

THE GOLDEN  
HORDE  
IN WORLD HISTORY

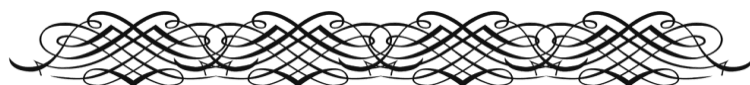


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# THE GOLDEN HORDE IN WORLD HISTORY



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## § 5. The Language of Written Records from the Golden Horde Period

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The development of Turkic literary languages during the Golden Horde period was an outstanding moment in the development of the culture of Turkic peoples. By the beginning of the 14th century, the Golden Horde had established itself as a powerful state in the Volga and Cis-Ural regions, and in Northern Khwarezm. Here blossomed centres of urban culture; cultural and economic life thrived. The Jochid empire was most politically and economically powerful during the reign of Khans Öz Beg (1312–1342) and Jani Beg (1342–1357), when growth in the economy and trade coincided with a sharp increase in central power, and a unified system of rule was established in the empire. With the support of the khan's administration, dozens of

major cities quickly developed, in which a luxurious, expressive, in many aspects eclectic style evolved. The study of historical works, along with other sources (yarliqs, various reports), leads us to conclude that the urban class (trade-craft, official, clerical) played an important part in the cultural life of the population of the Golden Horde, which significantly affected the need for spiritual values for the entire society.

By the beginning of the 14th century, Islam had been fully adopted as the state religion. This helped to promote the further integration of peoples, the creation of a single ethnos and left a deep imprint on all Turkic peoples of Eurasia [2, pp. 61–62; 11, pp. 177–185]. Religion played, without a doubt, a significant role in politics, ideology, the management of social institutions, the economy, trade, in spiritual culture and in the arts.

During this period, famous classical works of a religious and didactic nature were created, such as 'Qisas al-anbiya' (=QR) by Rabguzi (1310), 'Nahj al-Faradis' (=NF) by Mahmud Bulgari (1358), 'Jumjuma sultan' (=J) by Hisam Kyatib (1369), 'Kisekbash kitaby' (=Kb); and secular works, such as 'Muhabbat-name' (=Mn) by Khwarezmi (1353), 'Khosrow and Shirin' (=KS) by Qutb (1383), 'Gulistan bit-turki' (=Gb) by Seyf-i Sarayi (1391), etc. It should be noted that other active varieties of the literary language, namely, the language of yarliqs and bitiks belonging to the Golden Horde era, epigraphic inscriptions, etc., were current during this period.

In the opinion of the researchers who study the socio-cultural life of the cities and other cultural centres of the Golden Horde, these centres provided conditions for creation of oral-colloquial koiné, the linguistic basis of which was composed by Turks, speakers of dialects belonging to the Kipchak language group. The state language of the Golden Horde was Kipchak [4, p. 31; 11, pp. 94–101]. The cultural environment, the presence of administrative centres and local rulers, as well as an Islamic educational system replete with madrasahs, libraries, and literate mullahs—all of this created a basis for recording in a written manner a supra-dialectical form of the language; upon this basis, written literary texts of various genres and styles were created.

Many scholars have studied the problem of the establishment and development of literary languages in the Middle Ages: V. Radlov, A. Samoylovich, Ya. Ekman, E. Najib, E. Tennishev, G. Blagova, D. Nasilov, F. Khakimzyanov, F. Khisamova, F. Nurieva, among others.

A. Samoylovich's position on the uniformity of the Turkic people's literary language and its changeability under the influence of living dialects is at the basis of his proposed periodisation of the Turkic people's written culture within the framework of Islamic civilisation: the first period, centered in Kashgar, coincides with the initial establishment of the Kara-Khanid state; the second period, centered in the basin of the lower reaches of the Syr Darya and Khwarezm, coincided with the initial consolidation of Islam among the Oghuz and Kipchak peoples; the third period would then coincide with the beginnings of cultural life among the Timurids in a number of centres in the settled area of Chagataid Ulus. A. Samoylovich paid significant attention to the second period known as the Kipchak–Oghuz, as it was during this period—and not during the Chagatai period—that due to the formation of Chinggis Khan's Empire, conditions favourable to the development of a united literary language for all Muslim and Turkic tribes of the Mongol State occurred. Also, the origins of the main modern Islamic and Turkic literary languages can be traced to this period as well. The scholar points directly to the continuity of the modern Tatar language in reference to the literary language of the Golden Horde: '...the ancient Kipchak roots of the Kazan Tatar literary language, which survived several developmental periods, are not in the 15th century as generally assumed but in the earlier literary works of the Golden Horde, where Kipchak linguistic elements dominate. The same is true for the Crimean Tatar literary language' [7, p. 21]. A. Samoylovich's concept concerning the continuity of a uniform literary tradition was further developed in the works of E. Tennishev [9, pp. 67–85; 10, pp. 35–38].

