

POSTAL ORGANISATION (YAM) IN THE GOLDEN HORDE

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Abstract: *Research objectives:* To determine the structure, activities, staff, and fiscal sources of the postal organization in the Golden Horde, and to demonstrate the connections and differences between the centre and other Chingisid khanates.

Research materials: The sources used for this research include the yarlıqs and payzas given by the khans of the Golden Horde and the Chingisid Empire, the sources of Chingisname that shed light on the history of the Golden Horde, travellers' notes, and other relevant sources.

Results and novelty of the research: The postal organization of the Golden Horde existed since the time of Chingis Khan's first conquests, but it reached its full development only with the postal reforms of Ögedei. The Yam, the Mongol postal organization, spread through the lands of the Golden Horde with the Mongol conquests.

The administrative hierarchy of the postal organization in the Golden Horde was similar to that of the Chingisid Khanate. There were darughas and basqaqs, chiefs of the tümen, the minngan, and the jaun, and under them, the station masters. Postal couriers, called ula'achin in the state of Chingis Khan, were sometimes called yam and sometimes yamchi in the Golden Horde. Decrees (yarlıqs) from the period after Möngke show that a different postal system operated in the territory of the Golden Horde from the reforms of Ögedei. Under this system, postal couriers still received their supplies from and were housed by the subject, although a station system existed. Postal organizations had to adapt to geographical conditions, and in the Golden Horde postal organization, sledges could be found, which were not present in other Mongolian postal organizations.

Keywords: ulak, kopchur (kobchur), süsün, baskak, darugha, payza (p'ai-tse, paize)

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Introduction

Only with the northern campaign of Jebe and Sübütei in 1222 and the subsequent operations against Kipchak territories, as well as the defeat of combined Kipchak-Russian armies at the Battle of Kalka in 1223, did the Mongols start to become a centre of power in Desht-i Qipchaq (i.e., Cumania, the western part of the Eurasian steppe). Towards the end of the 13th century, the Golden Horde, which began to form with the granting of western lands up to the furthest place where Mongol horsemen could gain a foothold to Jochi Khan (1225–1227), was

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extended to the Lithuanian-Hungarian borders in the west, Novgorod in the north, the Irtysh in the east, and the Caucasus in the southeast.

On the one hand, the Golden Horde, which was subjected to the central khanate until the reign of Möngke Khan, had closer ties with the central Mongolian khanate; on the other hand, it maintained diplomatic relations with Eastern and Western European kingdoms and empires. Russian knyazes also made obligatory visits to Sarai and Karakorum. Considering that the Russian Knyazdoms belonged to the domain of the Golden Horde, it is not an exaggeration to say that someone who set out from these lands and arrived in Karakorum or Ta-tu (Beijing) crossed the then-known world from one end to the other (from west to east). Moreover, during the *Pax Mongolica*, there were Arab, Turkish, Persian, Genoese, and Venetian entrepreneurs and merchants who travelled with their caravans along the well-known Silk Road – from Europe to China. The most famous among them was the Venetian Marco Polo, who was able to travel all the way to China.

How was it possible to maintain trade and intelligence services in such a vast geography? Even in today's conditions, it is immensely laborious for someone who departs from Novgorod, Moscow, or Istanbul to reach Ta-tu (Beijing). The postal organization, a system that facilitated the accessibility of such geographies in the possibilities of the 13th to the 19th centuries, is a subject worth examining. It is not possible to address the whole Mongol postal organization in just one article. Therefore, we limit our study to the “postal organization (Yam) in the Golden Horde”. Despite this limitation, the postal organization of the Golden Horde is not disconnected from the postal organization of the central Mongolian Empire. Therefore, references will be made to the central Mongol Yam when it is possible to obtain information about the central form of the Yam, particularly the establishment of the Yam in the Golden Horde.

1. Earliest Data on Postal Organization in Mongolian Khanate

The earliest data related to the establishment of the postal organization (*yam*) in the Mongol (Chingisid) Khanate can be encountered in *The Secret History of Mongols* (12th–13th centuries). In *the Secret History of Mongols*, while he was mentioning his achievements, Ögedei Khan's discourses were recorded thusly: “(hitherto,) our *hlēapera* were passing through residential areas (through the nation), hence the reason they were both getting late and becoming a burden for subjects... As the second my achievement, I established the postal organization¹, which serves to our *hlēapera* for a quick commute and delivery of my orders” [6, p. 204–210]. But, despite the mentioned lines, it is impossible to conclude that there was no postal service during the time of Chingis Khan. Even with the timeframe in the

¹ The relevant part has been translated as “posta teşkilatı” by Ahmet Temir and as “post stations” by Rachewiltz. It should be considered that Mongolian forms of Turkish words starting with y, such as “yasak” (lex) and “yargu” (jurisdiction), begin with the letter c. The word “car”, which was described as a loan word from Mongolian to Ottoman and means “announcement, order, and declaration, has a relation with the term *yarlık* in old Turkish. It is possible to see the same c-y phonetic change here as well. Considering this information, the term c (j) *amut* in Mongolian text is spelled and written as *yamut* in Turkish transcription. According to the information given by von Gabain about plural suffixes in old Turkish, *yamut* means yams. In fact, the word “yam” refers both to each postal station and to the postal organization itself. Therefore, both translations can be considered correct [1, p.40; 2, p. 287–288; 4, p. 87–88; 5, p. 241, 243, 247; 6, p. 204–205; 7, p. 207; 8, p. 172; 9, p. 46].

related mot-a-mot quotation, which was specified by saying *hitherto*, it has been indicated that there was a postal service even before the Ögedei Khan. Naturally, it would not be enough to assert such ideas just depending on *The Secret History of Mongols* that there was no doubt postal service before the Ögedei Khan's era and vice versa. To conclude on the subject, Mongolian *jasakhs*² (yasaglar) must first be included in the discussion. The related chapter of *jasakh*, in which written “*The ruler should establish permanent mutations to be able to get information about the events in the country quickly*” [10, p. 55, 145; 11, p. 59], reflects – if Chingis Khan can be accepted as its legislator [12, p. 9] – that there was a postal organization in Mongolian Khanate before the Ögedei Khan. Another source that gives information about the existence of a postal organization (*yam*) is the itinerary of Chinese pilgrim Ch'ang Ch'un (1148–1227), who came to meet Chingis Khan during his Campaign of Khorezm. In the itinerary of Ch'ang Ch'un, it was stated that convoys and heralds of Chingis Khan benefited from a postal service. Apart from that, Ch'ang Ch'un's self was provided with postal horses by Chingis Khan and enjoyed the post stations around Sairam (Sayram). In the data given by Yeh-lü ch'u-ts'ai (1189–1243), it was stated that Ch'ang Ch'un and his caravan also possessed a *p'ai-tse* (*payza* is a kind of pass, a token of confidence and a travelling certificate). Apart from these sources, the written details in *Meng-ta pei-lu*, which provide information about unlimited access of Mongolian couriers to postal horses and the existence of *payzas* [17, p. 243; 18, p.78–80], and a chapter of Cüveyni's *Târih-i Cihângüşâ* named “The Emergence of Chingis Khan” in which the *yam* of the Mongolian Empire is being described, strengthen the idea that Chingis Khan was the founder of the Mongolian postal organization. As for the roads, Hosung Shim – comparing *Câmi 'ü't-Tevârih* and other itineraries – states that there was a special postal road during the reign of Chingis Khan. Additionally, he has expressed that

