

An Agenda for Research on the Golden Horde

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The study of the Golden Horde has had a long, problematic, and highly politicized history since the publication of the first major work devoted to this subject.¹ It cannot be my task here to review the entire historiography in detail, for the result would be a very lengthy study indeed. The history of the Golden Horde was already connected with issues of national history and national ideology in the Russian Empire. My colleagues in Tatarstan are more familiar than I will ever be with the politicization of the history of the Golden Horde in the Soviet period. Politics and ideology aside, the intellectual value of such an effort would also be questionable, since so much of the historiography devoted to the Golden Horde rests upon assumptions and preconceived notions that are in my opinion questionable or should even be rejected. Let us note the most basic example: even the name “Golden Horde” was never the actual name of this state, since the western patrimony of Batu was known as the “White Horde” (*Aq orda*), the eastern patrimony of Orda was known as the “Blue Horde” (*Kök orda*), and the name Golden Horde itself is known only beginning with the *Kazanskaya istoriya* (16th century or later). This should serve as a cautionary note suggesting that we set aside many of the assumptions and claims that are characteristic of the traditional historiography. It would be necessary instead to write a completely original history of the so-called “Golden Horde” that is not grounded in the misinformation originating in later source traditions. Since I have already made such an attempt,² I believe that I can claim to offer, with the benefit of hindsight, one personal view of some of the major issues for future research on the Golden Horde.

1. Non-Traditional Categories of Evidence

Since we are meeting on the occasion of the First Symposium on the Sources for the History of the Golden Horde, I would like to raise first of all the question of what a “source” is. By doing so, I would like to call upon my colleagues to expand their notion of what a “source” is. It is certainly possible to base our investigation of the history of the Golden Horde on medieval literary texts and documents, as has traditionally been the case. Most historians do not hesitate to also use numismatic evidence, and others may be familiar with the archeological record or linguistic or ethnographic evidence. There are also other categories of evidence and sources, however, that can prove invaluable for studying a state such as the Golden Horde that does not have a wealth of written sources associated with it. I would like to survey some of these below.

How many historians of the Golden Horde have considered that the territory of modern-day Tatarstan used to be one of the regions in the world most susceptible to ergotism? Ergotism results from the fungal poisons known as mycotoxins which are associated with moldy grain (especially rye) that is harvested late under cool, wet conditions. The symptoms of different kinds of fungal poisoning range from the loss of fingers and limbs; gastrointestinal

¹ Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde, das ist der Mongolen in Russland* (Pesth, 1840).

² See Uli Schamiloglu, *The Golden Horde: Economy, Society, and Civilization in Western Eurasia, Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries* (Madison: Turko-Tatar Press, in press), which I hope will be available in Tatar and Russian editions as well in cooperation with the Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences. I discuss the problem of the name(s) of this state in the Introduction. I should note that, despite my serious reservations, I continue to use the term “Golden Horde” as a modern scholarly convention because it is ubiquitous.

ailments; tremors, spasms, and other problems affecting the nervous system; psychosis; fertility suppression; and a wide range of other frightening symptoms.³ In one episode of food poisoning in Tatarstan in 1944, death occurred among individuals eating poisonous rye products.⁴ In 1933 infection from food poisoning afflicted 20-50 percent of the population of Tatarstan and Bashqortsan, and 1934 the rate of infection in Tatarstan was 50-75 percent. (The last bad year for infection from food poisoning in Bashqortostan was 1938.) Less rye was sown after that, and after World War II improved agricultural techniques reduced the ergot content in rye.

Although this important phenomenon was first observed as a public health issue in Russia only at the end of the 18th century,⁵ it is a phenomenon that has existed in the northern territories of Europe since the earliest times because of the colder climate and shorter growing season. Mold grows on grain in the field – or on the grass in the steppe – because a cooler than normal summer has forced the harvest to a later date when the temperatures are cooler and the conditions are wetter. This is a result of seasonal or longer-term variation in climatic conditions. Yet how many scholars have considered what impact poor growing seasons or climatic downturns might have had on the territories of the Golden Horde?