One foremost authority on the history of medieval literary languages, E. Najib, contributed significantly to the illumination of the historical-cultural and linguistic situation during this period. As is known, the territory of the Jochid Ulus was vast, and the Golden Horde had several centres there. One of these cultural centres was Northern Khwarezm, in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, where more ancient traditions characteristic of Central Asian Turkic (Kara-Khanid and Uighur) written culture could still be found. Sarai was another such centre in the lower reaches of the Volga River in the 12–13th centuries. And in the 14th century a new centre appears—Mamluk Egypt [4, p. 16]. E. Najib conducted a set of comparative studies of written sources created in the Golden Horde and Egypt. These studies focused, first and foremost, on the distinctive lexical characteristics of these works, and the distribution and statistical analysis of lexemes in them according to their dialectal attributes. He drew the following conclusions: 1) by the 14th century the Kipchak-Oghuz literary language labeled *y*-group, which was common in the Golden Horde and Egypt, had formed. 2) Along with this qualitatively new literary language, the more archaic written language known as *z*-group continued to be used. E. Najib called it the Oghuz-Kipchak literary language of the Lower Volga region—Khwarezm [5, pp. 81–82]. According to E. Najib, as early as the 14th century, this mixed, Kipchak-Oghuz written literary language was finally established 'as the literary language of the Golden Horde—Turks of the Volga and Ural regions' [4, p. 31]. The Middle Volga region, where the city of Bulgar is located, was also a cultural centre. In this cultural centre of the Golden Horde, in contrast to the Lower Volga region, or, let us say, to Mamluk Egypt—where complex ethnic processes such as the intermingling of different Turkic tribes, the formation of supra-dialectal koiné, or the creation of literary versions of the language occurred after the Mongol conquests—here there existed an ancient cultural, in particular, written literary tradition [15, p. 30].

In Turkological literature, different terms are used to designate the literary language of the Golden Horde, such as 'mixed Kipchak-Oghuz literary language', 'Volga Turki', 'Turko-Tatar', 'Khwarezm-Turkic literary language', 'Khwarezm-Golden Horde written language', 'Eastern Turkic language', 'Golden Horde-Egyptian literary language'. According to the majority of researchers, the literary language of the Golden Horde differs notably in its structural properties from the preceding Kara-Khanid and Uighur languages, and functions in different ways: in the 'Oghuzed' variant of the Golden Horde language (which absorbed Oghuz elements) and the 'Kipchaked' variant (that is, which absorbed Kipchak features). Although the term 'mixed language' is used in research, this notion has not, however, been clearly articulated. Turkologists interpret the term 'mixed' to mean that a written source contains phonetic, grammatical, and lexical elements belonging, in their opinion, to a language of a different classification group. Notably, these language elements are usually attributed to a certain group of languages or dialects (Kipchak, Oghuz, Uighur, Karluk). Meanwhile, in modern linguistics the expression 'mixed language' has a specific meaning. It applies, in particular, to Creole languages that arose under specific socio-cultural conditions. As a rule, in these cases we are talking about substantial shifts in the lexical and grammatical systems of contact languages or dialects. In the existing Turkological tradition, 'mixing' means not a change in a language system but the use in the language of one written source of dialecticisms, which are considered the norm in another written source. Notably, here one sees both synchronous matches and archaic phenomena typical of a language of another historical period. Such terminological ambiguity makes the comparative study of the language of written sources very difficult, because characteristics of 'mixing' are not universal for all researchers—this calls for the development of clear and uniform criteria for evaluating the language of a written source.

Given the existing problem in Turkology with the expression 'mixed language' of a written source, terms such as 'fundamental' and 'peripheral' systems [1] that were introduced by G. Blagova are widely used. Besides, they correlate with the notions of norm and variation. When classifying the language of a written source, we start by dissecting the text and singling out its

fundamental and peripheral elements. Based upon the phonetic-graphic and morphological features singled out by us and their statistical review, we see that every written source is a specific and living reflection of linguistic conditions. These selected phonetic-morphological features serve as markers when classifying Turkic languages.

*Religious-Didactic Texts.*

One written source, '**Qisas al-anbiya**' by **Rabguzi** (further QR), was composed in 1310 in the Northern part of Khwarezm. An ancient manuscript of it, kept in the British Museum of London, dates back to 1489. It should be emphasised that this manuscript was very popular in the Islamic world, which is why a great number of copies—approximately 35—have come down to us in manuscript archives. This number also does not reflect those held by private persons. Copies of the manuscript have been found in a wide range of geographical locations, including the Russian Federation, Tatarstan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and others. These copies were clearly updated by scribes, who introduced numerous language innovations into the text. Thus, our research is based on the most ancient copy. Ultimately, linguistic analysis allowed us to distinguish the following normative phonetic and graphic features. Compare: the language of KR includes a one-variation traditional spelling of words with <sup>ا</sup> (alif), such as <sup>ا</sup>ندك و ادڭü 'righteous'; the graphic variation carries a certain semantic differentiation: ار *är* 'man', ار *ir* 'warrior'. Labial harmony is consistently preserved; words with the  $\delta$ -grapheme are the orthographic norm, but variation appears in later copies. The **-q**-grapheme in the intervocalic position ساق پندی is also consistently preserved: *saqyndy* 'thought', the combinations **-ayü-**, **-uyü-**, **-yyü-**: اغ يز *ayyz* 'mouth', the auslaut ساريغ *saryy* 'yellow'.

Among morphological features, the fundamental declension system is related to the Uighur-Kipchak type. In the system of tenses, we observe multifunctional and wide use of past tense forms with **-dy**: *aldymyz* 'we took'. Among the group of absolute present and future tenses, we have the frequent form with **-ar**, **-ur**: *jaturman* 'I'm lying', the future tense with **-yaj**: *kiçürkäjmin* 'I will forgive', having full conjugation paradigm in the future tense. The optative mood has the forms **-ajyn**, **-alyñ**: *körküzäjin* 'I will show you'. In the attributive function, two forms co-exist **-yan** and **-myş**. The action noun is represented only by the form **-maq**: *oşbu kitmäkidin ölmäkimni tilär irsäñ* 'if by leaving me you wish I were dead'. These features refer to the fundamental characteristics of the language of the written source and are, at the same time, characteristic of the Kara-Khanid Uighur literary language.