² *Jasakh* has been defined as “whole of the clauses, which has a penal sanction, in case of non-compliance”, “order”, “command”, and “penalty”. It has also been mentioned that the meaning of “administration”, sovereignty”, and “governance” is among the lexical meanings of the word. It is not difficult to understand how the last three meanings are related to the term *jasakh*. In the Turco-Mongolian stepped custom of governance, *khagan* is the highest authority in legislative, penal execution, decision, and command. Therefore, it is quite natural from this viewpoint that the term *jasakh* means administration, and sovereignty and is an expression of willpower of being sovereignty. Apart from these meanings, there is also information that the term means “tax” and the word existed in 13th century Turkish in terms of word meaning. Although the general opinion is that the *jasakh* was formed in 1206 *kurultai* during the reign of Chingis Khan, there are also those who argue that *jasakh* had a structure and background, which developed before Chingis Khan and continued its development with and later the reign of Chingis Khan. It is also noteworthy that Morgan has written “there was undoubtedly an unwritten Mongolian law before Chingis Khan.” In this case, both possibilities should be considered in the context of *jasakh* and postal organization. One of the possibilities is that the article of the *jasakh* related to postal organization may have come from the pre-Chingisid era. The other possibility is that it may have come from the old unwritten Turkish ruling practice named *törü* via pre-Ginghissid Mongols. However, Isenbike Togan's definition of the terms *jasakh* and *törü* can help solve this issue. Isenbike Togan describes the former term as “command”, and “order” and the latter one as “custom and practice of governance”. She adds that “*jasakh*, the new order of the early Mongol empire, symbolized the crossroad of political solutions under the ideology of open society”. This last quotation indicates that *jasakh* was mostly related to Mongols whether it had a root in old Turkish custom or not [11, p. 43–44; 103, p. 44; 10, p.49; 44, 83–86; 104, p. 203; 105, p. 9, 14].

the above-mentioned special postal road was the road that Chingis Khan used during his Campaign of Khorezm, and it was used by Ch'ang Ch'un and the legation of the Jin Dynasty, instead of the Silk Road [19, p. 408–412]. It can be much more meaningful why Olbricht described the Ogödei's postal reformations as “just a simple precaution taken to restrict the regulation and illegal uses of an institution that had come under the hegemony of a new ruler” [20, p. 42] when all these above-mentioned information is considered. Based on all the data above, it would be correct to say that the Mongolian postal organization existed in the Chingisid period, albeit in a simpler form.

2. The Establishment of the Postal Organization in the Golden Horde

Concerning the existence of *yam* in Chingis Khan, Ogödei's discourses shared under the first title should be perceived as *systematizing and organizing the modus operandi of the postal organization, which had started to fail to function efficiently and become deteriorated*. Also, it can be thought that post offices were increased. From the viewpoint of this article at hand, the most important matter is Ogödei's decision about the establishment of *yam* on the land of the Ilkhanate and Golden Horde. During the consultation between Chagatai and Ogödei Khan in the Secret History of Mongols, Chagatai said, “From here, I shall attempt to establish communication toward your post offices. Then I shall send a message to Batu and want him to establish communication here by way of constructing post offices” [6, p.203]. It is because it shows the date for establishing the Golden Horde *yam* and the date for the decision on covering the whole Mongolian lands with *yam* as 1240, i.e. the date when Ogödei Khan convened the kurultai, the mot-a-mot quotation, supra, has a vital value from the viewpoint of the research subject. In the continuation of the relevant section in the *Secret History of Mongols*, it is mentioned that “everyone accepted these ideas” [6, p. 203]. This information mentioned above shows that the establishment of *yam* in the Golden Horde started with the decision taken during the kurultai of Ogödei Khan in 1240. In the Sübütei's letters, which Timothy May published based on Chinese, Persian and Mongolian sources in his work titled *Portraits of Medieval Eastern Europea: 900–1400*, it is seen that the orders of Ogödei Khagan dated 1240 came into effect within a very short time. In the letter dated 1241, the phrase “as the *yam* continues to expand with our conquest, you should know that the Orusut city of Kiwa (Kiev) fell” reflects that, in parallel with the acquisition of the Russian lands by Tatars between 1237 and 1240, the postal organization was immediately established in these seized lands [21, p. 73]. It can be extrapolated from the abovementioned letter that the postal organization (*yam*) was established in centres like Ryazan, Vladimir, Suzdal, Pereyaslavl, Tver, Volog, Torzhok (*Torjok*), Chernigov, and Yuryev, which were captured by the western forces of Mongolian Khanate between 1237–1240/41 [22, p. 44–48; 23, p. 81–86; 24, p. 159–164]. This is because the letter states the conquest of Kiev (1240/41), just after giving information on the spreading of the *yam* along with the conquests.

3. The Structure of the Postal Organization in the Golden Horde

3.1. The Golden Horde Postal Organization in Parallel with the Central Mongolian Postal Organization

Post stations which were established on important roads during the reign of Chingis Khan were increased in number and expanded in services by Ogödei Khan. Postal horses had begun to be provided by Khanate with the reformation of Ogödei Khan, while they were not provided by the khanate. To prevent couriers from passing through settlements of subjects, seizing horses and provisions from them – that had been causing considerable displeasure among the subjects of the khanate, Ogödei Khan issued orders that animals for milking and slaughter, horses ready to ride, and provisions and service personnel should have been kept in complexes of *yams*. Thus, couriers (*ulaks*) would not need to go among the subjects to meet their needs [6, p. 203–204; 26, p. 101; 27, p. 459].

One of 1000 people was taken to be situated in *the yam* as either courier or stableman. Also, it is known that 1 sheep from 1000 was taken for a similar reason. Each *yam* (post station) was assigned 20 mounted couriers. Another reform of Ogödei Khan is that he had water wells drilled in the dry lands [6, p. 203–204; 26, p. 101; 27, p. 459]. By the aforementioned order of Ogödei Khan, water wells were drilled at regular intervals on the roads in dry areas of the Golden Horde as well [25, p. 52–55]. The responsibility of supplying postal stations (i.e., *yams*) was given to Yeh-lü ch'u-ts'ai according to 1235 Kurultai and the decisions made thereunder. Aratsen³ and Tohucar⁴ were also tasked with putting the postal organization (*yam*) in order. Delegates on behalf of each Chingisid prince (ie. each ruler of each Mongolian *uluses*) were assigned to actualize the decisions of Kurultai. The aforementioned delegates were tasked with establishing the postal organization in all parts of the Great Khanate, including the Golden Horde. Bitikchi Koridai was assigned on behalf of Ogödei Khan, and Emelegchin Taichutai on behalf of Chagatay, Suku Mulchatai on behalf of Batu, and Alchika on behalf of Tului. Additionally, it is known that an ad hoc mandate official was assigned during the reign of Ögedei to maintain the communication between princes and the centre [32, p. 45–48; 26, p. 101; 27, p. 459; 6, p. 203–204; 28, p. 212–215; 29, p. 39–40; 30, p. 135; 31, p. 324–325].

