) of the first half of the 15th century was obviously not familiar with the work of al-Ahari and almost word for word reproduced Qashani’s account with one significant change: in order to explain the clearly contradictory role of amir Qutlugh Timur in Qashani’s account, he introduced two amirs under the same name into his narrative, one of whom led a conspiracy against Uzbek and another Qutlugh Timur turned out to be his main supporter [46, p. 141].

Of course, the contradictions in Qashani’s account do not eliminate the possibility that some son of Toqta from any of his “younger” wives¹⁸, who did not have the right to the throne, could participate in the conflict with Uzbek. Such information about his possible participation in the power struggle could also affect the Franciscans who described these events almost 11 years after they happened. However, in their letter of 1323, the Franciscans wrote about two “sons” of Toqta who had every right to the throne, and they also mentioned the third “son” of Toqta who did not take part in the conflict and was then considered the closest heir to Uzbek Khan. Apparently, this third “son” of Toqta was that “Abuscanus” to whom Pope John XXII addressed two bulls in 1321 and 1322. However, the pope, who was extremely scrupulous in choosing titles when referring to secular rulers, did not name the father of “Abuscanus” as emperor or khan, and he did not make it clear that “Cotoganus” had previously hold the throne of the Golden Horde.

All these remarks suggest that the “sons” of Toqta in the letter of the Franciscans of 1323 were actually the children of another Chinggisid. In turn, the comparison of the list of “the children of the emperors who were baptized by the Friars Minor” from the codex Nero A. IX of the British library with the “*Shuab-i panjganah*” by Rashid al-Din allows to identify this Chinggisid. While an anonymous Franciscan pointed out that the names of the sons of “Cotoganus” were “Georgius, Curamas and Abusca”, Rashid al-Din, in turn, mentioned the following names of the sons of the Chinggisid prince Kutukan: Kurmas corresponding to Curamas; Kunkiz or Kurkiz – the Turkic and Mongolian equivalent of George; and Abšeqe, that is, Abušqa, obviously corresponding to the Latin writing “Abusca” [9, p. 98, nota 65; 16, p. 873]. The coincidences in these two completely independent sources suggest that both these sources meant the same Chinggisid, namely, Kutukan – the son of Mengu-Timur Khan and the younger brother of Toqta Khan.

Apparently, Kutukan was baptized after 1287, as the custodian Ladislaus did not mention him in the above letter dated April 11, 1287. It is equally obvious that Kutukan was baptized before 1291, that is, before he was executed by Toqta as a

den Horde (on the territory of modern Kazakhstan). Toqta really provided crucial support to Bayan in 1309. However, neither Bayan nor Mumqiya were the sons of Toqta [49, p. 142–143].

¹⁸ As, for example, from the illegitimate daughter of Byzantine emperor Andronik II named Maria, who became Toqta’s wife in 1297 [25, p. 294; see also 50, p. 395].

result of the conspiracy that brought the latter to power [45, p. 108 (Baybars al-Mansuri), 157 (an-Nuwayri)]. It remains unclear why Kutukan was buried in the Franciscan convent of St John near Sarai only at a time when the Franciscan order was headed by Gonsalvus Hispanus, that is, between 1304 and 1313, as indicated by the record “On the holy brothers resting in the Northern Vicariate” from the codex Canon. Misc. 525 of the Bodleian library [12, p. 46] and the treatise “On the Conformity of the Life of St Francis” by Bartolomeo Pisano [2, p. 557]. It is possible, however, that he was exhumed from his original burial and reburied in the said convent. In any case, these same sources indicate that the exhumation of Kutukan was an acceptable action, since he was reburied in Sarai 30 or 35 years after his burial in the convent of St John.

Two yarliks of Uzbek Khan

Despite the death of their high-ranking protector, the Franciscans, apparently, did not encounter any obstacles to their preaching activity after Toqta's ascension. Nevertheless, they had to suspend this activity at the end of his reign because of the conflict that suddenly broke out between Toqta Khan and the Genoese. In 1307, Toqta “ordered to capture all the Genoese throughout his empire” and on May 20, 1308 troops led by his son Ilbasar entered Caffa left by the Genoese [8, p. 500–501]. The Franciscan convents in the Golden Horde probably emptied due to reprisals against the Genoese merchants, which affected all the local Catholic residents. Respectively, Western missionaries were to begin their activities anew and their success depended on the favor of the new khan.

The Franciscans were able to return to Caffa only after Uzbek Khan's ascension in the beginning of 1313, and next year Uzbek granted them a yarlik (literally “privilege”) with the permission to move throughout the Golden Horde, exemption from military service and taxes, as well as permission to build in Caffa their church (of St Agnes)¹⁹.