Another large-scale religious-didactic work, namely, '**Nahj al-Faradis**' (henceforth **NF**) by **Mahmud al-Bulgari as-Sarai**, is chronologically close to QR. Despite the small number of copies found—only ten—this written source played an important role in the cultural life of the Tatar people. It is especially interesting in terms of the study of the history of public opinion in the medieval Volga region, because its author relied on a great number of works (there are a total of 20 recorded sources) by famous Muslim theologians. This text represents a blending of religious and moral doctrines embodied in an artistic form. Fascinating novellas and wise parables were supposed to encourage loyalty to Islam and lasting immunity to temptations lying in wait for a Muslim on the way to celestial bliss. Thus, the text differs from QR specifically in its didactic nature. As a result, the language of NF is replete with descriptive devices, synonyms, antonyms, idioms, etc. As a whole, it could be characterised as close to a folk-colloquial form. This interaction of the literary norm and the folk-colloquial language is corroborated by the fact that in the language of NF, much more than in the language of the previous source, we find variation both in the phonetic-graphic development of the lexicon and in its grammatical features. But even here, however, one can trace the adherence to a basic system taking root in a stable written tradition. These fundamental features in grapho-phonetics include consistent preservation of labial harmony in word stems, and in genitive case and possessive affixes, **-luq**, **-suz**: <sup>ك</sup>ورك *körklük* 'beautiful', in the forms of adverbial participles. However, in NF there are certain examples of spelling of the affixes that violates labial harmony (most often, these

are possessive affixes or ones involving the past definite tense). In the stems with an alternating vocalic anlaut, the word written with <sup>1</sup> (alif) is most often replaced with -ا (alif yay). However, this is not a consistent variation. Variation also becomes common with the use of **d~δ~j** and the predominance of the written **δ**-grapheme: *quδuy* 'well', *idi* 'owner', etc. The expansion of the function of -ج: *qajyu* 'grief', etc. demonstrates elements of colloquial speech in the graphics. When **-q-** dominates in the intervocalic position, the variation *jaruyy* 'his light' appears. However, the combination **-ayu-**, **-uyu-**, **-ygy-** is rigidly preserved, as well as the auslaut **-γ**: *buyun* 'joint', *bay* 'link', etc. Among new phenomena are a consistent reflection of sonority and voicelessness in case affixes and those of the past definite tense. The declension system continues to reflect the Uighur-Kipchak pattern, while low-frequency peripheral forms mirror the Oghuz declension. Tense markers in their distribution are close to KR data. Lexical elements of Turkic origin dominate in the vocabulary. The plot of the written source provides an opportunity for the full play of artistic and graphic devices. It is interesting to note that many idioms continue to survive in the modern Tatar language, both in form and content. Compare: *irgä barmaq* 'to get married', *küz qamaşmaq* 'mottled vision', *til tigürmäk* 'to talk a lot', etc.

Analysis of this written source, which was based upon statistical review of fundamental norms and peripheral elements, demonstrates that in the language of NF we find reflected the stable Kara-Khanid Uighur literary language. There is, in fact, an increase in its variation when compared with KR. In our opinion, this is related, on the one hand, to its content, which was aimed at a wider audience; on the other hand, this may have been due to the increasing influence of the colloquial environment—the Kipchak koiné.

The next chronological cut-off dates back to 1369 and is reflected in the language of **'Jumjuma Sultan' by Hisam Kyatib** (hereafter J). Popular in the Volga region, it is a religious-didactic work. Kyatib was an outstanding poet of his time. This poem begins in an intriguing and exciting way: the author philosophises about the frailty of earthly existence, about the fact that eventually all turn to ashes, and that in the afterlife we are all tormented for our actions, regardless of who we were on earth. The poet, in artistically depicting the life and deeds of the hero, Jumjuma Sultan, conveys his own ideas through the hero's narration: he convincingly expresses the idea of humanism and the notion that a ruler should take care of his people. The poem also concludes philosophically with the statement that Islam is the most righteous religion.

In the language of this written source, we see preserved its Kara-Khanid Uighur basis, which is reflected in its basic features, such as the preservation of labial harmony: *küzüm* 'my eye', the voiceless **-q-** in the intervocalic position: *çyqyb* 'coming out', the auslaut **-γ**: *quruy* 'dry', the traditional combinations, such as **-uyu-**, **-ayy-**: *ayyz* 'mouth', etc. The most interesting thing in this written source is the violations of labial harmony; there is an increase in the use of -ا (alif yay), which becomes a fundamental phonetic feature of a number of words like *iki* 'two', *ir* 'man'. The **d**-feature is completely absent, but the **δ~j** variation is preserved, where the grapheme **-δ-** is the linguistic norm: *ađaq* 'leg'. It is noteworthy that basic Kipchak declensions include a form of the ablative case with the affix **-dyn**: *başdin* 'from the head'. The past tense in **-dy** is one of the most frequent tense forms and is used to create the general background to the narrative. Another characteristic feature of the source is its structural consistency in conjugation according to person and number. As regards the perfective past, there is only one form encountered, the one with **-myş** in the third person singular. The present tense form in **-a**, **-jur**: *suwlar aqa* 'waters flow', *tiläjürmän* 'I want'; the future definite tense form with **-ysar**: *žan quş uçasar* 'soul will fly away like a bird'; participle in **-an**, adverbial participle in **-uban**: *taxtemqa kütäribän määndürdilär* 'raising him up, they set him upon the throne', are regarded as peripheral. Since we are acquainted with this text only through later copies that have come to us, one can assume that the noticeable increase in Kipchak linguistic features in it was due to the linguistic peculiarities of its latest scribes. But, against the

general background of the written sources studied, we see a picture of the gradual, progressive introduction of Kipchak linguistic features into the traditional fundamental system of the Kara-Khanid Uighur literary language.