Reforms of Ogödei are partly successful, and in some points, there are lacunae. The most important one of them was the lacuna that made it possible for couriers to pass through the settlements and seize their needs in case of emergencies; that is to say, the couriers abused the related order arbitrarily and seized provisions from

³ According to the information given by Bahaeddin Ögel, he was an Uighur Turk. Based on the records in Yuan Shih, Ögel states that Aratsen was assigned to postal affairs in 1229. He also indicates that another name Aratsen was Hasan, and it is also indicated that Aratsen was tasked with ambassadorship. Apart from ambassadorship, he served as chief daruga (baş daruga/yeke daruga) in the lands on the South of the Yellow River, and most importantly Chü-yung-kuan was captured by the Mongolian army [106, s. 340; 107, s. 322–325, 344, 390].

⁴ Tohucar is one of the important Mongolian commanders in the Western Campaign of Chingis Khan. Berthold identifies Tohucar by naming him as the groom of Chingis Khan, while Ch'i T'ang names it as directly a son of Chingis Khan. The reason behind the explanation of Ch'i T'ang should be related to family terms; in another saying, he has been described as a son of Chingis because grooms were considered as sons. For that reason, he was also a member of the family of Chingis Han and naturally a son of Chingis Khan [6, p. 181–182; 108, p. 146, 152; 45, sp. 434–435; 109, p. 434–435].

subjects even though they were not in any emergency. Another lacuna was that it was not defined how many horses were going to be given to each of the *yams* (i.e., each post station). This circumstance led to excessive rates of collections and naturally became an overwhelming burden over the shoulders of the subjects [29, p.40].

3.2. Limitations over Usage of the Postal System and *P'ai-tse*

Even though the statements of Özyetkin and Obrusánszky, which are about the existence of *p'ai-tse* – or the existence of first sources related to *p'ai-tse* – in the T'ang and Song dynasties, strengthen the idea that *p'ai-tse* had been transferred to the Mongolian Khanate from China, *p'ai-tse* (i.e. *payza* or *paize*) has been associated with -on the other hand- Sha-to and Liao Dynasty of Khitans. Also, Carl Max Kortepeter and W. Eberhard have identified *payzas* in Sha-to with Tarkhanate edicts. Moreover, information related to tokens of confidence and authorisation in the T'ang Dynasty matches the physical characteristics of old *chiehs*, more than *pai p'ai-tses*. The aforementioned circumstance indicates that the structure of tallies and ensigns in the Classical T'ang Dynasty era was still in the model of *chieh*. While *dragon tallies* and tokens of confidence named *fu* could be encountered in the T'ang Code, the same thing was not valid for *p'ai-tse*. Naturally, there were similarities between *p'ai-tse* and the abovementioned *tallies* and *fus*. But there were nonignorable differences as well. This point can also overshadow the idea that the *payza* was entirely formed or entirely existed in the Classical T'ang era; in other words, considering these pieces of information, it can be said that there is no same item in the T'ang Dynasty from the viewpoint of modal and usage until the late T'ang era. the reason is the fact that the T'ang Code is a codex that is thought to be created in the 7th century, which is considered the Classical Tang era in Chinese History [36, p. 254; 37, p. 150–152; 38]. Consequently, if *p'ai-tse* appeared in the Classical T'ang Era, it should have been encountered in the T'ang Code. Apart from these facts, it is a necessity to compare the old *chiehs*, *fus*, and *tsuans* with *p'ai-tses*. The first major difference between tallies, mission identities dated before the late Tang era and *p'ai-tse* is that *chiehs* used in the Chinese postal system were two-pieced items. The first half of it was to be kept by couriers, and the second half was to be kept by the addressee. It is impossible to talk about such usage and structure of *p'ai-tse* samples available. As for the second argument, the tallies and tokens of confidence used in the Chinese military differed from those used in the postal system from the viewpoint of both usage, shape, and name. Tallies and tablets which were used in the military were called *fu*, and ones used in the postal system were called *chieh*. Another point is that apart from *chiehs*, there was another token variant in the Chinese postal system named *tsuan*, which was required by couriers to use the post stations and their benefits. As for *p'ai-tse*, there were no such differences. *P'ai-tse* could use it for both identity and benefit from the sources of post stations (i.e., *yams*). Also, there were no major differences in usage and shape between the military *p'ai-tses* and postal *p'ai-tses* of the Mongol Khanate and the Golden Horde. On top of this, it should be specifically mentioned that the area of usage of *p'ai-tse* covered all three forms of Chinese tallies and tablets of confidence (i.e. *chieh*, *fu* and *tsun*) [39, p.83; 40, p. 91–98; 41, p. 25, 131–132; 42, 93–94; 43, p. 13–25]. D. Morgan has mentioned that Mongolian *P'ai-tses* were in the Khitan style, and those Khitan *P'ai-tses* were ancestors of Mongolian *P'ai-tses*. As for more, Barthold has stated that Khitans called these tablets and tokens of

confidence, which were granted to officials, as directly same as Mongols, “*paiza* (ie. *payza* or *p'ai-tse*).” That is to say if statements of Eberhard and Morgan can be accepted as true, Kitan *p'ai-tses* were in one piece like Mongolian ones and these *p'ai-tses* of Khitans covered both postal and military and other usages like Mongolian *p'ai-tses*. On the other hand, it should be considered that according to Eberhard's statements, T'ang Dynasty was under a strong Sha-to influence in the late Tang era in which *P'ai-tse* can be seen. Even though there were tallies and tokens in China, even before the T'ang Dynasty, the direct ancestor of *p'ai-tses* should have been formed as a result of a synthesis between old Chinese tallies and Khitan – Sha-to influences. And herein lies the requirement of mentioning Herbert Franke's explanations on the origin of the Liao Dynasty and naturally the history of similar items in the inner Asian tradition. According to H. Franke, two major and important lineages formed the Liao Khitans' ruling class. One of them was the lineage of Yeh-lü which has been considered the highest ruling lineage. The second one was Uyghur originated Hsiao lineage. The Hsiao lineage is considered by H. Franke as the lineage that provides brides to the Yeh-lü lineage. These ideas have non-ignorable importance for considering the influence of Uyghur and Inner Asian ties. On that point, Obrušánszky and *Hou Han-shu* succour the argument of making a conclusion. B. Obrušánszky states that objects like *paiza* -from the viewpoint of both usage and physical appearance- were widespread among the Central Asiatic tribes and had an important role in communication and diplomacy. Obrušánszky mentioned that the first appearance of it was in the era of Hsiung-nu Khanate (3rd Century BC – 1st Century BC). Most importantly, she associated the *p'ai-tse*, in Hsiung-nu, with the communication system and envoys [33, p. 111–112]. These descriptions of her also match with data in *Hou Han-shu*. According to information in *Hou Han-shu*, the delegation committee of Hsiung-nu who was sent to the Western Regions (Hsi-yü) was granted a token of credence by the ch'an-yü. Thanks to this token, the states in the area were providing the committee with supplies such as food, horse, etc., and *relay service of escorts* [117, p. 137]. Taking all these pieces of information into account, it can be said that the ideas of G. Sukhbaatar, which indicates “*using p'ai-tse had been continuous from Hsiung-nu to the Mongolian empire*”, are not absurd [33, p. 111–112]. Also, it would be understandable to accept that the formation of the final form of *p'ai-tse* is a result of a synthesis of Inner Asian Turanid culture and Chinese one.