This leads us to another category of evidence, namely evidence concerning the Earth's climatic record in the past, which can include both written and non-written evidence. I hasten to note that the field of the climatic history of Eurasia has in many important ways been done a disservice by the works of the late Lev Gumilev. Although he has a strong following as a popular historian in Russia, I would argue that his use of climatic evidence has been non-professional, and has given the field a bad reputation in certain circles. Yet there are also examples of excellent scholarship in this field for European history,⁶ and I would like to think that my work on the Golden Horde includes an original treatment of this subject for the history of Western Eurasia.⁷

One important subject to which Gumilev has devoted numerous publications is the changing historical level of the Caspian Sea, which is determined mostly on the basis of textual evidence.⁸ I do not wish to dwell on this subject at length in this essay, but one of the causes that I have noted for this phenomenon is the level of rainfall along the Upper and Middle Volga. There are also other possible causes for the changing level that require scientific investigation: we must not forget the ancient Uzboy river that once flowed from the Amu Darya into the Caspian Sea, as well as the suggestions that there might be some connection between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea. Although I disagree vehemently with Gumilev's use of such data, the changing levels of the Caspian may offer possible indirect evidence for historical levels of precipitation along the Upper and Middle Volga regions.

Even if it proves in the end that the changing level of the Caspian Sea is not related to precipitation levels in the Upper and Middle Volga regions, one of the other categories of

³ Mary Kilbourne Matossian, *Poisons of the Past. Molds, Epidemics, and History* (New Haven, 1989); and Schamiloglu, *The Golden Horde: Economy, Society, and Civilization in Western Eurasia*, Chapter 4.

⁴ Matossian, *Poisons of the Past*, p. 15.

⁵ Matossian, *Poisons of the Past*, pp. 22-23.

⁶ E. Le Roy Ladurie, trans. B. Bray, *Times of Feast, Times of Famine. A History of Climate since the Year 1000* (New York, 1988²).

⁷ Schamiloglu, *The Golden Horde*, Chapter 1 for a more detailed discussion of the climatic history of Western Eurasia.

⁸ See for example L.N. Gumilev, "Rol' klimaticheskix kolebaniy v istorii narodov stepnoy zoni Evrazii", *Istoriya SSSR* 1967:1, pp. 53-66; and trans. R.E.F. Smith, *Searches for an Imaginary Kingdom. The Legend of the Kingdom of Prester John*, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge, 1987).

evidence that may offer hope for reconstructing the climatic history of the northern territories of the Golden Horde is the evidence from tree rings. Dendrochronology, or the study of the variation in the annual growth of tree rings, is widely used in historical climatology worldwide, though it is less common for the study of Western Eurasia.⁹

One surprising discovery for me in my research was the existence of data for over four millennia worth of varves (annual sediment deposits) along Lake Saki in the Crimea. Since these annual deposits are understood to correlate to annual precipitation levels, this means that we have at our disposal data for annual precipitation for the years 2394 BCE-1894 CE.¹⁰ As I have shown in my work, a historic low level of precipitation in the ancient period as indicated by these data corresponds to famine in the Crimea. Lamb considers that unusually thick layers in 805 CE and a series of very thin layers in the 1280s mark the beginning and the end of the medieval period of moist climate in the Crimea.¹¹ Considering the important climatic disruptions that led Venice to seek grain in the Black Sea and the likely rapid expansion in grain production in the Black Sea regions controlled by the Golden Horde, this is a topic that requires further analysis. There are no doubt additional sources of data for climatic history that have been compiled by scientists but which have yet to be studied by historians interested in Western Eurasia.