*Secular texts.*

Secular texts include analyses of the following: 'Khosrow and Shirin' by Qutb (1383), 'Muhabbat-name' by Khwarezmi (1353), 'Gulistan bit-turki' by Seyf-i Sarayi (1391). As is evident from historiographic review, turkologists have often studied secular texts. Taking into account the achievements of our predecessors, we analysed the aforementioned texts using the language stratification method based upon fundamental and peripheral components. The most significant result of this approach was the classification of the primary linguistic system of '**Khosrow and Shirin**' (hereafter KS) among the Kara-Khanid Uighur tradition; the two other texts, based upon their primary forms, we consider representatives of the Kipchak language system. The difference is explained, first and foremost, by the fact that Qutb, the author, who was from the Volga region, tied his literary activities to Sarai; he created this work at the end of his life by order of the ruler Tini Beg. As literary specialists have established, the work 'Nizami', written in classical, literary Farsi, served as its model. Thus, we must pay attention to the certain influence of the artistic form of the poem 'Nizami' on Qutb's work. Besides, when presenting his work to the ruler of the Golden Horde, Qutb, naturally, would have adhered to traditional etiquette and used a high poetic style clothed in the literary poetic form of the language common to the Turkic literature of that period, which is rooted in the Kara-Khanid Uighur tradition. All of these factors, it seems,— Qutb's high educational level, his old age, the fact that his work was ordered by the khan, and traditional court etiquette— influenced the specific characteristics of Qutb's poem 'Khosrow and Shirin'. Labial harmony in the language of 'Khosrow and Shirin' no longer forms a single strict system. A complex interrelation of the written tradition and living colloquial language is observed, which is evident from the variation in the spelling of a great number of words and word forms. Compare: بولوت *bulut* (17 times) ~ بولت *bulyt* (8 times) 'clouds'. Characteristic of the language of 'Khosrow and Shirin' is the use of elision of -γ, -q, which, by the way, violates labial harmony: جازوق *jazuqluy* ~ لى *jazuqly* 'sinful'. In the anlaut, the spelling of the diagraph - *alif + yav*' is consistently preserved: لى *il* 'hand', لى *ir* 'man', لى *iw* 'house', although partial variation is noted: لى *irin* ~ لى *ärin* 'lips'. The alternations of **d~δ~j can also be traced**. In many words, the grapheme **δ**- is traditionally preserved, though there are words appearing as duplicates: اداق *adaq* (77 words) ~ اقا *ajaq* (20 words) 'leg'. Although the relative stability of the auslaut -γ is noted, there is variation in the spelling with an omission of the final -γ with the auslaut -γ, like قوروق *quruy*. This is used in the text 14 times, and with the -γ قورو omitted *quru* 4 times. Declension is based upon Uighur-Kipchak forms, but structurally regular peripheral characteristics are associated with Oghuz forms. In the system of past tenses, the form in **-dy dominates**: *juraqdyn kälidiniz bir däm tynnyyz* 'you came from afar, have some rest'. The perfect with **-mys** is used extensively: *xasis tuşlarğa ol gäwhär qatylmyş Jusuf teg qadyu quduyunğa atylmyş* 'these pearls have been thrown on rough stones, just like Yusuf was thrown into the well of grief'; the perfect in **-yp** and **-yan is quite rare**: *fäläkni täzgitib julduz jürtkän qamuyny hykmi birlä häm igitkän bu munça yilm vä hikmätlär jaratyan qaranyu tünni kün birlä jarutyan* 'While turning the sky around, he moved the stars, by his orders he helped everything to grow, created so much knowledge and wonder, lighted up the dark night with stars'. The present tense form with **-a** is noted in eight instances; **-jur**, 58 times. For example: *aj üstünä ol hyrqa ürtä* 'she covers the moon with her clothes'; *süçüg til birlä mini aldajursän* 'you envelop me with your sweet words'.

As regards '**Gulistan bit-turki**' (hereinafter Gb) by Seyf-i Sarayi, this work is a translation of the famous work 'Gulistan' by Saadi. Sarayi was famous among poets and scholars of the Golden Horde as an outstanding master of poetics, and therefore, his friends recommended him for the translation. We know that Sarai was born in 1321 in the Volga region, that he studied



and was engaged in literary activities in Sarai, and that in the 1380s he emigrated to Mamluk Egypt [for more details, refer to 17]. Thus, Sarayi's native language belonged to the Kipchak family, but thanks to his education, he mastered the language of Turkic classical literature of that time. Therefore, in comparison to KS, the conditions in which Gb was created were different. In our opinion, this explains why, in the fundamental language system of this written source, one finds evidence of a Kipchak linguistic basis.