Usage of *yam* was limited because of the fact that the Mongolian *yam* was an ad hoc organization established just for the official needs of the khanate. Using the *yam* and benefiting from its facilities were possible just by having *p'ai-tse*. The first and most important thing which should be mentioned *p'ai-tse* is that they were denoting the official identities and duties of *ulaks* in *yam*. Therefore, *ulaks* (couriers) could seize all their needs from subjects thanks to *paiza* until the postal reforms of Ogödei [47, p. 142–147; 48, p. 368; 49, p. 46]. Indicators of authorization and credence named *p'ai-tse* had been used by Mongolians since Chingis Khan's reign [48, p. 89, 258; 13, p. 46; 50, p. 166]. After Ogödei's reform of post stations, *p'ai-tses* played an identity role in the couriers' use of postal stations. Hosung Shim's definition of *p'ai-tse* as a “*tablet of requisition*” for the period after Ogödei's reform [51, p. 110] is also related to the fact that couriers benefit from stations just by having a *p'ai-tse* in their hands. Apart from official postal couriers, it is also known that envoys [52, p. 81–82], merchants (at least until the reign of

Mögke Khahan), and the other ones who travelled under the umbrella of khanate were able to receive *p'ai-tse* and thus benefited from the services of the *yam* [28, p. 171–172; 53, p. 5; 13, p. 44; 54, p. 62]. Considering that during the Chingis Khan's era, there was an order to provide mounts and supplies, which were needed for the journey⁵, to people who had a *p'ai-tse* in their hands, the merchants must have also benefited from the aforementioned opportunities. It has been stated by Yakubovsky and Atwood that the trade association named *Ortag* was also tax-exempt thanks to their *p'ai-tse* [52, p. 28; 48, p. 238, 258, 429]. However, according to the information given by Cüveynî, *p'ai-tses exempted* merchants only from extra taxes. As of Möngke Khagan's era (1251–1259), *ortags* and other merchants lost their benefits as a result of Möngke Khagan's reforms over the usage and limitations of *p'ai-tse* [50, p. 486].

There is information about the existence of *p'ai-tse* in the Golden Horde Khanate. The Genoese delegation, who signed a treaty of commerce with the Golden Horde in 1380, saw a *p'ai-tse* in the hand of Cherkez who represented Toktamış Khan (1379–1390) and *p'ai-tse* in the Golden Horde recorded in Genoese documents with the form *paysam*. Even though Silvester De Sacy translated the related chapter as “avec les gens du pays (with locals)”, Cioçiltan has realized that the related word should have been *p'ai-tse* [55, p. 226; 56, p. 54–57]. The fact that the word *paysam* was also used with the same “*p'ai-tse*” meaning in the *yarlıq* which was granted to Venetians by Berdibek Khan indicates that Cioçiltan was correct to accept *paysam* as *p'ai-tse* in the Genoese documents. In addition to these, it is known that Canibek gave a golden *p'ai-tse* to Venetian merchants [57, p. 352]. The issue of giving *p'ai-tse* to Venetian merchants is particularly valuable because it reflects that merchants benefited from the opportunities of the *yam* in the Golden Horde, just as merchants benefited from the postal organization by having a *p'ai-tse* in Central Mongol Khanate until the reign of Möngke Khagan. Two conclusions can be drawn from the above information. First of these is that merchants in the Golden Horde benefited from the postal organization. Secondly, it reflects that either Möngke Khagan's prohibition over usage of *p'ai-tse* (i.e., postal organization) by merchants was not being practised in the region of Golden Horde or the practice was abandoned because Golden Horde was no longer under the suzerainty of the central Khaganate by the time of Janibek (i.e., Canibek) Khan (1347–1357). According to the information given by A. A. Spitsin, there was also a Metropolitan among those who were given a *p'ai-tse* in the Golden Horde. Metropolitan Aleksei was granted a *p'ai-tse* along with a *yarlıq* by Berdibek Khan. In that case, it would not be a mistake to think that also metropolitans were among those who had a right to use a postal organization and its benefits. Information in the Chronicle of Kazan about the existence of *p'ai-tse* in the Golden Horde mentioned that Ivan 3rd got the *p'ai-tse* of Ahmet Khan, on which it was thought that there had had a face graving of Ahmed Khan [58, p. 34–63; 59, p. 130–131; 60, p. 6–7]. Unfortunately, no golden *p'ai-tses* have survived the Golden Horde. There are only three silver *p'ai-tse* from the Golden Horde, and these are located in the Hermitage Museum. One of these, which was found in 1845 in the village of Grushevka near Dnepropetrovsk, belongs to Abdullah Khan and has an inscription on it: “*by the force of the Eternal*

⁵ In the Persian Oghuznama, it is stated that “Oghuz Khan gave a gold-tipped arrow and bow to his ambassador instead of the current time's modus of *yarlıq* and *payza*” [110, s. 27; 111, s. 227].

God and by the guardianship of the mighty anwealdes. Anyone who does not respect Abdullah Khan's order will be punished [materially] and die". The remarkable issue related to Abdullah Khan's *p'ai-tse* is that although the Golden Horde was in the Islamic phase, it was the Uyghur letters that were used in writing on the *p'ai-tse*. The usage of the Uyghur letter even in the *p'ai-tse* of Abdullah Khan, who ruled between 1361 and 1370, reflects how deeply rooted the Uyghur influence was in the customs of the Golden Horde and Mongolian Khanate, and in their postal organization as well. As for the other two *p'ai-tses*, they belong to Uzbek and Tokhtamış Khan [52, p. 119; 59, p. 130–138; 58, p. 63].

3.3. Darugha and Baskak

In the central Mongolian post, and hence in the Golden Horde postal organization, the post stations and postal operations were within the jurisdiction of *darughas* (*daruga*) and *baskaks*⁶. Darughas were responsible for the operation of *yam* and postal stations which were on their border. Considering that they were responsible for the collection of general taxes including the tax collected for the need of postal stations, keeping the number of postal horses high, and supply of necessary materials for stations under their command, it can be said that *darughas* were also involved in *yam* in terms of economy. Moreover, since they had a duty to make censuses⁷, *darughas* and *baskaks* had a role in organizing the subject who financed the *yams* (name of each postal station) [61, p. 35; 17, p. 252; 62, p. 71–72; 63, p. 202; 3, p. 147; 28, p. 144; 61, p. 388; 27, p. 372; 65, p. 192; 47, p. 156; 66, 168].

There is no clear information about whether the situation of the *darugha-baskak* system on a regional basis was exactly the same in the Golden Horde regarding management and taxation. However, considering that the Golden Horde was subordinate to the central Mongolian khanate at the time of Ogödei Khagan, it can be thought that *baskaks* and *darughas* were responsible for postal affairs in the Golden Horde as well. Because it is known that in the state organization in Ögedei Khagan's period, *darughas/baskaks* had the responsibility of regulating the *yam*. A wide field from organizing the subject to collecting taxes and functioning the postal organization was among their duty [30, p. 135; 67, p.188; 68, p. 257]. The fact that *darugha/baskaks* were responsible for postal affairs in the same way in Yuan Dynasty also indicates that the aforementioned practice got a permanent space for itself in the Mongolian government traditions [69, p. 33–35]. Taking into account the fact that ones who are mentioned as *darugha* in the *Secret History of Mongols* are also mentioned as *baskak*

⁶ Darugha/darughachi, which is seen in the six bureaus that provided the most important services of Mongolian central organization and had been in existence since 1214 (according to A.T. Özcan) or 1212–1213 (according to T. Allsen) in the Mongolian bureaucracy, is a title, and it has been stated that it referred to the same position with the title of *baskak*. It is known that the linguistic root of the term *darughachi* is *daru-*. The verb *daru-* just like the root of the word *baskak-* means to pressure, to force, to suppress, to put pressure on. Muqaddimat al-âdab, a Mongolian dictionary from 14th century also gives information that verbs *daru-* and *bas-* have the same meaning.