Thus, despite his conversion to Islam, Uzbek continued to adhere to the traditional policy of religious tolerance of his predecessors. In his attempt to restore friendly relations with the Sultanate of Egypt (which deteriorated noticeably during the last years of Toqta's reign [7, p. 170–171; 10, p. 343]), Uzbek represented himself as a zealous adherent of the Islamic religion and his ambassadors who arrived in Cairo in March or April 1314, claimed (according to the Mamluk author an-Nuwayri) that Uzbek demanded from “a party adhering to a religion other than Islam” in his dominion “to enter into the religion of Islam” and destroyed them after their refusal [45, p. 163; see also 9, p. 111–112]. This assertion of Khan's ambassadors was to help to restore a warm relationship with the Muslim Sultan of Egypt, but at the same time it was a clear distortion of reality [40, p. 111]. Almost at the same time when the envoys of the Khan described to the Sultan in Cairo the death of all adherents of alternative religions in the Golden Horde, Uzbek himself granted the Franciscans the above-mentioned yarlik with the permission to freely preach the “Christian law” in his dominion [22, p. 65]²⁰.

¹⁹ This yarlik is preserved in the Latin translation contained in the codex D. Ii. 3.7 in the library of Cambridge University (fol. 148^v–149^r). See the edition of this translation in: [22, p. 65].

²⁰ Uzbek Khan granted the Minorities his yarlik on March 20, 1314, while his ambassadors arrived in Cairo in March or April of the same year.

In his letter of 1320, the Hungarian Franciscan Iohanca indicated that he began his missionary work in “Bascardia” (in the territory of modern Bashkortostan) six years before writing the letter [22, p. 67], and he testified in this way that the Minorities immediately took advantage of Uzbek’s permission. When describing the apostolate of his fellows in the Golden Horde, friar Iohanca mentioned their notable successes in preaching the gospel among the local nomads [22, p. 66], and the Franciscans of Caffa who addressed their letter to the general chapter of their Order in 1323, pointed to equally significant achievements of the missionaries [23, p. 107]. The Franciscans of Caffa did not mention any obstacles to their activities on the part of the Golden Horde administration, and friar Iohanca, in turn, encountered such obstacles only after he had allowed himself to call the Muslim religion “frivolous and profane” during the religious dispute organized at the court of the “ruler of Bascardia”. After that, Iohanca was thrown into prison, but it is significant that he was saved from the death sentence by the intercession of local “Tartar judges” (jarguchis) who were appointed from Sarai and felt sympathetic towards Christianity [22, p. 68].

The Muslim Uzbek had a similarly tolerant attitude toward the Orthodox Church of Russian principalities having granted in 1313 the Vladimir Metropolitan Petr the yarlik, which had a number of similarities with the “Franciscan” yarlik of 1314. The yarlik of Metropolitan Petr has been preserved in the Russian translation in the “Extensive edition” of the *Collection of the Yarliks Granted to the Russian Metropolitans* (compiled by the Metropolitan Chancellery in Moscow in the 1540s), which is preceded by an explanatory foreword describing the travel of the Metropolitan to the court of Uzbek Khan in order to obtain a yarlik [see the text of this yarlik, as well as of the foreword, in 15, p. 111–118].

The spuriousness of this yarlik’s translation was proved already at the beginning of the 20th century [41, p. 70–85], but several Russian chronicles imply that Uzbek Khan really granted the Metropolitan a yarlik in 1313. Indeed, the “Troitskaya chronicle” of the early 15th century explains the travel to the Horde in 1313 of the Tver prince Mikhail Yaroslavovich and Metropolitan Petr by the death of Toqta Khan and the subsequent ascension of the Muslim Uzbek: Mikhail and Petr had to go to the Horde to present themselves to the new khan and, obviously, to obtain his yarliks approving their rule [48, p. 354]²¹. The more verbose author of the “Nikonovskaya chronicle”, too, explained the travel of the Metropolitan (as well as of a number of Russian princes) by Uzbek’s ascension and the need to obtain a yarlik, and he added further that Petr returned from the Horde “with great honor” [28, p. 178].

Thus, although the translation of Uzbek’s yarlik has been preserved in a spurious form, this forgery based on a really existing yarlik, which, most likely, corresponded to the content of the earlier yarlik of Mengu-Timur Khan granted to the Kiev Metropolitan Kirill on August 1, 1267 [see the text of Mengu-Timur’s yarlik in 15, p. 124–126 (the “extended” edition of the 1540s); 26, p. 467–468 (the initial izvod of the middle of the 15th century)]. Respectively, the yarlik of Metropolitan

²¹ See similar account in the “Simeonovskaya chronicle” [29, p. 87–88], “Moscow Anna-
listic Svod of the end of the 15th century” [31, p. 160], “Ermolinskaya chronicle” [30, p. 97] and
“The Chronicle according to the Voskresenskaya copy” [27, p. 186].

