

СТАТЬИ НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

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THE GOLDEN HORDE POLICIES TOWARD THE ILKHANATE

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The author examines the foreign policy of the Golden Horde in relation to the Ilkhanate of Persia in the 13th–14th centuries. The basics of the Golden Horde foreign policy towards Hulaguids were laid down during the reign of Berke Khan and remained a priority until the collapse of the Ilkhanate.

Keywords: Golden Horde, Ulus of Jochi, Ilkhanate, Hulaguids, Mongol Empire, international relations, geopolitics, foreign policy, Chingisids, kuriltai, Mongol States.

The relationship between the Ulus of Jochi and Hulaguids stands out by its particular issues on the general background of the research on foreign relations of the Golden Horde with other states. Many aspects of this relationship are discussed in several studies¹, although a detailed study on this topic has been presented only in the work of I.Kh. Kamalov².

¹ *Spuler B.* İran Moğolları. Siyaset, idare ve kultur. İlhanlılar devri, 1220–1350. Çev. Cemal Köprülü, 2 baskı. Ankara: TTKB, 1987; *Boyle J.A.* Dynastic and Political History of the Ilkhans. The Cambridge History of Iran, V, The Saljuq and Mongol Periods, ed. J.A. Boyle, Cambridge 1968. P. 303–417; Petrushevskiy I.P. Iran i Azerbaydzhan pod vlast'yu Khulaguidov (1256–1353). Tataro-mongoly v Azii i Evrope. Moscow: Nauka Publ., 1970, pp. 222–254; *Ichalov G.Kh.* Bor'ba narodov Dagestana s tataro-mongolami v pervoy polovine XIII v. Voprosy istorii Dagestana. No. 1. Makhachkala, 1974, pp. 95–108; *Ichalov G.Kh.* Dagestan – arena voennykh stolkoveniy khulagidov i khanov Zolotoy Ordy v XIII–XIV vv. Voprosy istorii Dagestana. № 3. Makhachkala, 1975, pp. 172–179; *Fedorov-Davydov G.A.* Zolotaya Orda i mongol'skiy Iran. Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta: Seriya 8. Istoriya. 1978, no. 6, pp. 25–37; *Ali-zade A.A.* Bor'ba Zolotoy Ordy i gosudarstva Il'khanov za Azerbaydzhan. Sbornik statey po istorii Azerbaydzhana. Is. 1. Baku, 1949, pp. 57–94; *Ali-Zade A.A.* Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskaya i politicheskaya istoriya Azerbaydzhana XIII–XIV vv. Baku, 1956; *Seyfeddini M.A.* Monetnoe i denezhnoe obrashchenie v Azerbaydzhane XII–XV vv. Baku, 1981. Kn. 2; *Dostiev T.M., Aliev I.N.* K voprosu svyazey severo-vostochnogo Azerbaydzhana s gorodami Povolzh'ya (po materialam Shabrana). Arkheologicheskie i etnograficheskie izyskaniya v Azerbaydzhane (1980–1981 gg.). Baku, 1986, pp. 61–66; *Narozhnyy E.I.* O roli khristianstva v khulaguidodzhuchidskikh vzaimootnosheniyakh v predkavkazskoy zone. Severnoe Prichernomor'e i Povolzh'e vo vzaimootnosheniyakh Vostoka i Zapada v XII–XVI vv. Rostov na Donu: Izd-vo Rostovskogo un-ta, 1989, pp. 108–116; *Gordeev A.A.* Mezhdousobnye voyny mezhdu ulusami Zolotoy Ordy i Irana. Istoriya kazakov. Part. 1. Zolotaya Orda i zarozhdenie kazachestva. MGP «Strastnoy bul'var», 1991, pp. 66–69; *A. Yuvali. İlhanlı Tarihi I.* Kuruluş Devri. Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1994; *Arslanova A.A.* Prichiny voyn Ulusa Dzhuchi s Khulaguidskim Iranom. Nizhnee Povolzh'e i Islamskaya Respublika Iran: istoricheskie, kul'turnye, politicheskie i ekonomicheskie svyazi: Materialy nauch. konf. Saratov, 12–13 maya