⁷ *Baskaks* named Berkay and Kasachik came to the Novgorod census in 1259 together with their spouses and they established their relationship directly with *knyazes*. At this point, it should be noted that *darughas* and *baskaks* were neither doing door-to-door counting nor collecting taxes door-by-door. They were the managers and responsables for such works. Therefore, instead of facing the public like mere officials, they were dealing directly with *knyazes* [23, p. 96–97].

in *Ta'rikh-I-Jahan-Gusha* (TJG) of Juwaynî, and ones who are mentioned as *baskak* in TJG are also mentioned as *daluhuachi* in *Yuan Shih*, it can be thought that the word *baskak* should have been used in places where the Turkish Language was common, and *darughas* should have been used where the Mongolian Language was dominant. It shows that Mongols used the Word *baskak* mostly as an equivalent of the word *darughas*. However, there are discussions over whether the words *darughas* and *baskak* do refer to the same governmental position [64, p. 375–377, 389–404]. Halperin stated that *baskaks* belonged to the phase of the pre-fourteenth century of *Tatar Yoke* (*Tatarskoe igo*) and after the fourteenth century, *baskaks* were replaced by *darughas*. According to the information given by Halperin, the difference between *darughas* and *baskak* in the Golden Horde was that *baskaks* actively resided in areas where they were responsible. As for *darughas*, Halperin considers them as *remote and absentee* administrators and adds that “*they were clearly resided in Mongols cities on Itil (Volga)*”. He underlines that this was a much cheaper way of administration. Additionally, he states that for the mounted Mongolian army, it was not a difficult task to reach or influence any part of Russia; therefore, turning *baskaks* into *darughas* and changing direct control into remote one would not depressurize the Mongol authority over Russia [70, p. 39–40; 71, p. 250]. However, Altay Tayfun Özcan asserts different ideas about *darughas* and *baskak* than the information given by Halperin. Based on expressions in edicts (*yarliqs*) which were granted to the Russian Church, Özcan defended the opinion that – contrary to Halperin’s thought – *darughas* were not absentee administrators. In his point of view, *darughaship* was developed dividedly from the *baskakship* the mention of both *baskak* and *darughas* jointly⁸ in the edicts (*yarliq*) and documents belonging to the Golden Horde supports his idea. The reason for the transition from *baskak* to *darughas* in Golden Horde – just as in China (i.e. in Yuan Dynasty) was that although the *baskaks* were in military predominance in the first period of Mongolian hegemony of Russia, they gradually shifted to a civil and administrative character following the establishment of absolute authority. On the other hand, the situation of the Golden Horde shifted from a steppe tradition to an administrative structure of region, city, and village over time; as a result, in parallel with the aforementioned changings post of *darughaship* was established as a new structure instead of reforming existing *baskak* system. Thus, both *baskaks* and *darughas* were able to operate simultaneously. The importance of *baskaks* gradually decreased in the Golden Horde even if they continued their existence [64, p. 404–418]. Considering the information at hand, whether we accept Özcan’s or Halperin’s opinion, it can be said that *darughaship* and *baskakship* were different posts in the Golden Horde. From the viewpoint of the postal organization (*yam*), it would not be wrong to say that when the *baskaks* were at the forefront, the management was their responsibility and after *darughas* started to gain influence, this time it was *darughas* who was responsible for the management of the postal system.

⁸ In the *yarliq* granted to Metropolitan Petro by Uzbeg (Özbek) Khan (1313–1341), phrases of both *baskak* and *darughas* can be seen together. Therefore, this situation would not have been possible if the duty of *baskak* had ended as soon as the post of *darughas* was established [76, p. 66–67].

4. Officials and Elements of the Golden Horde Postal Organization

Hierarchically, there were station masters under *baskaks* and *darughas*. Rubruck mentioned these station masters by naming them as *yam*. Right on this point, it is necessary to state that the term *yam* has three different usages in the report of William of Rubruck named *Itinerarium fratris Willielmi de Rubruquis de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratiae 1253 ad partes Orientales*. While Rubruck recorded that station masters were called *yam*, he also used the same word for the structure of each post station's self. On top of that, Rubruck also named the person who greeted the ambassadors in the first place [72, p. 53, 78, 80, 88; 73, p. 177]. First of all, it is necessary to mention the followings about the reception of ambassadors. Where Rubruck finishes the part about the Golden Horde and starts to give information about Möngke Khagan, he states the following details with a retrospective reference to the Golden Horde chapter: "... for they do differently as regards envoys at the court of Baatu and Mangu. At Baatu's court, there is an *Iam* on the west side which receives all those who come from the west; and it is arranged in like fashion for other quarters of the world. But at the court of Mangu, all are under *Iam* and may visit and see each other. At the court of Baatu, they do not know each other, and one knows not whether another is an envoy, for they know not each other's lodgings, and only see each other at court. And when one is summoned, another perhaps is not: for they only go to court when summoned". Rubruck mentioned that when he went to Sartak's court, he directly came into the presence of *yam* [72, p. 72, 121; 73, p. 178]. In the light of the information given above, in the Golden Horde fashion, not everyone was received by *yam*, just those who came from the west, contrary to the fact that in Möngke's region, there was no separated emissary, and everyone was being received by *yam*. Based on that, it can be said that *yam* (chief or master of a post station) had a greater influence in the central khanate than the ones in the Golden Horde. As for the *yam*'s (chief or master of a post station) function in receiving envoys, Rubruck's discourses, which is about envoy-receiving station masters, would be clearer when it is evaluated together with the information in the study named *History of Liao Dynasty* by Wittfogel and Chia-Shêng. In the above-mentioned source, it is mentioned that there was a postal station in the southwest region of the city named *imperial capital* (later *sublime capital*), and envoys who came to the capital were lodged in this postal station. All these pieces of information make us think that a situation like the one in Liao Dynasty may have been the case with Mongols as well. If this is the case, that could explain why an emissary responsible for greeting envoys was named *yam* [74, p. 370].

Information about postal stations, couriers, and guides in the Golden Horde existed, even if they were not as detailed as its equivalent in the central Mongolian khanate. According to notes of Rubruck, the situation of postal stations was not as good as the ones in the central Mongolia. The priest recorded their travel with bitter complains that they traveled for days without seeing neither an encampment nor a station or even any human being. Rubruck recorded that when they arrived in large lodgings, post-horses, and pack animals, he was not provided with free horses, and guides were provided by commanders. We do not see any obstacle in writing that "animals were given". When Rubruck had to buy animals by paying money, he specifically mentioned the part he was forced to pay [72, p. 69]; in other words, as seen above, he was not provided with the free horse during the entire

journey. After they sent their horses back while they were crossing a river, they were told that a special permission document” from Batu was required for them to be provided with postal horses (72, p. 35–69). It is highly possible to say that this so-called “special document” was *p'ai-tse*. In light of the above information, it can be said that Rubruck did not have the *p'ai-tse* during the going part of his travel. However, when he met the commanders in camps and declared that he had a letter from the king, he was probably given mounts and food on the initiative. But it is clear that this did not work every time. Also, it is known that Carpini, just like Rubruck, was able to obtain post-horses⁹ by giving gifts to a major [75, p. 128, 93].