Petr was to contain a listing of those taxes and duties, from which the Orthodox Church was exempted by Uzbek.

In addition, the foreword to this yarlik is of particular interest, since it lists the reasons that prompted the Metropolitan to go to the Horde and first of all his desire to obtain Uzbek's privileges before the khan would have granted them to a certain "Matthew, bishop of the Pope of Rome" [15, p. 111].

In this case, the author of the foreword to the yarlik made a blatant mistake, since the Dominican Matteo (Matthew) Manni da Cortona became the second Latin bishop of Caffa only 14 years after the Metropolitan's travel [19, p. 113]. The actual head of the Golden Horde's Franciscans at this time could only be Jerome from Catalonia, ordained the bishop without residence by Pope Clement V on February 19, 1311 [see the related bull in 5, p. 74]. Although Jerome is clearly called the head of the Caffa's Franciscans only in 1316 in one of the orders of the Office of Gazaria [21, p. 407]²², he probably arrived in Caffa a few years earlier and, apparently, was the main addressee of the Uzbek Khan's yarlik granted to the Franciscans with permission to administer "the people of the Christian law" [22, p. 65; see also 44, p. 24; 42, p. 476]²³. Nevertheless, Uzbek granted a yarlik to the Franciscans of Caffa a year after the yarlik of Metropolitan Petr, who managed to obtain in this way privileges from the Golden Horde's khan before the Latin bishop.

Although the question, why the Orthodox Metropolitan sought to get ahead of the Latin prelate in obtaining these privileges, remains unanswered, both khan's yarliks contained a clearly expressed exemption of the Orthodox and Catholic churches from taxes and military duties as well as the assertion of their full legal independence from local secular authorities, with the exception of the khan himself [15, p. 112–113 (the forged yarlik of 1313); 22, p. 65 (the yarlik of 1314)]. Thus, both yarliks are clear evidence that the Muslim Uzbek continued to adhere to the tolerant policies of his predecessors and to strictly observe the interests of his Christian subjects.

The "Armenian" apostolate

At the conclusion of this article, attention should be paid to the information of the Latin and Armenian sources concerning the proselytizing activities of Western missionaries among the Armenians of the Golden Horde. The bull of Pope John XXII of March 28, 1318 indicates the significant success of the Latin bishop of Caffa, Jerome of Catalonia, who, according to the pontiff, was able to persuade the Armenian archbishop of Solkhat named Arakel to accept the union with the Roman church [3, p. 78–79]. In addition to recognizing the primacy of the pope, Arakel apparently agreed to correct all inconsistencies in the Latin and Armenian rituals in accordance with the decrees of the church council in Sis in Cilicia in 1307, except

²² The Office of Gazaria was established in Genoa in 1313 to deal with issues related to trade in the Black Sea.

²³ After that Jerome was already called the "bishop of Caffa" in one authentication of the bull *Cum hora undecima* of Pope Clement V made in Pera on March 20, 1317 [14, p. 40]. In turn, Pope John XXII endowed him with the same title, beginning with the bull of February 6, 1318 [5, p. 143].

for the requirement to mix wine with water during communion²⁴. For his part, the Pope insisted on fulfilling this requirement both in this and the next bull addressed to Arakel three years later, which will be discussed below.

Nevertheless, a comparison of the contents of the papal bulls with memorable records in the Armenian manuscripts (in the Russian translation of Tatevik *Sargsian*) rewritten in the Golden Horde, shows quite a significant discrepancy between Arakel's rank in the Latin and Armenian sources. Indeed, the colophon in the book "Chetya Minei" rewritten in Solkhat in 1316 and now stored in the National Library in Paris (MS 180, fol. 339^v) like two records in the margins of the collection of the parables by Vardan Maratatsi compiled in Solkhat in 1324 and currently preserved in the book depository of the monastery of St Hakob in Jerusalem (manuscript 1690, fol. 248, 300), refers to Arakel as bishop of Solkhat before and after his acceptance of the union [39, p. 60, 66]. However, despite the fact that Arakel had obviously lower rank in the Armenian church hierarchy, Pope John XXII called him archbishop and probably perceived Arakel as the supreme prelate of the Armenians in the Golden Horde subordinated to the pro-Latin Catholicos of Sis in Cilicia, Kostandin II, who officially headed the entire Armenian church from 1307 to 1322²⁵.