One final category of non-traditional evidence for which I am now notorious in Kazan is the role of the Black Death in the collapse of the Golden Horde. I have argued elsewhere that the Black Death was the major factor in sudden depopulation, the complete collapse of centralized authority and the anarchy that followed, the decline of an Islamic Turkic literary language, and other phenomena.¹² There were very few descriptions of the Black Death in the territories of the Golden Horde, but there are enough accounts in the Islamic, Russian, and Italian sources to establish the areas that it affected, and we even have some detailed descriptions for the Crimea and certain Russian cities. I have also argued that the end of the Volga Bulgar language is a silent witness to the ravages of the Black Death.¹³ By drawing upon studies concerning Western Europe and the Middle East, I believe we have a model that helps us to understand with a high degree of accuracy what actually happened in the territories of the Golden Horde beginning in the 1340s and especially after 1359. This model predicts many phenomena – even economic phenomena such as inflation – that require additional investigation. All these phenomena also require further investigation for territories that were under the control of the Golden Horde such as the Russian dukedoms, Armenia, Georgia, and the other regions of the Caucasus, since this topic has not been received adequate attention (if any at all) as the major cause of political, social, economic, and cultural transformations that took place beginning in the middle of the 14th century. Naturally this is of tremendous importance for a re-evaluation of the legacy of the Golden Horde in those territories.

⁹ See for example B. A. Kolchin and N.B. Chernikh, *Dendroxronologiya Vostochnoy Evropi: Absolyutnie dendroxronologicheskie shkaly s 788 g. po 1970 g.* (Moskva, 1977); *Dendroxronologiya i dendroklimatologiya* (Novosibirsk, 1986); and S. G. Shiyatov, *Dendroxronologiya verxney granitsi lesa na Urale* (Moskva, 1986).

¹⁰ W.B. Schostakowitsch, "Geschichtete Bodenablagerungen der Seen als Kilma-Annalen (Niederschläge von Europa seit 2880 v. Chr.)", *Meteorologische Zeitschrift* (Mai 1936), pp. 176-182.

¹¹ H.H. Lamb, *Climate History and the Modern World* (London, 1982), pp. 83-84, including Figure 34, "Thickness of the yearly mud layers (varves) in the bed of Lake Saki in the Crimea, indicating rainfall variations in the area since 2300 BC".

¹² Uli Schamiloglu, "Preliminary Remarks on the Role of Disease in the History of the Golden Horde", *Central Asian Survey* 12:4 (1993), pp. 447-457; and Schamiloglu, *The Golden Horde*, Chapter 9.

¹³ Uli Schamiloglu, "The End of Volga Bulgarian", *Varia Eurasistica. Festschrift für Professor András Róna-Tas* (Szeged, 1991), pp. 157-163; and "Bolgar tele kaya kitkän?", *Idel* 1994:4, pp. 46-48.

2. Written Sources for the History of the Golden Horde

The history of the Golden Horde must be reconstructed by relying on a wide variety of sources written in Arabic, Armenian, Chinese, Georgian, Greek, Italian, Latin, Mongolian, Persian, Russian, Turkic, and other languages. It would be impossible for me to do justice to the problems concerning the sources in all these languages: while I read printed editions of sources written in some of these languages, for some other languages I must rely exclusively on translations. I am well aware that a reliance on translations is fraught with danger: the English translation of the Russian *Nikonian Chronicle* regularly translates *orda* "Horde" of the original Russian as "Golden Horde".¹⁴ As a result, anyone using the English translation of this source will be misled into thinking that "Golden Horde" was the actual name of the state as documented in the Russian chronicles, even though I have noted above that this was never the case.

Unfortunately we have to accept our limitations as human beings and do the best that we can. While it is important that sources in the above languages be made available and studied as widely as possible, I will limit my comments below to sources in Islamic languages.