In the central Mongolian khanate, they were named as *ulachin*, *ula'achin*, couriers were named as *yamchi* in the Golden Horde, and it was the word *yamchi* -not the word *ulachin* or *ula'achin*- that can be encountered in the edicts (*yarlıq*) and manuscripts (*bitig*) that have survived from the Golden Horde. As for the word *ulak*, even though it can be seen in the above-mentioned edicts and manuscripts, the term *ulak* in the Golden Horde edicts and manuscripts did not mean “postman” or “courier”. Based on the usage of the term in *edict of Temir Kutlug*, the meaning of the term *ulak* was equos (post horse), just like in *Divanu Lügâti't-Türk*¹⁰. The term *ulak* is mentioned in the relevant edict as “*tavar k(a)r(a)l(a)rın ul(a)k tutm(a)sun konak tüşül tüşürm(e)sünler* [they shall not seisen thair (subject's) horses as equos and they shall not force them (subjects) to have them-selves accepted as a guest]”. The word “*tavar*” in the expression is not different from the word “*davar*” of today's Turkish and was translated as an animal by Özyetgin. Therefore, the word *ulak* in the mot-a-mot quotation above seems to be used to express the meaning of post-horse, rather than courier that Özyetgin gave the same meaning to the word [76, p. 51–53, 107, 219, 236; 52, p. 64–66]. *Yarlıq* and *bitigs* left from the era of the Golden Horde are not only important for the terms *yamçı* and *ulak* but for the economic resources and system of the postal organization as well [76, p. 46, 50–52, 63, 67–68; 77, p.164; 78, p. 88–89].

Examining the phrase *millenary* (*binbaşı*) and the officer referred to as major in the part of Giovanni da Pian del Carpine's itinerary where he stated that he procured postal horses from the *majors* [75, p.105] may lead to some implications for *yam* in the Golden Horde. The word was written as *millenario* in Carpine's original records [79, p. 93, 128] and translated as *millenary* by Beazley. The word has been translated as *binbaşı* by Ergin Ayan. The reason for being named as *millenario* for the officer that Carpine procured a postal relay horse is highly likely because of Mongols' practice of organizing the subject according to the decimal system in the form of *arban*, *jaun* and *minggan* [48, p. 139; 52, p. 82; 80, p. 37; 81, p. 225; 82, p. 61, 157; 83, p. 71]. It is stated in Cüveynî's work that Argun organized the people under his command according to the thousand system, which also supports the idea above [50, p. 430]. It is not in vain that the people were organized in this way. Organizing subject in groups of tens, hundreds, and thousands has a close relationship with the military organization. According to the information given by Vladimirtsov, the reason behind the construction of the aforementioned system is the perception of the khanate that classified the subject as communities capable of

⁹ Carpini did not use the Word *oulak* (*ulak*). He used the word “*equos*” which C. Ramond Beazley translated as “*poste horse*” [79, s. 93, 128].

¹⁰ The description of the word *ulaq* is thusly: “*post relay horse*”, *a horse who is given to a courier by the order of the lord (bey)* [112, p. 618].

landing ten soldiers, communities capable of landing a hundred soldiers, and communities capable of landing a thousand soldiers [82, p. 61, 157]. It is also stated by Atwood that *arban* indicates ten households, *jaun* indicates a hundred households and *minggan* indicates a thousand households, and each unit had its own *darugha*. Also, it is known that managers of *jauns* were given silver *p'ai-tses*, managers of *minggans* (ie. *millenarios* in Carpine's itinerary) star ornated golden, and managers of *tümens* lion-headed golden *p'ai-tses* [48, p.139; 52, p. 82]. The information that Carpine took the post-horse from the major should also be considered together with the information which is related to the postal organization of Chagatai Khanate. Observing that seizures were made by mentioning the names of people at the head of decury and hundred-household in the documents ordering seizures for postal organization and dating back to the era of Mongolian rule in the Chagatai area indicates that the postal organization spread to governmental units, which were even smaller than provinces. If we bring an approach with this point of view to Carpine's taking a postal horse from *millenary*, the governmental units of postal organization in the Golden Horde can be listed from top to bottom thusly: the highest ranked responsible were *darugha-baskaks*, and after them, it was managers of *tümen*, *minggan*, then post station masters (chiefs of stations, i.e., *yams*) and finally couriers.

Another element of postal organization in the Golden Horde is the *tutgaul* organization. The *tutgaul* responsible for the safety of the roads served in the Golden Horde and ensured the roads [25, p. 52–55]. Even though the roads were not secure during the war between Golden Horde and Ilkhanate, in a general scale, it seems that roads were safe enough during the peaceful times [84, p. 10]. As Oödey Khagan had it built in the central empire, water wells were drilled at regular intervals on the roads in the Golden Horde area [25, p. 52–55]. It can be considered that the above-mentioned wells were also used by the postal organization.

4.1. Taxes and Responsibilities Concerning the Golden Horde Postal Organization

4.1.1. Süsün

Süsün from the postal taxes is derived from the Mongolian words *šigüsü* and *šügüsü*, meaning food and provision [13, p. 105]. Doerfer describes the word as “*reiseproviand, insbesondere für Staatskuriere [travel provisions, especially for state couriers]*” [85, p. 362]. As a term, it means the obligation to provide provisions to the traveller by imperial order and couriers of the khanate. The term was expressed as *korm* in the *yarlıks* given to Russians [76, p. 145–146; 113, p. 105; 89, p. 329] and can be seen in *Secret History of Mongols* in the §280¹¹.

4.1.2. Ulufe and Other Taxes

The term *ulufe* mentioned in *yarlıkhs* of the Golden Horde has been defined as “*the obligation of providing fodder to horses of soldiers, ambassadors and officials of the khan*”¹² [76, p. 146]. The same term was used in the edict (*yarlıq/jarlyk*) of

¹¹ The form of the word in the transcription of *Secret History of Mongols* by Rachewiltz is *si'üsün*, and it can be found with this form in the 11913 numbered line [8, p. 172].

¹² It was not found any explanation or definition for the term *ulufe* in his article named “Timur Kutluğ Han” even though Hasan AbdullaHoğlu did an annotated translation of Timur Kutluğ Khan's edict (*yarlıq/jarlyk*) [86, p. 218].

Taydula Hanbike, which was granted to Metropolitan Theognostus of Kiev, and the edict (*yarlıq/jarlyk*) of Timur Kutluğ Khan to Muhammed and Mahmud [86, p. 218; 76, p.76, 51]. *Ulak* is the name of the subject's obligation to provide horses to official postal couriers and those traveling under the umbrella of the khanate. As for *konak tüşil*, it was an obligation to provide accommodation and provision to soldiers, couriers, and to those traveling under the umbrella of the khanate.