In turn, the colophon in the gospel rewritten in Sarai in 1319 and now stored in the book depository of the Mekhitarist congregation in Vienna (HS 434, fol. 441^v), mentions the presence in Sarai of another archbishop of the Armenians named Pogos, who, apparently, was ordained by the Armenian catholicos Stepanos heading the Aghuan church (centered in the Gandzasar monastery in the modern de facto Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh) until 1323 [39, p. 61]²⁶.

Pogos, along with Catholicos Stepanos, obviously acted as the main opponents of the union of the Golden Horde's Armenians with the Roman Church as evidenced by three letters of John XXII, sent to the east in 1321. In the first of them, addressed on November 22 to the pro-Latin bishop of Sarai, Stepanos²⁷, the Pope showed him sympathy in connection with "serious injury and heavy damage" caused to Stepanos by the "Armenian bishop Bogos"²⁸, and promised to provide him all possible support [5, p. 212]. In his next bull addressed on the same date to the "beloved children, the people of the Armenians living in the city of Sarai and its diocese", the Pope expressed the essence of this support: the Pontiff blamed the Armenians of Sarai for both casting out bishop Stepanos, the "father and shepherd

²⁴ See on the decrees of the church council in Sis in 1307 and their open rejection in Great Armenia in [36, p. 201].

²⁵ However, already in the above mentioned letter of the custodian Ladislaus of 1287, the Armenian prelate of Solkhat was called the archbishop [43, p. 249], which suggests that, at least from the point of view of the Franciscans and the Roman Curia, he was perceived as the supreme prelate of the Armenians in the Golden Horde.

²⁶ In this record, the name of the Catholicos Stepanos precedes the name of the Cilician catholicos Kostandin, which implies the primary dependence of the Armenian archdiocese of Sarai on the eastern Catholicos. In his bull *Salvator noster* on November 22, 1321 addressed to a number of Armenian prelates and clerics of the Ilkhanate with an appeal to accept the union, Pope John XXII called the Catholicos Stepanos "the archbishop of Aghuan" [5, p. 215].

²⁷ Probably, he was a protégé of the Solkhat's archbishop Arakel.

²⁸ The Pontiff obviously did not recognize Pogos as the archbishop, despite the fact that he enjoyed this dignity according to the aforementioned record in the Armenian gospel.

of their souls”, from the capital of the Golden Horde, and for their recession “from the unity with the Roman church and from the truth of the Catholic faith”. John XXII, respectively, required them to recognize Stepanos as their legitimate bishop and reimburse him for all the losses incurred [3, p. 146]²⁹.

In his struggle against the influence of the Roman Curia on the Armenians of the Golden Horde, the Aghuan catholicos Stepanos also relied on his other protégé named Tadeos, whom he ordained the Armenian bishop of Caffa as evidenced by the third bull of John XXII addressed to the Solkhat archbishop Arakel on November 22, 1321. Quoting from the Epistle of the Apostle Jacob, Pope John urged Arakel to be patient in connection with the hostility shown to him by “the son of perdition by the name of Tadeos who separated from the unity with the church and succeeded in being elevated to the rank of bishop [of Caffa] by some his Catholicos in contradiction with the canonical decrees and prescriptions of the divine law” [11, p. 99].

As can be seen, the Papal policy aimed at concluding the union between the Roman and Eastern churches, caused a split among the Armenians of the Golden Horde. However, further negotiations of the eastern prelates with local Franciscans and Dominicans led to the easing of this conflict. Already in 1322, under the influence of the local Dominicans, Tadeos joined their Order, possibly receiving a parallel promise from the Latin bishop of Caffa Jerome to occupy his cathedra after his death. Thus, Tadeos accepted the union with the Roman Church and in the same year he went to Avignon with Jerome, where he remained until 1324. After that, he returned to the East, not to Crimea, but to Cilicia, from where he visited Avignon several times as the ambassador of Cilician King Leo V, until Pope John XXII appointed him in 1328 at the head of the new Diocese of Coricos in Cilicia. Finally, on 11 March 1334, John XXII ordained him the Latin bishop of Caffa and he headed this cathedra until his death in 1357 [36, p. 159; 37, p. 262–264; 18, p. 346–351]³⁰.

In turn, Pogos probably remained an irreconcilable opponent of the union for a much longer time. However, he also had to eventually accept the union: apparently, Pope John XXII addressed the bull of September 11, 1329 exactly to him with an expression of sincere joy in connection with his “reunification” with the Church of Rome “through the service of the beloved sons, friars of the Order of preachers” [11, p. 210; see also 36, p. 159, nota 133]³¹.