Students of the Golden Horde will no doubt remain in the debt of V.G. Tizengauzen for a long time to come.¹⁵ His publication of one volume of sources in Arabic and the posthumous publication of a second volume of sources in Persian will remain an important landmark in the history of the study of the Golden Horde. The first volume of Arabic texts remains a basic sourcebook for the study of the Golden Horde. Naturally, many of the Arabic sources which he edited in excerpts with translation have been published in modern editions, and many works have also appeared in authoritative translations into European languages. The only surprise is that so many scholars – especially historians of Russia – continue to ignore this work. Perhaps one solution would be to reprint it as is so that it would be more widely available. The second volume is also important, but much of this volume is devoted to Raşîd ad-Dîn and Cuvaynî, which are available in more recent editions. While Cuvaynî is available as a complete text and and in a complete translation, there are still important sections of Raşîd ad-Dîn – especially the *Şu`ab-i pancgâna* – that await their editor and translator.

It would, of course, be desirable to update Tizengauzen's Arabic and Persian volumes. In the case of the first volume, it would be most useful to update the printed Arabic texts based on the best modern editions and to provide translations into Russian and English. There are also philological problems that need to be addressed. For example, Tizengauzen confuses the names of Noğay and Toqta in a critical passage in his translation of the account of Mufađđal, whereas these names are interpreted correctly in the more recent edition of this work by Blochet.¹⁶ Such important corrections must be taken into account in any revised edition of Tizengauzen's work. It no longer makes sense to offer a partial publication of Raşîd ad-Dîn and Cuvaynî, so perhaps it would be wisest to republish the remaining texts of the second volume along with the first. All the relevant volumes of Raşîd ad-Dîn and Cuvaynî should be made available in both Russian and English. In this regard Russian scholars have already achieved

¹⁴ *The Nikonian Chronicle*, trans. S.A. Zenkovsky and B.J. Zenkovsky, i-v (Princeton, 1984-1989).

¹⁵ V.G. Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov otnosyashchixsya k istorii Zolotoy ordi*, i: *Izvelecheniya iz sochineniy arabskix* (St. Petersburg, 1884); and V.G. Tizengauzen, ed. A.A. Romaskevich and S.L. Voliniy, *Sbornik materialov otnosyashchixsya k istorii Zolotoy ordi*, ii: *Izvelecheniya iz persidskix sochineniy* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1941). The first volume of this work is also known under the French title *Recueil de matériaux relatifs à l'histoire de la Horde d'or*. The first half of volume one is also available in a Turkish translation by İ.H. İzmirlî, *Altınordu devleti tarihine ait metinler* (Istanbul, 1941).

¹⁶ Mufađđal, ed.-trans. E. Blochet, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, ii-iii, *Patrologia Orientalis* 14:3 and 20:1 (Paris, 1920-1928). See Uli Schamiloglu, "Tribal Politics and Social Organization in the Golden Horde", Ph.D. dissertation (Columbia University, 1986), pp. 138-139; and *The Golden Horde*, Chapter 6.

great success in the translation of Raşîd ad-Dîn, whereas Cuvaynî and one part of Raşîd ad-Dîn's work already have an excellent English translation. This work should be continued.

While in Kazan I am pleased to remember, as a Turkologist of Kazan Tatar background, my teacher for Turkic philology at Columbia University, Tibor Halasi-Kun. Prof. Halasi-Kun discovered many important medieval Kipchak sources in the archives in Istanbul, including the *yarlıq* of Uluğ Muhammad, xan of Kazan.¹⁷ Who knows what is to be found yet in the archives of Istanbul or other centers? As the research of István Vásáry shows, there is still much work to be done in the sphere of finding, researching, and publishing the documents preserved in the original Turkic or in translation from the period of the Golden Horde and its successor states. I myself once came across an Arabic translation of a "Mongol" *yarlıq* in the full edition of Qalqaşandî's work, but since I did not make a note of it at the time I have never been able to relocate it.¹⁸ These *yarlıqs* should be republished, of course, and I would note that it would be important to republish and translate into Russian and English the *yarlıqs* from the Crimean xanate first published by Vel'yaminov-Zernov.¹⁹

Now that I have mentioned the Crimean xanate, I must express my fury at the political circumstances that have led to a complete separation of the study the xanate of Kazan from the Crimean xanate and the other successor states to the Golden Horde. I am frankly concerned by the lack of knowledge among scholars in Kazan concerning the sources and history of the Crimean xanate. Especially considering the suffering of the Crimean Tatars, who cannot claim to have a historical discipline of their own at present, it is incumbent upon historians in Kazan to learn as much as they can not only about the xanate of Kazan, the xanate of Kasimov, and the Noğay Horde, but the Crimean xanate as well.