4.1.3. *Kopchur/Kobchur*

Kopchur/kobchur is a word, which was derived from the verb *kubchi-* (means to catch, to collect, and withdraw by force). With the suffix *-gur*, the word takes on “claim” meaning. The common use of the word, derived from *kopchi-/kupchi*, had been in the form of *kupchirin* [85, p. 387]. Also, Osman NedimTuna accepts the verbs *kapchi-* and *hupchi* as possible origins of the word, and adds the verbs “to gain”, “to extort”, and “to yank out by force” among the original meaning [2, p. 226–227]. *Kopchur* is also found in the Uyghur records with the meaning of animal taxes [87, p. 40–41]. P. Pelliot is also among the ones who gives information about the word. Pelliot wrote that *kupçir (qubçir)* was mentioned in edicts and records, which had been written with phags-pa alphabet, in the sense of tax exemption for clergy¹³. It is also among the information given about *kopchur* that *kopchur* tax was a tax taken from animals at a rate of one-tenth as a pasturage tax in Mongolians [12, p. 64; 3, p. 225; 52, p. 64; 88, p. 210; 27, p. 337; 89, p. 285]. Apart from this, it is also seen that there was a tax collected per person under the same name [5, p. 340; 90, p. 61; 89, p. 285; 91, p. 61; 13, p.179; 44, p. 88]. Together with the above-mentioned details, according to the information given by M. Özyetgin and H. F. Schurmann, there had been a tax named *kopchur* among the Mongols, including both animal and nonanimal taxes since the beginning of the 13th century. *Kopchur*, which was collected in extraordinary circumstances, was not only the name of animal taxes but also the name of all kinds of taxes that were collected to meet all the needs of khan and the khanate [92, p. 309–310; 78, p. 89]. Ilyas Kamalov adds the *kopchur* tax among the taxes that the Golden Horde should have collected, even though it is not mentioned directly under the name of *kochur* or any special name in Russian chronicles or historical sources. In actual fact, it was written in the edict (*yarlıq/jarlyk*), which was given to Russian Metropolitan, that animals in possession of clergy could not be touched, albeit it was not mentioned under the name of *kopchur*. Since edicts (*yarlıqs/jarlyks*) provide privileges to their holders, it can be said that the animal tax should have been collected from other subjects who did not have a *jarlyk* from the khan. Also, M. Özyetgin has stressed that *kopchur* should have been collected in the borders of Golden [77, p.164; 78, p. 88–89]. The detail of taking *kopchur* at a rate of one-tenth -as it has been mentioned above- opens the floodgates for some deduction for some inferences to be made on behalf of *kopchur* in Golden Horde. Considering the information given above, it can be said that the Mongols' demand of “one-tenth of everything” before their invasion over Ryazan can be accepted as *kopchur*. Chronicles named Novgorod and Voskresenskaya do not mention the term *kopchur* explicitly and they state the situation only recording “one-tenth of everything” [23, p. 81; 93, p. 81–88]. When it is thought that the phrase “everything” also includes horses, it

¹³ Information in this direction was found only in Pelliot's study [115, p. 153].

can be said that the taxes for providing postal organization of The Golden Horde with horses can be accepted as *ulak* and *kopchur* taxes.

5. The Points That Horde Khanate's Postal Organization Showed Individuality

The most remarkable aspect of the taxes and responsibilities in the edicts (*yarliqs / jarlyks*) is that in the Golden Horde, the couriers still seized their needs from the subject and are accommodated by them. It can be said that if the collocutors of the aforementioned tarkhanate edicts (*ukaz tapkanata / Tarkanlık yarlığı / yarliqs / jarlyks*) and edicts (*yarliqs / jarlyks*) given to the metropolitans were given privileges in such matters, those who did not have this privilege should have been liable at these services. In accordance with the idea above, M. Özyetgin stated – referring to the phrases in the edicts – that the subject was obligated to meet all the needs of postal couriers [78, p.139–140]. In this case, it can be concluded that the postal reforms, realized by Ögedei Khagan, were not followed in the Horde at the time when the edicts were issued. It is because, according to Ögedei Khagan's reform, postal couriers were forbidden to enter the residential areas and to go among people¹⁴. But even so, this information obtained from the edicts (*yarliqs / jarlyks*) shows that the postal couriers still passed among the people and met their needs from the subject, as they had done before Ögedei's reforms. Since the postal organization was established in the Golden Horde by order of the Ögedei Khan, it can be thought that the postal organization in the Golden Horde was operating according to the regulations of Ögedei Khagan during his lifetime. However, as it is understood from the edicts (*yarliqs / jarlyks*), this order may have been abandoned or forgotten sometime after Ögedei's reign. As a matter of fact, even the earliest of the edicts¹⁵ (*yarliqs / jarlyks*) is dated eight years after the death of Mönke Khagan.

Another thing in the Golden Horde postal system that differs from other Mongolian Khanates is the means of transport. Since the postal organization hinges upon geography, the modus operandi of postal organization in the Golden Horde naturally showed some differences -from those of other khanates- in the places where taiga and swamps were located. According to the information given by Marco Emilio Polo of Venetian and Allsen, sledges and sledge dogs were used in such areas because icy terrains and swamps would have prevented to march on horses or heavy animals of that kind if they had tried [17, p. 470–471]. This information given by Marco Polo corresponds to statements of Ibn Battutah (1304–1369). Ibn Battutah stated that Siberia, which he named the land of darkness, was able to be reached by “small sledges pulled by big dogs”. Afterwards, he recorded these lines confirming the information given by Marco Polo: “*As the land is completely covered with ice, the feet of people slip, and hooves of other animals do not catch on. Dogs have nails; for that reason, their feet stay stable on the ice, and they do not slip*” [94, p. 481].

6. Legacy of the Golden Horde Postal Organization

The Mongols and Tatars influenced Russian culture in terms of postal organization as well as in terms of social and political institutions and military structures

¹⁴ See: the related chapter of the study.

¹⁵ See for dates of the edicts: [76, s. 45–83].

such as *tamga* (custom/seal), custom tax Office, and *kazna*. Of course, communication and correspondence existed in the region before the Mongols dominated Russia. Information about the communication and correspondence practice of Russians in *Laurentian Letopis* in the chapter “Tales of Bygone Years” goes back to the event that Oleg (d. 912) sent an envoy to Radmic in 885 [24, p. 8; 95, p. 224; 96, p. 104]. It is known that there is a communication and post system, which was sometimes called *povoz* and sometimes *podvodi* in Russians. As for the first information about *podvodi*, they are dated back to the events of 984 [24, p. 27; 95, p. 224; 96, p. 104]. In spite of this fact, there are disagreements about the meaning of the term *podvodi*, mentioned in *Laurentian Letopis* regarding the events of the year 984. S.M. Soloviev concludes that in the relevant chapter, the term was related to a requisition of transferring the tribute somewhere. On the other hand, Vladimírsky-Budanov and Gurlyand state that in the relevant chapter, the term was used to Express couriers. As it can be seen -like O. V. Semenov stated- the information about *podvodi* and *povoz* actually is based on speculative commentaries [96, p. 103–104]. But whatever the circumstance is, what is certain is that some activities were carried out in the name of communication in Russia before the Mongols. It is among the information given by Halperin that, based on this fact, some historians rejected the Mongolian and Tatar influence in the postal organization of Muscovite Tsardom [97, p. 246–247; 70, p. 150]. It should be taken into account for this subject that Russian roads were in a bad state in the pre-Mongol period. If there was a postal service that was so advanced that it would not require any external influence or loan, the condition of the roads would have been better. According to Vernadsky’s statements, the pre-Mongolian Russian roads were far from the brightness of Russian Tsardom’s postal roads and organizations, which fascinated Herberstein. On the other hand, the fact that *povoz* is a more primitive system than *yam*, both in terms of supplying passengers and bureaucratic development, causes these ideas to be approached cautiously. Although Yakubovskiy and Grekov count supplying those, who were sent by state with food and means of transportation as one of the most ancient actions of Russians by emphasizing a *gramota*¹⁶ of Grand Knyaz Andrey Alexandrovich (1255–1304), which is dated 1294–1304, the years around 1294–1304 were the period that Mongols had already captured the region and even established their own system in the region by conducting censuses in 1245 and 1257–59. When the date is this late, the basis of the idea may be shaken by including the influence of the Golden Horde in the aforementioned issue. Moreover, The Mongols and thus the Tatars and the Golden Horde had been using the much more advanced station model than the Grand Knyaz Andrey Alexandrovich’s way of replenishing travellers by sending *gramotas*. Although the word *povoz* was not encountered until the end of Musco-