²⁹ In both bulls, Stepanos is simply called the “bishop of Sarai”. However, the latter bull addressed to the Sarai’s Armenians as subordinate to his canonical jurisdiction, leaves no doubt that he was an Armenian rather than a Latin bishop.

³⁰ Returning to Crimea, Tadeos translated from Latin into Armenian the “Interpretation of the Liturgy” and the colophon of one of its copies made in Pisa in 1354 (stored now in the Mesrop Mashtots Matenadaran in Yerevan, MS 4065, fol. 221) calls him “the bishop of Caffa from the Order of Preachers” [39, p. 120].

³¹ This bull was addressed “to Paul, the beloved brother in Christ, the bishop of the Armenians in the Uzbek’s empire”. Since the Armenian name of Pogos corresponds to Paul and in connection with the lack of information about other Armenian bishops in the Golden Horde with this name at this time, it can be stated with relative certainty that this prelate was exactly that Pogos who expelled the pro-Latin bishop Stepanos from Sarai eight years earlier.

REFERENCES

1. *Analecta Franciscana: sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam fratrum minorum spectantia*. Tomus III: *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum cum pluribus appendicibus inter quas excellit hucusque ineditus Liber de laudibus S. Francisci fr. Bernardi a Bessa edita a patribus Collegii S. Bonaventurae*, Quaracchi, Firenze: Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1897. xxvii + 748 p. (In Latin)
2. *Analecta Franciscana: sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam fratrum minorum spectantia*. Tomus IV: *De conformitate vitae Beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu auctore fr. Bartholomaeo de Pisa*. Liber I, Fructus I–XII. Quaracchi, Firenze: Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1906. xxxv + 668 p. (In Latin)
3. *Annales ecclesiastici Caesaris Baronii*. Vol. XXIV: 1313–1333. Rinaldi O., Laderchi G., Theiner A. (eds.). Barri-Ducis: L. Guerin, 1880. vi + 540 p. (In Latin)
4. Antonin, arkhimandrit (Kapustin). Zametki XII–XV veka, otnosyashchiesya k krymskomu gorodu Sugdee (Sudaku), pripisannyye na grecheskom Sinaksare [Notes of the 12th–15th centuries Related to the Crimean City of Sugdeya (Sudak) Added to the Greek Synaxarion]. *Zapiski Odesskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey* [Notes of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities]. Odessa: v gorodskoy tipografii, 1863, no. 5, pp. 595–628. (In Russian)
5. *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum*. Vol. V: *Benedicti XI, Clementis V, Ioannis XXII monumenta*. Eubel K. (ed.). Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1898. xlii + 643 p. (In Latin)
6. *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum*. Vol. VI: *Benedicti XII, Clementis VI, Innocentii VI, Urbani V, Gregorii XI documenta*. Eubel K. (ed.). Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1902. liv + 687 p. (In Latin)
7. Ciociltan V. *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. Willcocks S.P. (trans.). Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2012. 344 p.
8. Continuazione della Cronaca di Jacopo da Varagine. Promis V. (ed.). *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*. Genova: Tipografia del Reale Istituto sordo-muti, 1874, vol. 10, pp. 493–512. (In Latin)
9. DeWeese D.A. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994. xvii + 638 p.
10. Favereau M. Zolotaya Orda i Mamluki [The Golden Horde and the Mamluks]. *Zolotaya Orda v mirovoy istorii* [The Golden Horde in World History]. Khakimov R., Favereau M., Trepavlov V., Mirgaleev I., Hautala R. (eds.). Kazan: Marjani Institute of History of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2016, pp. 334–353. (In Russian)
11. *Fontes*. Series III. Volumen VII. Tomus II: *Acta Ioannis XXII (1317–1334) e regestis vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegerunt notisque adornarunt*. Tăutu A.L. (ed.). Romae: Typis pontificae universitatis gregoriana, 1966. xix + 302 p. (In Latin)
12. *Fragmenta Minora. Catalogus Sanctorum Fratrum Minorum, quem scriptum circa 1335 edidit notisque illustravit fr. Leonardus Lemmens O.F.M.* Romae: Typis Sallustianis, 1903. xvi + 54 p. (In Latin)
13. Golubovich G. *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra santa e dell'Oriente francescano*. Vol. II: *Addenda al sec. XIII e fonti pel sec. XIV*. Quaracchi, Firenze: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1913. 641 p. (In Italian, Latin)
14. Golubovich G. *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra santa e dell'Oriente francescano*. Vol. III: *Dal 1300 al 1322*. Quaracchi, Firenze: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1919. 496 p. (In Italian, Latin)
15. Grigor'ev V.V. *O dostovernosti yarlykov, dannyykh khanami Zolotoy Ordy russkomu dukhovenstvu. Istoriko-filologicheskoe issledovanie* [On the Reliability of the