'Gulistan bit-turki', in terms of its genre, is close to KS but differs from it in its fundamental linguistic forms. The following distinctive features serve as proof of the significant introduction of Kipchak elements into the system of Gb: in the text, the anlaut -ا (alif yay) and ی (yay) dominate in the closed syllable; the language of Gb relates to the group with the **j**-feature, all the words of which are written in the same way with the **j**-grapheme; the assimilation of the auslaut -**q** at the juncture of lexical elements is observed: اچاق اچاق (21 words) ~ غایا اچاق (11 words); the auslaut -**γ** is always omitted: اچی *açy* 'angry, mean', یارلی *jarly* 'poor', ساری *sary* 'yellow', etc. Judging by its forms and main structural parameters, the fundamental declension system appearing in the language of Gb is related to Kipchak. Peripheral forms varying in the text: the dative case -**a** and the accusative case -**yny** in the 3rd person nominal possessive paradigm are related to Oghuz declination forms. The system of preterite forms typically includes the features -**yan**, -**myş**, -**yp**, although the tense form with -**myş** is encountered rarely; the most universal is the past tense form with -**yp**, which is represented by two models: -**yp tur**+personal endings; -**yp**+personal endings, which are observed in all 3 persons. This form focuses on the result of an action, and sometimes there is evidence of non-obvious modality. There are rare occurrences of the form with -**a**, which in the respective text may render the semantics of the future tense. Compare: *süzlämäk tiläbiz niçäkim türk adäb ilä şıyr* 'we want to read the poem according to the Turkic rules'. Verbal forms are represented by the affixes -**maq**, -**maqlıq**, and in certain cases, the supine -**rıya** is observed: *üç alurıya duşmanyndin waqt bar* 'there is a time to take revenge on the enemy'.

The history of the creation of the third source, the poem 'Muhabbat-name' by Khwarezmi (hereinafter MN), is exactly the same. Khwarezmi was a famous poet who lived in the territory of the Golden Horde, specifically, in Sygnak. There he received a request from Muhammad Khoja Beg to create a poem, *bizniñ til birlä*, 'in our language', that is, in the Turkic-Kipchak language. Khwarezmi modeled his work on 'Muhabbat-name', a popular work in the East, which was a collection of love messages embodied in poetic form. While fulfilling his patron's specific artistic request, Khwarezmi (his real name remains unknown) created a work the language of which is based upon Kipchak roots. As with other authors, Khwarezmi's work is not a word for word translation of the original but its free rendering. Against the backdrop of the last two written sources, the language of KS, which was based on Kara-Khanid Uighur, contains a rather significant stratum of Kipchak elements in variations at the level of peripheral signs. As our analysis demonstrates, the Kipchak elements become the norm in the language of this written source.

The study of the language of 'Muhabbat-name' is important within the larger scale of research being conducted on the establishment and formation of the literary language of the Golden Horde, including its connections with other literary languages of Turkic peoples; and in determining the influence of its norms on literary languages in later periods. As already mentioned, in this written source, the Kipchak language elements begin to dominate. Thus, in the anlaut -ا (alif yay) are recorded, which is typical only of Kipchak languages: ایرین *irin* 'lip', لیلی *illi* 'fifty', etc. Whereas **d~δ~j** may alternate, in the written work we find only one variation spelled with -**j**. The intervocalic -**q** is generally preserved; in the auslaut, there is a voiceless -**q**: قابوق *qabuq* 'door', voiced -**γ** in the affix -**lyy** is always absent: کورکللی *körklü* 'beautiful'. The fundamental declension system is closer to that of Kipchak, while peripheral forms are more similar to the Oghuz. The low frequency Karluk type declension is observed in the dative

and locative cases. The perfective aspect is represented by two competing forms, **-γan**, **-yp tur**. Examples: *çiçäk japaqlary jirgä tüşüptür* 'flower petals were scattered on the ground'; *iki jaktu gävhar yälämga birgän* 'he gave two light pearls to the world'. The attributive function is manifested more actively by the Kipchak form **-γan**, while the Oghuz forms **-mys̄**, **-an** are recorded in only a few instances. Among forms of the adverbial modifier in the language of MN, the adverbial participle with **-yp** clearly dominates; there are extremely rare occurrences of the form with **-a**, **-u**., usually in repetition (although they may occur with different stems): *külä ojñaju* 'laughing and playing'. The action noun is represented by the form **-maq**; there are a few examples with **-maya** and **-rya**: *seniñ yışqynda sajrarya Xaräzmi* 'in order to sing your love to Khwarezmi'; *jyraq min baqmaya imkän joq äj žan* 'I am far away, no chance to feast my eyes on you, oh, my soul'.

The language of the poem is colorful, rich, and metaphoric. The author skilfully employs various artistic devices, in particular, epithets, comparisons, and metaphors. Quite often, Khwarezmi creates a portrait of an amazingly beautiful girl by means of comparisons: *irür jüzi qujaş tek yäläm ara* 'will beautify her face as the sun beautifies the universe', *saçyñ bir taryna miñ xor yitmas* 'thousands of houris are unworthy of a single of your hairs', etc. The poem is adorned with numerous artistic metaphors: *ysyrğan danasi – zührä, jüzün – aj* 'Venus is only a gem in your earring, and the Moon is your face', etc.