The decision about completing the conquest of Abbasid Caliphate was made at the All-Mongolian kuriltai in 1251. For the planning campaign it was decided to allocate troops from every Mongol Ulus. These troops were gathered at the rate of two warriors out of every ten³. Mongke Khan's younger brother Hulagu was appointed at the head of the military forces, but the Mongol army managed to set out only in 1256, after Batu Khan's death, since he banned the campaign due to the Jochid opposition towards the conquest of the Caliphate⁴.

The Jochid political influence in Iran, Transcaucasia and Anatolia was recognized in Karakorum as well, because it was thought that the whole West belonged to the Jochids' apanage. Certainly, the vassal dependency of the Transcaucasian states on the Mongolian empire was not yet finally defined: the Empire still represented more or less uniform organism, despite the fact it was divided into uluses. In fact, there were only two possible models for the governance of Empire centered in the Karakorum or Ulus of Jochi. To this should be added that Mongke Khan and Batu Khan were co-rulers of the Mongol Empire⁵: the former ruled the eastern lands and the latter – the lands in the west. Being a co-ruler of the Empire, Batu Khan gave charters and yarlyks to the sultans of Rum, Syria and other countries of Asia Minor⁶. The Georgian governors as well got into the vassalage in 1240s. Moreover, the Jochids had their own plan in relation to Abbasid Caliphate, with which they established allied relations. A.B.Malyshev supposed that the military campaign began only after the death of Batu Khan "because the agreement on the division of territories now could be ignored"⁷. It is more accurate to say that Karakorum's authorities wished to see on the co-ruler Jochid throne such a personality

2003 g. Saratov: Izd-vo Sarat. un-ta, 2004, pp. 41–55; *Malyshev A.B. Zolotaya Orda i Iran: politicheskie, ekonomicheskie i kul'turnye svyazi // Nizhnee Povolzh'e i Islamskaya Respublika Iran: istoricheskie, kul'turnye, politicheskie i ekonomicheskie svyazi: Materialy nauch. konf. Saratov, 12–13 maya 2003 g. Saratov: Izd-vo Sarat. un-ta, 2004, pp. 73–92; Istoriko-kul'turnye vzaimosvyazi Irana i Dashti Kypchaka v XIII–XVIII vv.: Materialy kruglogo stola / Red., sost. M.Kh. Abuseitova – Safar Abdullo, Almaty: Institut Vostokovedeniya imeni R.B. Suleymanova, Ministerstvo obrazovaniya i nauki RK, Tsentr iranistiki, 2004. 366 p.; *Krishtopa A.E. Dagestan v XIII–XV vv. Ocherk politicheskoy istorii. M.: «Taus», 2007. 228 p. il.; Mirgaleev I.M. Politika Zolotoy Ordy po otnosheniyu k gosudarstvu khulaguidov. Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta. Ser. 9. Is. 3. 2009, pp. 345–351; Akhmedov S.A. Pogrebeniya mongol'skikh voynov iz Mingechaura i zashchitnyy val Abaga khana kak neizuchennyy aspekt istorii voyn Zolotoy Ordy i gosudarstva Il'khanov // Zolotoordynskaya tsivilizatsiya / Red. I.M.Mirgaleev. Is. 2. Kazan, Fen Publ. AN RT, 2009, pp. 162–169.**

² *Kamalov I. Mogollarin Kafkasya politikasi. Istanbul: Kaknus yayinlari, 2003. 152 p.; Kamalov I.Kh. Otnosheniya Zolotoy Ordy s Khulaguidami / Per. s turets. yaz. i nauch. red. I.M. Mirgaleeva. Kazan: Institut istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani AN RT, 2007. 108 p.*