Yarliks Granted by the Khans of the Golden Horde to the Russian Clergy. Historical and Philological Research]. Moscow: Universitetskaya tipografiya, 1842. 132 p. (In Russian)

16. Khamidova Ch. Rashid ad-din. Shuab-i pandzhgana. 2. Mongoly i tyurki (2) [Rashid al-Din. Shu'ab-i Panjghanah. 2. The Mongols and the Turks (2)]. *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie = Golden Horde Review*. 2016, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 868–880. DOI: 10.22378/2313-6197.2016-4-4.868-880. (In Russian)

17. Lapshina I. Voprosy votsareniya i smerti Uzbek-khana [Questions of the Ascension and Death of Uzbek Khan]. *Zolotoordynskaya tsivilizatsiya = Golden Horde Civilization*. No. 6, pp. 112–120. (In Russian)

18. Loenertz R.-J. Deux évêques dominicains de Caffa. Frère Thaddée d'Arménie et Frère Matthieu Manni de Cortone. *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*. Romae: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum Romae ad S. Sabinae, 1949, vol. 5, pp. 346–357. (In French)

19. Loenertz R.J. *La Société des Frères Pérégrinants. Étude sur l'Orient Dominicain*. Vol. I: *Étude sur l'Orient dominicain*. Roma: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1937. xii + 209 p. (In French)

20. *Monumenta Franciscana*. Vol. I: *Scilicet, 1. Thomas de Eccleston De adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. 2. Adae de Marisco epistolae. 3. Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniae*. Brewer J.S. (ed.). London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858. (In Latin)

21. *Monumenta historiae Patriae edita iussu regis Caroli Alberti*. Vol. II: *Leges*. Tom. I. Torino: Augustae Taurinorum Reg. Typograph., 1838. xxiv + 1774 cols. (In Latin)

22. Moule A.C. Textus trium novorum documentorum e Tartaria Aquilonari an. 1314–1322. *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*. Quaracchi, Firenze: Collegio S. Bonaventura, 1924, vol. 17, pp. 65–71. (In Latin)

23. Moule A.C. Textus duarum epistolarum Fr. Minorum Tartarie Aquilonaris an. 1323. *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*. Quaracchi, Firenze: Collegio S. Bonaventura, 1923, vol. 16, no. 1–2, pp. 104–112. (In Latin)

24. Moule A.C. Fourteenth Century Missionary Letters. *The East & the West: A Quarterly Review for the Study of Missionary Problems*. Westminster: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1921, vol. 19, pp. 357–366.

25. Pachymeres G. *Relations historiques*. Vol. 3: *Livres VII–IX*. Failler A. (ed.). Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1999. (In French)

26. *Pamyatniki russkogo prava*. Is. 3: *Pamyatniki prava perioda obrazovaniya russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva XIV–XV vv.* [Monuments of Russian Law. Issue 3: Monuments of the Law from the Period of the Russian Centralized State's Formation in the 14th–15th centuries]. Cherepnin V.L. (ed.). Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo yuridicheskoy literatury, 1955. 527 p. (In Russian)

27. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey*. T. VII: *Letopis' po Voskresenskomu spisku* [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. VII: The Chronicle according to the Voskresenskaya Copy]. Bychkov A.O. (ed.). St. Petersburg: Tipografiya Eduarda Pratsa, 1856. 345 p. (In Russian)

28. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey*. T. X: *Letopisnyy sbornik, imenuemyy Patriarshey ili Nikonovskoy letopis'yu (prodolzhenie)* [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. X: The Chronicle Collection Called the Patriarch's or Nikonovskaya Chronicle (continued)]. Bychkov A.O. (ed.). Saint Petersburg: Tipografiya Ministerstva vnutrennikh del, 1885. 244 p. (In Russian)

29. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey*. T. XVIII: *Simeonovskaya letopis'* [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. XVIII: The Simeonovskaya Chronicle]. Presnyakov A.E. (ed.). Saint Petersburg: Tipografiya M.A. Aleksandrova, 1913. 316 p. (In Russian)

30. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey*. T. XXIII: *Ermolinskaya letopis'* [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. XXIII: The Ermolinskaya Chronicle]. Pokrovskiy O.I. (ed.). Saint Petersburg: Tipografiya M.A. Aleksandrova, 1910. 239 p. (In Russian)

31. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey*. T. XXV: *Moskovskiy letopisnyy svod kontsa XV veka* [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Vol. XXV: The Moscow Annalistic Svod of the end of the 15th century]. Tikhomirov M.N. (ed.). Moscow: Leningrad: Akademiya nauk SSSR, 1949. 462 p. (In Russian)

32. Power A. *Roger Bacon and the Defence of Christendom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. x + 303 p.