The previous texts representative of the written literary language of the Golden Horde that we analysed above do not exhaust, however, the number of written examples of the Turkic-Tatar literary language of that period. Other important sources are Arab-Kipchak glossaries, grammar books, and translated literary works from the 13–16th centuries, which were created in Mamluk Egypt over some 250 years. Among original sources a special place is held by the '**Codex Cumanicus**' (hereafter CC), which is a major written source of the Kipchak colloquial language of the Golden Horde. It is also a very good source for studying the history of the establishment and development of nearly all modern languages belonging to the Kipchak group. The language of the 'Codex' is already referred to as Tatar in the work itself. For example, 'Iisus Hristos bitik tilinçe, tatarça 'kutkardaçı' tatar tilge konelde'. Translation: 'Jesus Christ, as it is written, was translated into the Tatar language as Saviour' [23, pp. 48, 83]. This written source is valuable because the Turkic language is represented in Latin graphics, which allows a more precise reflection of phonetic peculiarities. In the texts of this written source, the focus is basically not only on the spoken language but also, most importantly, on the availability of the language in the Turkic environment. It is exactly for this reason that the written source is a valuable fixed record of oral Kipchak dialects in the 13–14th centuries. This is demonstrated, in particular, by the regular **j**-feature: all words are written using the univariate **j**. Stable vocalisation of the intervocalic **-q-** is observed, although there are instances when it is preserved: *çyγar* 'let go', *saγyş* 'sorrow', *joqary baqyp* 'looking upward', etc. The combination **-aγγy**, **-uγu** is regularly reflected in the diphthong **-uw**: *awuz* 'mouth', *buzau* 'calf'. The final **-γ** is regularly omitted: *bitti* 'letter', *jamau* 'patch', *tau* 'mountain'. In the declension, the genitive case complies with labial harmony; accusative case formatives include **-ny**, **-ni**, in the 3rd person **-yn** (17 times) and **-yny** (18 times) co-exist equally; the dative case is represented by the affix **-qa-** and its respective harmonic variants, the original form of which is **-dan**, **-tan**. The infix **-n-** is commonly used in possessive-nominal declension. Thus, the illustrative material of the dictionary demonstrates clear Kipchak declension type. The tense form with **-yp tur** is used frequently, but the form with **-γan** and **-mys̄** is comparatively rare. Thus, we can absolutely confirm that Kipchak is the fundamental language type appearing in the 'Codex Cumanicus'.

The development of Turkic literary languages during the period of the Golden Horde was an important stage in the cultural evolution of Turkic peoples. A formal business style—of *yarliqs* and *bitigs*—developed actively. Commenting upon the fundamental linguistic structure in Toktamys̄h's *yarliq* to Jagiello (1393) and Temür Qutlugh's (1398) *yarliq*, the researcher

F. Khisamova points out language peculiarities typical for the Volga area: the declension is absolutely Kipchak; the participle form *-gan* is used extensively, such as *olturgan* 'sitting solemnly', *tuşmanlık kılğan Bekbulat* 'hostile Bekbulat'; and the infinitive form *-ırğa*: *tuta tururğa altın nişanlıq al tamğalıq jarlıq bärildi* 'a yarlıq with a golden seal and scarlet tamga was granted', etc. [15, pp. 54–57]. The specificity of these yarlıqs, according to F. Khisamova, is explained by the typological proximity of this business style to the specific regions where these yarlıqs appeared. This diversity in the literary language of the Golden Horde is, as is well known, directly related to the Volga River region: in it, to a greater extent than in other functionally stylistic varieties of the written language of that period, the linguistic peculiarities of local Turkic tribes are reflected [15, p. 59]. Having analysed over two hundred epitaphs devoted to Volga Bulgars and taken into consideration the graphic peculiarities involved in rendering Turkic words using the Arabic alphabet, F. Khakimzyanov was able to fully describe the graphic-phonetic structure, the phonetic-grammatical and lexical characteristics of the language of these inscriptions. As this scholar noted, the vocabulary in this group of written sources has much in common with modern Kipchak languages, mainly with the Tatar language. Lexical elements with Kipchak features are quite distinct at different language levels: this is reflected in the morphology in the formation of the past tense participle with the help of the affix *-ğan* (*asrağan* 'who brought up'); in the formation of the aditive case with the help of *-ğa* (*baqıy dunjaya* 'to the eternal world'), etc. At the same time, there are indications of the Kara-Khanid Uighur literary tradition in the epigraphs; Arabic-Persian borrowings also play a certain role [13, pp. 64–65]. Taking into account F. Khakimzyanov's rather convincing facts regarding the formation of a supra-dialect of common Turkic (Kipchak) in the pre-Mongol period in Volga Bulgaria, one can assume that this tradition must have also played a role in the creation of a regional variant of the literary language during the Golden Horde period.

Our research demonstrates that the written literary form of the language of the Golden Horde, as it developed in literary centres, was initially oriented to the phonetic-graphical and grammatical norms of literary languages prevalent in the Kara-Khanid Uighur area. This can be explained by the fact that during this historical period, the aforementioned areas were centres from which Islamic education spread; this education also included, apart from religious fundamentals, instruction in the respective forms of the written literary language, which was, first and foremost, a religious-didactic literature. Beginning with the establishment of the Golden Horde as an independent state, cultural life in the Horde was heavily influenced by famous Muslim devotees-theologians, whose names are known to us from the works of historians Sh. Marjani, M. Usmanov, and G. Davletshin, and from literary works such as 'Nahj al-Faradis' by Mahmud Bulgari themselves. Therefore, it is not surprising that in regional literary centres of the Golden Horde the literary language played such a significant role. Based upon the Kara-Khanid Uighur variant of the Turkic written language, this literary form secured its position in these centres. At the same time, the majority of the population of the Ulus of Jochi, both settled and nomadic, spoke tribal languages of the Kipchak type, although among the residents of the Golden Horde there were also speakers of Oghuz and Karluk type languages, such as Uighurs who worked in governmental offices. Thus, due to ethno-demographic conditions, those bearers of Islamic tradition we mentioned previously found themselves mainly among a Kipchak-speaking population. This ethnic situation aided in the establishment in cultural and trading centres of a supra-dialectal koiné based upon the Kipchak language environment. It is exactly this factor we find confirmed in our research materials: there is direct evidence of the influence of a folk-colloquial koiné, which was established under the aforementioned conditions, based upon the norms of the literary language of the examined period. The influence and interaction of the old tradition with new linguistic processes is reflected in different ways in the language of individual sources and was dependent on the genre of a written source (religious-didactic literature remained more consistent, while secular literature adopted innovations faster); on the