It is beyond the scope of this essay to review the sources and historiography of the later period, but I would like to recall that I have found the sources for the Crimean xanate absolutely essential for understanding the "*qaraçı bey*" system in the Crimea. Without this information, it would have been impossible to fully understand how this system worked in the Crimean xanate and the xanate of Kazan. Without understanding how this system worked in the Later Golden Horde (15th-18th centuries), I would never have been able to reconstruct this exact same system of four "*ulus beys*" in the Golden Horde. In other words, without the sources for the Crimean xanate, I would never have been able to understand a fundamental aspect of the Golden Horde. In other words, we never would have understood that the Golden Horde xan is not an autocrat, but a figure elected by four tribal leaders who participate fully in the affairs of state.

This should be a rallying cry for all students interested in the Golden Horde to learn Arabic, Persian, and especially Turkic languages such as Crimean Tatar, which in later periods is practically the same as Ottoman Turkish. From the perspective of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, there should be an effort to train more Arabists and Iranists, as well as Turkologists who can read Tatar and Ottoman Turkish. The single outstanding historical work from the northern territories of the Later Golden Horde is the *Cami üt-tevarix*, written in 1602 in the

¹⁷ T. Halasi-Kun, "Monuments de la langue tatare de Kazan", *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata*, Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica V (Budapest, 1942-1947), i, pp. 138-155; and "Philologica III. Kazan Türkçesine ait dil yadigârları", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 7 (1949), pp. 603-644.

¹⁸ Qalqaşandî, *Şubḥ al-a`şâ fî şinâ`at al-inşâ'*, i-xiv (Cairo, 1922).

¹⁹ *Materiali dlya istorii krîmskago xanstva, Izvlecheniya, po rasporyajeniyu Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk, iz Moskovskago glavnago arxiva Ministerstva inostrannix del*, ed. V.V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov (St. Petersburg, 1864).

xanate of Kasimov by Qadır Ali Calayir.²⁰ The remaining important sources of Tatar history are to be found in the Crimea, just as the only tomb of a former xan of Kazan is to be found in Bahçesaray:

1. Remmal Hoca, *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han*.²¹
2. *Tevarih-i Deşt-i Kıpçak* (ca. 1638).²²
3. Hacı Mehmed Senai, *Tarih-i İslam Giray Han* (1640s).²³
4. *Tarih-i Said Giray Han* (17th century).²⁴
5. Seyyid Muhammed Rıza (d. 1756), *Es-seb üs-seyyar*.²⁵
6. Abdülğaffar Kırımı, *Umdet ül-ahbar* (18th century).²⁶
7. Halim Giray Sultan, *Gülbün-i hanan* (1811).²⁷

Of course, there are many other kinds of sources for the history of the Crimea that also require further study. For this period there are numerous other sources in Persian and Turkic from Central Asia that require further study as well, such as the works excerpted in the collection of sources relating to Kazak history.²⁸ Only excerpts of these works were published in translation, and many outstanding sources such as the *Baḥr al-asrâr* still require further publication and study. And have I mentioned that there are also many Golden Horde-period tombstones in Bahçesaray that have yet to be studied?

3. Source Criticism

One of the major issues that still hampers research on the Golden Horde is a dearth of source criticism. This is especially important because so much of the information in different sources and source traditions is contradictory. One clear example in the case of the Russian chronicles is the fact that earlier source traditions were often rewritten and expanded in later centuries, sometimes for ideological purposes (including the invention of claims to the territories of the xanate of Kazan prior to its conquest).²⁹ These later traditions are at the heart of many of the problematic views of the traditional historiography. Another clear example is the confusion

²⁰ V.V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *Izslodovanie o kasimovskix tsaryax i tsarevichax*, i, Trudi Vostochnago otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago arxeologicheskago obshchestva 9 (St. Petersburg, 1864).