33. Qāshānī, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī. *Tārīkh-i Uljāyūtū*. Hambalī M. (ed.). Tīhrān: Bungāh-i tarjumah va nashr-i Kitāb, 1969. 19 + 287 + viii p. (In Persian)

34. Richard J. The Missions to the North of the Black Sea (Thirteenth to Fifteenth centuries). *The Spiritual Expansion of Medieval Latin Christendom: The Asia Missions*. Ryan J.D. (ed.). Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, pp. 343–356.

35. Richard J. Les missions au nord de la mer Noire (XIII^e–XV^e siècles). *Il Codice cumano e il suo mondo: Atti del Colloquio internazionale, Venezia, 6–7 dicembre 2002*. Schmieder F., Schreiner P. (eds.). Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2005, pp. 231–246. (In French)

36. Richard J., *La Papauté et les missions d’Orient au Moyen Age (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)*. 2^{ème} éd. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1998. xxxiv + 331 p. (In French)

37. Richard J. Deux évêques dominicains agents de l’Union arménienne au Moyen-Age. *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*. Romae: Institutum Historicum Fratrum Praedicatorum Romae ad S. Sabinae, 1949, vol. 19, pp. 255–265. (In French)

38. Ryan J.D. Christian Wives of Mongol Khans: Tatar Queens and Missionary Expectations in Asia. *The Spiritual Expansion of Medieval Latin Christendom: The Asia Missions*. Ryan J.D. (ed.). Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, pp. 285–295.

39. Sargsyan T. *Svod armyanskikh pamyatnykh zapisey, otnosyashchikhsya k Krymu i sopredel’nyim regionam (XIV–XV vv.)* [The Collection of Armenian Commemorative Records Related to Crimea and the Adjacent Regions (14th–15th centuries)]. Simferopol: SONAT, 2010. 320 p. (In Russian)

40. Sinor D. Some Latin Sources on the Khanate of Uzbek. *Essays on Uzbek History, Culture, and Language*. Nazarov B. et al. (eds.). Bloomington: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1993, pp. 110–119.

41. Sokolov P.P. Podlozhnyy yarlyk khana Uzbeka mitropolitu Petru [The Counterfeit Yarlik of Uzbek Khan to Metropolitan Petr]. *Rossiyskiy istoricheskiy zhurnal* [Russian Historical Journal]. Petrograd, 1918, vol. 5, pp. 70–85. (In Russian)

42. Soranzo G. *Il Papato, l’Europa cristiana e i Tartari*. Milano: Vita e pensiero, Pubblicazioni dell’Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1930. xii + 624 p. (In Italian)

43. Starzer A., Redlich O. *Eine Wiener Briefsammlung zur Geschichte des Deutschen Reiches und der österreichischen Länder in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts*. Wien: In Commission bei F. Tempsky, 1894. 422 p. (In German, Latin)

44. Tānase T. Frère Jérôme de Catalogne, premier évêque de Caffa, et l’Orient franciscain. *Espaces et Réseaux en Méditerranée VI^e–XVI^e siècle*. Vol. II: *La formation des réseaux*. Coulon D. et al. (ed.). Saint-Denis: Centre de recherche d’histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2010, pp. 127–166. (In French)

45. Tizengauzen V. *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy Ordy*. Tom I: *Iz vlecheniya iz sochineniy arabskikh* [Collection of Materials Related to the Golden Horde’s History. Vol. I: Extracts from the Arabic Writings]. St. Petersburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoy Akademii Nauk, 1884. 579 p. (In Russian)

46. Tizengauzen V. *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy Ordy*. Tom II: *Iz vlecheniya iz persidskikh sochineniy* [Collection of Materials Related to the Golden Horde’s History. Vol. II: Extracts from the Persian Writings]. Romaskevich A., Volin S. (eds.). Moscow: Leningrad: Akademiya nauk SSSR, 1941. 306 p. (In Russian)

47. *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325–1354*. Gibb H.A.R. (tr.). Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1962, vol. II. xii + 266 p.