¹⁶ Related part of the abovementioned *gramota*: “Отъ великаго князя отъ Ондreja къ посадникомъ, и къ старостамъ. Како есмь докончль съ Новымгородомъ ходити тремъ ватагамъ моимъ на море, а ватаманъ Ондрей Критцкый, отъ дають съ погостовъ кормъ и подводы по пошлинѢ; а сынъ его Кузма како поидеть съ моря съ потками съ данными по данничу пути, дадаютъ ему корму и подводы, по пошлинѢ, съ погостовъ; а какъ пошло, при моемъ отцѢ и при моемъ брате, не ходити на Терскую сторону Ноугородцемъ, и нынѢ не ходять” [116, p.1].

vite Knyazdom, words such as *yamy*, *yamskiye dvory* were encountered, and the tax *yam* was mentioned in the testaments and treaties of knyazes. Moreover, Sigismund von Herberstein, who realized a diplomatic visit to Moscow in 16th century, stated that the manager of a postal station was called as *jamschnick / iamshchik* and postal stations were called as *jamma*. The words *jamschnick / iamshchik* and *jamma* are Russian versions of *yamchi* and *yam* [77, p. 292–293; 98, p. 105; 99, p. 138; 100, p. 535; 101, p. 260; 102, p. 108; 97, p. 246–247; 70, p. 92–93].

Conclusion

In the Golden Horde Khanate, there was a postal organization since the first conquests in the period of Chingis Khan, but it reached a full development level due to the postal reforms of Ogödey Khagan. *Yam*, the Mongolian postal organization, spread in the Golden horde lands with the Mongol conquests. The letter that Sübütei Ba'atar sent to Ogödey Khagan reflects that the postal organization was established immediately in the area captured by the Mongols until the date when Kiev was conquered by Mongols. Together with the establishment of the postal organization in Khanates of Chagatay and Batu with the orders of Ögedei Khagan, the Mongol Empire was completely connected to each other.

The management hierarchy of the postal organization in the Golden horde is similar to those of the central Mongolian khaganate. The responsible committee for the postal organization formed during the Ögedei's period was most likely the highest management organ of the Golden Horde post as well. Under this delegation -similar to the postal organization of the central Mongols-, there were *darughas* and *baskaks*, under them, chiefs of *tümen*, *minngan* and *jaun* and below them, it was station masters. As it can be seen in the itineraries of the itinerants, the postal station officer of the central horde had a more special status compared to the other station officers.

Even though the situation of *darughas* and *baskaks* outside the Golden Horde was a circumstance, which was like naming the same institution with different words, it presented a different position in the Golden Horde. With the change of direct authority to indirect authority in the Golden Horde, the *baskaks* lost their influence and importance gradually, while the post of *darughaship*, which was established later than *baskakship*, began to gain importance. Contrary to general opinion, *baskaks* did not disappear in an instant as soon as *darughaship* was established, and the two institutions continued to exist together for a while. Moreover, *darughas* were not completely far from their place of duty as thought. The records at hand indicate that *darughas* occasionally appeared in their posts and were not like exact absentee administrators.

Postal couriers, called *ula'achin* in the central Mongols, were sometimes called *yam* and sometimes *yamchi* in Golden Horde Khanate. Edicts (*yarliqs / jarlyks*) dated to the post-Möngke Khagan period reflect that a different postal system from the reforms of Ögedei Khagan worked in the land of the Golden Horde. According to this system, postal couriers were still seizing their needs from the subject and were being accommodated by the subject -even though there was a station system-. This point also leads us to deduce that the postal organization in the Golden Horde was not as advanced as its central Mongolian example. If the

postal system of the Golden Horde had been this much advanced, the couriers would not have been in need to seize their needs from the subject and in need of forcing the subject to accommodate themselves. Also, this point indicates that there could be a disorderliness or a problem with stations from the viewpoint of both the number of postal stations and the equipment and provision of stations, so that couriers felt the necessity to pass through the residential areas. In other words, not enough stations in the area may lead couriers to find alternative ways to have accommodation and food. According to this system, the couriers were able to benefit stations' opportunities and possibilities by having p'ai-tses. On the other hand, it can be said that depending on the information given by historical sources, the prohibition of Möngke Khagan which banned traders from using *yam* does not seem to have followed in the Golden Horde region. As a result of the fact that the postal organizations had to comply with the conditions of the geography on which it was founded, sledges -which were not seen in other Mongolian postal organizations- were able to be encountered in the Golden Horde postal organization.

Even though there was a communication system in Russia before the Northern campaign of Jebe and Sübütei (1222), it was not as advanced as *yam*. Therefore, the Russian Tsardom, which rose with the decline of the Golden Horde Khanate, inherited the postal system just as other institutions of the Golden Horde which Russia had been familiar with for nearly 280 years. In spite of the fact that there are ones who argue that the Russian communication system before Mongols -called *podvodi* and sometimes *povoz*- was continued by Moscow, these ideas should be approached with suspicion based on both the information about the state of pre-Mongolian Russian roads and the absence of word *povoz* and *podvodi*. But in spite of the absence of the word *povoz* and *podvodi*, forms of the term *yam* are able to be encountered in the notes of H. Von Herberstein.

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ПОЧТОВАЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ (ЯМ) В ЗОЛОТОЙ ОРДЕ

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Цель исследования: определить структуру, деятельность, штатные и фискальные источники почтовой организации и показать связи и различия между центром и другими чингизидскими ханствами.

Материалы исследования: ярлыки и пайзы, данные ханами Золотой Орды, ханами и хатунами империи Чингис-хана, источники «Чингиз-наме», проливающие свет на историю Золотой Орды, записки путешественников и др. источники.

Научная новизна и результаты исследования: в Золотой Орде почтовая организация существовала со времен первых завоеваний во времена Чингиз-хана, но своего полного развития она достигла лишь с почтовыми реформами Угедей-кагана. Ям, монгольская почтовая организация, распространилась по землям Золотой Орды с монгольскими завоеваниями.

Административная иерархия почтовой организации Золотой Орды была аналогична империи Чингизхана. Были даруги и баскаки, при них начальники тюменей, минганов и жаунов и при них начальники станций. Почтовые курьеры, называе-

мые улаачинами в государстве Чингиз-хана, в Золотоордынском ханстве иногда назывались ямами, а иногда ямчи. Указы (ярлыки) после Мункэ-кагана показывают, что на территории Золотой Орды действовала почтовая система, отличная от реформ Угедей-кагана. Согласно этой системе, почтовые курьеры по-прежнему получали свои припасы от субъекта и размещались у них, хотя существовала станционная система. Почтовые организации должны были приспособливаться к географическим условиям, в золотоордынской почтовой организации можно было встретить нарты, которых не было в других монгольских почтовых организациях.

Ключевые слова: улак, копчур (кобчур), сюсюн, баскак, даруга, пайза (пай-це, пайзе)

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