²¹ *Tarih-i Şahib Giray Han (Histoire de Sahib Giray, Khan de Crimée de 1532 à 1551)*, ed. Ö. Gökbilgin (Ankara, 1973).

²² A. Zaja, czkowski, *La Chronique des steppes kiptchak Tevarih-i deşt-i qipçaq du XVIIe siècle. Edition critique*, Prace orientalistyczne 16 (Warsaw, 1966).

²³ *Historia Chana Islam Gereja III*, ed.-trans. Z. Abrahamowicz (Warsaw, 1971).

²⁴ B. Heinkele-Kellner, *Aus den Aufzeichnungen des Sa'id Giray Sulṭan. Eine zeitgenössische Quelle zur Geschichte des Chanats der Krim um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 28 (Freiburg i.Br., 1975).

²⁵ *Asseb a-sseyyar ili sem planet*, ed. Mirza Kazembek (Kazan, 1832); trans. M. Kazimirski and A. Jaubert, "Précis de l'histoire des khans de Crimée, depuis l'an 880 jusqu'à l'an 1198 de l'hégire", *Journal Asiatique* 12 (1833), pp. 349-380 and 428-458.

²⁶ *Umdet üt-tevarih*, ed. Necib Asım, supplement to *Türk tarih encümeni mecmuası* (Istanbul, AH 1343/1924-5 CE).

²⁷ *Gülbün-i hanan, yahut Kırım tarihi*, ed. O. Cevdi (Istanbul, A.H. 1327).

²⁸ *Materiali po istorii kazaxskix xanstv XV-XVIII vekov*, ed.-trans. S.K. Ibragimov et al. (Alma-Ata, 1969).

²⁹ This has been treated brilliantly by J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan. Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438-1560s)* (The Hague-Paris, 1974); and C. Halperin, *The Tatar Yoke* (Columbus, 1986).

over the names of the White and Blue Hordes which we owe to the mistake in the so-called *Iskandar Anonymous* favored by Yakubovskiy.³⁰

Another new development in the field of Golden Horde studies is presented by the recent work on Islamization in the Golden Horde published by DeWeese.³¹ DeWeese follows the methodology of historians of religion who tend to accept a narrative source, usually a work connected with internal narratives about the historical importance of the past leaders of a religious movement such as a Sufi order, at face value. In this instance, DeWeese is examining a narrative of the conversion of Özbek Xan which is in all likelihood a later source tradition connected with attempts by Sufi orders to enhance their own legitimacy. At the same time, he neglects 14th century source material from the Golden Horde itself relevant for the study of the religious history of the Golden Horde, including an important religious handbook such as the *Nehc ül-feradis*.³² Apparently this is a methodological problem that is common in the study of Sufi orders in South Asia and elsewhere. Needless to say, DeWeese is not alone in ignoring the contemporary Islamic Turkic literature of the Golden Horde in favor of later source traditions, a problem of which other historians are also guilty.³³ My personal view is that one should not ignore the only major texts from the Golden Horde itself – the court literature of the Golden Horde – as a potential source for the history of the Golden Horde.

4. Major Topics for Research

It would be difficult to do justice to the many topics in the political, economic, social, and cultural history of the Golden Horde that require further consideration. I will be highly selective and offer only several of the themes that I think need to be examined in greater detail in the future.

One topic that has emerged out of my research on the social history of the Golden Horde is that the tribal system in the Golden Horde is hardly understood. It is possible to argue that the White Horde included the tribes Qiyat, Mangıt, Sicivut, and Qongrat, since they are listed in the early 16th century as the tribes of the Great Horde. But what else can we learn about the tribal history of the Golden Horde, and how is it related to the tribal confederations of the Later Golden Horde? What really was the origin of the Şirin tribe? Can we study the Noğays as the Mangıt tribe? What was the relationship of the tribes of the Golden Horde and its successor states to the tribes of the Uzbeks and the Kazaks? This is a topic that requires further investigation, and it also requires the study of the successor Tatar xanates to the Golden Horde in conjunction with the history of the Uzbeks and Kazaks, a difficult undertaking which was complicated by ideological issues in the 20th century.