48. *Troitskaya letopis'. Rekonstruktsiya teksta* [The Troitskaya Chronicle. Reconstruction of the Text]. Priselkov M.D. (ed.). Moscow: Leningrad: Akademiya nauk SSSR, 1950. 514 p. (In Russian)

49. Uskenbay K. *Vostochnyy Dasht-i Kipchak v XIII – nachale XV veka. Problemy etnopoliticheskoy istorii Ulusa Dzhuchi* [The Eastern Dasht-i Kipchak in the 13th – early 15th century. Problems of the Ethnopolitical History of the Ulus of Jochi]. Kazan: Marjani Institute of History of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2013. 288 p. (In Russian)

50. Uzelac A. *Zolotaya Orda i Balkany (XIII–XIV veka)* [The Golden Horde and the Balkans (13th–14th century)]. *Zolotaya Orda v mirovoy istorii* [The Golden Horde in World History]. Khakimov R., Favereau M., Trepavlov V., Mirgaleev I., Hautala R. (eds.). Kazan: Marjani Institute of History of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2016, pp. 384–403. (In Russian)

51. Vásáry I. *Turks, Tatars and Russians in the 13th–16th Centuries*. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2007. x + 352 p.

About the author: Roman Hautala – Ph.D. (History), Senior Research Fellow, Usmanov Center for Research on the Golden Horde and Tatar Khanates, Marjani Institute of History of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences (7A, Baturin Str., Kazan 420111, Russian Federation); Docent, Historical branch at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Oulu (1, Pentti Kaiteeran Str., Historia, PL 1000, 90570, University of Oulu, Oulu, Finland); ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3898-0107>, ResearcherID: H-9114-2016. E-mail: romanhautala@gmail.com

*Received March 1, 2019 Accepted for publication May 30, 2019
Published June 29, 2019*

СОПОСТАВЛЕНИЕ СВЕДЕНИЙ ВОСТОЧНЫХ И МИССИОНЕРСКИХ ИСТОЧНИКОВ ПО ИСТОРИИ ЗОЛОТОЙ ОРДЫ

Роман Хаутала^{1,2}

¹ *Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани АН РТ
Казань, Российская Федерация*

² *Университет Оулу
Оулу, Финляндия
romanhautala@gmail.com*

Цель исследования: автор настоящей статьи стремится привлечь внимание исследователей к целому корпусу малоизвестных латинских источников, касающихся подробностей развития католического миссионерства на территории Золотой Орды начиная со второй половины XIII века.

Материалы исследования: эти источники представляются важными в первую очередь по той причине, что они включают «внутренние» источники, а именно, отчеты католических миссионеров, составленные на территории Золотой Орды и отправленные руководству мендикантских орденов (в основном францисканского ордена меньших братьев) в Европе. Они также включают «внешние» источники, то есть папские буллы, адресованные золотоордынским правителям, самим миссионерам во владениях этих правителей, как и их поданным в степях и городах Золотой Орды, воспринимавшимся Римской курией в качестве непосредственных объектов миссио-

нерской деятельности. Кроме того, к «внешним» латинским источникам причисляются нарративные описания францисканских хронистов, получавших сведения либо непосредственно от миссионеров, возвратившихся из Золотой Орды, либо посредством их несохранившихся посланий.

Новизна данного исследования заключается в сравнении уже хорошо известных источников по Золотой Орде с содержанием отчетов мендикантов, папских булл и францисканских хроник, которые позволяют автору существенно разнообразить сведения по ее истории.

Результаты исследования: в частности, автор прибег к сопоставлению совершенно независимых друг от друга миссионерских и ориентальных (то есть мамлюкских, персидских, русских, греческих и армянских) источников в стремлении продемонстрировать полезность такого сравнения для уточнения уже имеющихся сведений и выявления новых, как и в попытке обосновать важность представленных в статье миссионерских источников.

Ключевые слова: сравнение разнородных источников, история Золотой Орды, восточные источники, католические миссии на востоке, францисканские отчеты, папские буллы, францисканские хроники

Для цитирования: Hautala R. Comparing Eastern and Missionary Sources on the Golden Horde's History // Золотоордынское обозрение. 2019. Т. 7, № 2. С. 208–224. DOI: 10.22378/2313-6197.2019-7-2.208-224

Сведения об авторе: Роман Хаутала – Ph.D. (история), старший научный сотрудник Центра исследований Золотой Орды и татарских ханств им. М.А. Усманова Института истории им. Ш. Марджани АН РТ (420111, ул. Батурина, 7А, Казань, Российская Федерация); доцент исторического отделения гуманитарного факультета университета Оулу (90570, ул. Пентти Кайтера, 1, История, почтовый ящик 1000, университет Оулу, Оулу, Финляндия); ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3898-0107>, ResearcherID: H-9114-2016. E-mail: romanhautala@gmail.com

*Поступила 01.03.2019 Принята к публикации 30.05.2019
Опубликована 29.06.2019*