author's educational level and affiliation with a particular literary-artistic school; on the customer who ordered the work as, for example, 'Khosrow and Shirin' by Qutb, or 'Muhabbat-name' by Khwarezmi; on specific conditions in the location where the work was created; on the scribe, his tribal affiliation, and his level of proficiency in his native language. We can now state that in early written sources belonging to the Golden Horde, the Kara-Khanid Uighur tradition was firmly preserved, and that parallel to it in the Volga region, a new variant of the regional literary language was being formed.

Among phonetic-graphic features the following were stable: labial harmony, the intervocalic **-q-**, and combinations such as **-aɣu-**. As for phonetic features, the most dynamic and least stable are [ä], which gradually gives way to the narrow, non-labialised front vowel [i], which is reflected in writing; the replacement of **-δ** with **-j**, as the language of written sources reflects the process when the **j**-grapheme enters into the language of the texts. The maximum number of phonetic features identified as representative of the Kara-Khanid Uighur tradition is used in 'Qisas al-anbiya' by Rabguzi; the minimum, in the 'Codex Cumanicus'.

Morphological description of the language of these written sources demonstrates that they also reflect general rules of language formation during the Golden Horde period. Significantly, their morphological parameters correspond to phonetic and graphic phenomena.

Analysis of morphological categories leads to the following conclusions: based upon the systematic study of the declension system in the written sources, the subsequent matching of all data from the analysis of every source, and upon consideration of all coincidences and deviations, we can now confirm that the transition from the Uighur-Kipchak declension type to the Kipchak type began in the 14th century. Forms outside of the basic declension system coincide in many respects. For example, in the noun paradigm such forms are the dative case with **-a** (in KS, Gb, MN, J), the accusative case with **-i** (in MN, Gb), the ablative case with **-dan** (in KS, MN). Considering their position in the declension system of each written source allows us to identify them as belonging to the Oghuz type. They are peripheral in relation to the fundamental declension system.

An analysis of synthetic **aspect-tense verbal forms** also demonstrated active interaction between the written literary tradition and a regional koiné; this interaction appeared to be non-uniform and varying in the language of specific written sources in the Golden Horde.

As for **past tense forms**, in the language of written sources from the 13th to the beginning of the 15th centuries, the most common and polysemantic was the **-dy** form. The use of all three forms of the perfect: **-mys**, **-yan**, **-yp tur** is quite limited, and reflects a living process of evolution in the perfect system: this includes the appearance in the literary language of the new Kipchak form **-yan**; **-mys** as a poetic expressive device used in the prestigious literary tradition, and the colloquial-dialectal form **-yp tur**.

The analysis of the tense system in the Golden Horde's written sources demonstrates that this system,—along with stable fundamental components stemming from earlier stages in the development of Turkic languages that reflect, primarily, the Kara-Khanid Uighur language tradition,—in the new Volga areal, as with the declension system, experiences marked shifts towards inclusion of new, local regional Kipchak forms: **-a**, **-a turur**, **-yan**, **-yb**, **-ybtur**. Significantly, the language of certain written sources reflects different stages in this development (compare the language of NF and MN).

In the field of **impersonal substantive forms**, the absolutely dominant form is **-maq**, the synonym of which is **-maya**. The form **-maq**, which is characteristic of a number of Turkic languages, generally is typical of Turkic languages of the Eastern areal. Its use in literary sources is related, most probably, to the post-Kara-Khanid period, and first became widespread in the language of the Golden Horde and Chagatai written sources. Out of the nine sources analysed by us, only in the language of KS, MN, Gb, CC is the new substantive form **-rya** present. It functions more often as the supine, that is, it designates the goal of an action. Despite

its low frequency, this form is regional, typical of the language of the Volga region. Thus, in the analysed written sources, we see recorded the initial stage in the dispersal of this form among languages of the Volga region.

On the one hand, the linguistic analysis we conducted, which has important socio-linguistic content, allowed us to reveal the origins of the Old Tatar literary language. These origins, nourished by a continuous Turkic literary tradition, date back to the era of the Turkic and Uighur Khaganates. On the other hand, we defined the role played by the regional Kipchak koiné which, widely spread within the territory of the Golden Horde, critically influenced the old literary language; this eventually led to the formation of an early, regional literary language. Subsequently, the Tatar (in historiography, the pre-national period is referred to as Old Tatar) literary language developed intensively and was used mainly in the Tatar khanates. The fundamental system of the regional Old Tatar language remained Kipchak. Cultural, historical, and linguistic conditions in the Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberian Khanates helped to preserve its traditional archaic features. In the Crimea, as the Ottoman Turkish language began to influence the fundamental grammatical forms of the literary language, southern Turkish traditional elements began to dominate to a great extent.