I would like to make one additional comment in this regard. As is well known, modern national ideologies are constructs, and I have argued this for the Tatar case as well.³⁴ Just as we

³⁰ Naţanzî, see Tizengauzen, *Sbornik materialov*, ii; *Muntaxab at-tavârix-i Mu`înî*, ed. J. Aubin (Tehran, 1957); and B.D. Grekov and A.Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Zolotaya Orda i ee padenie* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950).

³¹ D. DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

³² *Nehcü 'l-ferâdis. Uştmahlarning açuq yoli (Cennetlerin açık yolu)*, ii; *Metin*, ed. János Eckmann et alia, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları 518 (Ankara, n.d. [?1988]).

³³ For an example of a reliance on later Islamic source traditions see M. Kafalı, *Altın orda hanlığının kuruluş ve yükseliş devirleri* (Istanbul, 1976).

³⁴ Uli Schamiloglu, "The Formation of a Tatar Historical Consciousness: Şihabüddin Märcani and The Image of the Golden Horde", *Central Asian Survey* 9:2 (1990), pp. 39-49; "Formirovanie istoricheskogo soznaniya tatar: Shigabuddin Mardjani i obraz Zolotoy Ordı", *Tatarstan* 1991:10, pp.

need to have a clearer idea of how the name “Tatar” has been used in the past, it is essential to have a clearer understanding of how the names “Uzbek” (*Özbek*) and “Kazak” (*Qazaq*) were or were not used in traditional societies, in other words: was there continuity in the use of ethnonyms such as “Uzbek” and “Kazak” into the Soviet period? This is critical, because in the Soviet period national histories were written (i.e., created) which traced the national history of the Uzbeks back in time on the basis of this name, and we know very well that Kazak historians look for their origins on the basis of sources that use the term *qazaq çıqmaq*, which roughly means “to go out of an established state system”. For me it is a rather problematic issue which requires further investigation.

Another issue that requires much more in depth research than has been possible for me is the deeper study of the Italian maritime republics – Venice, Genoa, and Pisa – in the Black Sea during the 13th-14th centuries. As I have indicated, the Golden Horde was a major exporter of bulk commodities (including grain) to Italy in this period.³⁵ I cannot even be sure at present where this grain was grown, how it was brought to market, or how any other aspect of this system might have worked.³⁶ Italian archives may reveal additional information about this and other important aspects of the economic history of the Golden Horde.

Finally, I hope that my work on the Golden Horde can serve as an agenda for further research on the Golden Horde – as I myself have intended – since there are so many other problems that I could not address in this essay nor resolve in my own work. If we consider one final example, that of the offices of *basqaq* and *daruğa(ç)i*, we can see that so much remains a mystery: how reliable are Russian accounts of various *baskaki*, was there a change in nomenclature without any specific structural change in their responsibilities, or was there a shift from direct tax collection by *basqaqs* to a system of tax farming by *daruğas* as a result of depopulation following the Black Death? And if the latter is the case, does it really matter since the revenues from exports to the Italian maritime republics – in which the xans were directly involved – was probably a much more significant source of revenue anyway. Many such questions remain, and I look forward to the debate over new questions in the study of the Golden Horde.

21-29; and “*İctihad* or *Millät*?: Reflections on Bukhara, Kazan, and the Legacy of Russian Orientalism”, *Osman Khoca Memorial Volume*, ed. Timur Kocaoğlu (forthcoming).

³⁵ Schamiloglu, *The Golden Horde*, Chapter 3.

³⁶ It is instructive in this regard to read P. Herlihy, *Odessa: A History, 1794-1914* (Cambridge, 1986).