When, as a result of Muscovy's active international policy in the East, Tartar Khanates became part of Russia, a functional variation of the Old Tatar literary language used in official business or diplomacy continued to actively develop. F. Khisamova's detailed study of the language of numerous official documents related to diplomatic correspondence with the East, as well as examples of administrative documents within Russia, demonstrated that the fundamental language of Old Tatar business correspondence was rather close to spoken Tatar. Its dialectal basis was absolutely Tatar. That is why it was referred to everywhere at that time in the language of official business as 'Tatar writing', the 'Tatar language' [15, pp. 376–377]. This style originated in well-known *yarliqs* and charters belonging to the Golden Horde, Kazan and Crimean Khanates. And this tradition remained stable during the centuries that followed, due to the functional importance of the official business style as one form of diplomatic language and administrative correspondence. F. Khisamova demonstrated in her work that business correspondence in the 16–18th centuries extended far beyond the borders of Tatar settlements. As the language of Russian diplomacy, charters and letters in the Tatar language were sent to countries such as India, China, Iran, and Turkey. This written language was widely used in administrative correspondence not only in regions settled by Tatars but also, as the eastern borders of the Russian Empire expanded, in administrative centres such as Orenburg and Kizlyar. As a result of this, administrative correspondence with representatives of Turkic and even non-Turkic peoples like the Kumyks, Chechens, and Kabardians was conducted in the very same Tatar language. In most cases, scribes and translators were also selected from among Kazan Tatars. Correspondence with Nogais, Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, and the Uzbek Khanates was conducted in a similar way [15, p. 377]. The Old Tatar literary language, spreading beyond the Volga River region, influenced the formation of regional writing traditions in Siberia, the North Caucasus, Kazakhstan, and in other regions with a Turkic-speaking population. Addressing the function of the Old Tatar language in Kazakh Khanate offices, F. Faseyev paid special attention to this problem. 'While remaining Old Tatar-Turkic in its basic parameters, as early as in the 18th century, it reflected and adopted a number of Kazakh elements, such as names of local objects or phenomena, titles, terms, personal names, and placenames. Later in the 19th century, while enriching itself with Kazakh phonetic-lexical-grammatical elements, the Old Tatar administrative language gradually evolved into the language of Kazakh business correspondence, after which it was used in other fields, such as in print media, the recording of Kazakh folklore, in written poetry and textbooks ... By the end of the 19th century it had become, in essence, the old written Kazakh language. Thus, with the help of an earlier language—in this case, the Tatar

administrative language—a new written Turkic language was established. This is a common practise in the derivation of new Turkic literary languages' [8, p. 37].

Thus, study of the language used in written sources belonging to the Golden Horde confirms that the literary language of the Horde, which was spread over a huge territory, is basically Kipchak; its structure differs remarkably from the preceding Kara-Khanid Uighur literary language. In the 16–18th centuries, the basic system of the regional Tatar language, which was a spin-off from the Kipchak literary language of the Golden Horde, remained relatively stable during its lifetime.

Abbreviated notations of the sources referenced in the text:

Gb – A Fourteenth century turkic translation of Sa`dis Culistan (Sayfi Sarayis Culistan biturki). By A. Bodrogligeti. Budapest, 1969. 450 p.

J – Islamova A. Issledovanie yazyka tyurksko-tatarskogo pamyatnika XIV v. (The analysis of the language of the Turkic-Tartar written source of the 14th century). 'Dastan and Djumjuma Sultan' by Hisam Kyatib: dissertation for the degree of Candidate of Philological Sciences. Kazan, 1998. Text. Pp. 39–62.

Kb — Akhmetgaleyeva Ya. Issledovanie tyurkoyazy'chnogo pamyatnika 'Kiksebash kitaby' (Analysis of the Turkic written source 'Kiksebash kitaby'). Moscow: Nauka, 1979. Text. Pp. 124–143.

CC – Radioff W. Das turkische Sprachmaterial des Codex Cumanicus. StP., 1887. Wörterverzeichnis. S. 1–132. Einzelne Sätze. S. 1–79. Vorwort. S. 80–111.

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MN — Khwarezmi. Muhabbat-name. The publishing, transcription, translation and analysis of the text by E. Najib. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoj literatury', 1961. 223 p.

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KS – Zajaczkowski A. Najatarsza wersja turecka Husräv u Širin Qutba. Warszawa, 1958. Tect. 304 s.; Faksimile. 238 s.; Slownik. 207 s.

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## **§ 6. Literature of the Ulus of Jochi and the Post–Golden Horde Tatar Khanates**

*Khatip Minnegulov*

The Turkic-Tatar verbal art goes back to ancient Turkic literary texts, such as runic inscriptions of the 7–10th centuries, the poem 'Kutudgu Bilig' (1069) by Yusuf Balasaguni, the famous 'Dictionary of Turkic Dialects' (Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk, 1072–1074) by Mahmud Kashgari, and the poetry of Ahmed Yasawi (died in 1166), Süleyman Bakırgani (died in 1186), Qol Ghali (1183–1230s), 'Qıssai Yosıf' (1233).

During its two hundred years of existence, the Golden Horde achieved considerable success not only in political, economic, and social affairs but also in spiritual matters. The centuries-old rich Turkic traditions, among them the Bulgar Khazar traditions, the prosperous cities, religious tolerance, and close ties with many states, especially Mamluk Egypt, contributed to