³ *Tizengauzen V.G. Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy Ordy. Vol. II. Izvlecheniya iz persidskikh sochineniy sobrannye V.G. Tizengauzenom i obrabotannye A.A. Romaskevichem i S.L. Volinym. Moscow-Leningrad: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1941. (Dalee SMIZO). P. 67.*

⁴ *Tizengauzen V.G. Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy Ordy. Vol. I. SPb.: tip. IAN, 1884. (Dalee SMIZO). P. 246.*

⁵ *Trepavlov V.V. Gosudarstvennyy stroy Mongol'skoy imperii XIII v.: Problema istoricheskoy preemstvennosti. Moscow, Nauka, Vostochnaya literatura, 1993. P. 77.*

⁶ SMIZO. Vol. II. P. 22.

⁷ *Malyshev A.B. Zolotaya Orda i Iran: politicheskie, ekonomicheskie i kul'turnye svyazi. P. 75.*

who would be under their control. Sartaq⁸ was the person who met these requirements.

As is well known, Baghdad was conquered in 1258 and the caliph was executed⁹. The conquest lasted for four years. In 1260 the Mamluks defeated Hulagu's army in the battle of Ain Jalut and in that way halted forever the Mongol conquests in the west.

Hulaguids actually ruled in Iran since 1260, but after the death of Abu Said in 1335 the line of Hulagu's descendants became extinct. After Abu Said's death, the Persian khans were either nominee or, sometimes, the representatives of other Chingisid lines, such as Arpa Khan, the great-grandson of Arik Buka¹⁰. However, this lasted not for long. After a period of disturbance in early 1350s, the history of this state ended in complete breakdown of the remnants of the Hulaguid Empire. By this time, the Jalayirids, the Muzafarids, the Sarbadarids, and other successor dynasties had already separated and evolved into separate states. As we can see, the ephemeral Hulaguid state lasted just over 70 years.

Many historians who write about the formation of Chingisid Uluses as state entities, quote "Tarikh-i Vassaf" and the "Genealogy of the Turks", which state that every land from Semirech'e, Khwarezm, Saksin, and Bulgar to Derbent and up to "the places that can be reached by a Tatar horse's hoof"¹¹ must be a part of the Ulus of Jochi. Al-Umari reported that according to Chingis Khan's will, Arran, Tabriz, Hamadan, and Meragha had to be joined to the Ulus of Jochi. He pointed out that Derbent and Baku with the region of Shirvan were a part of the Ulus of Jochi¹², referring to the alleged "will of Genghis Khan". However it is unlikely that Chingis Khan was so specific in defining Jochid boundaries, but for some reason, not mentioned at least the territory of Transcaucasia. A.A. Alizade wrote that "we have no direct evidence of the reliability of such an interpretation of the will of Genghis Khan"¹³. A.B. Malyshev saw in the al-Umari's statement merely a "testament of Chingis Khan in this regard"¹⁴.

Hulagu established new state on already vassal lands receiving the yarlyks from Batu Khan, which were conquered in 1220s–1230s and belonged to the Jochids¹⁵. The capital of the new state was initially Meragha and then Tabriz. Before the establishment of Ilkhanate, the Golden Horde freely disposed of the trade routes in Transcaucasia and of the eastern part of Asia Minor. Moreover, the goods imported by the Golden Horde were not subject to taxation¹⁶.

In our view, when concerning the issue of the formation of Hulaguid Ulus, it should be noted first that under Chingis Khan the Mongol Empire was divided only

⁸ Mys'kov E.P. Politicheskaya istoriya Zolotoy Ordy (1236–1313 gg.). Volgograd: Izd-vo Volgogradskogo gos. un-ta, 2003, pp. 53–54.

⁹ SMIZO. Vol. I. P. 205; SMIZO. Vol. II. P. 74.

¹⁰ Spuler B. İnan Moğolları. Siyaset, idare ve kultur. İlhanlılar devri, 1220–1350. P. 144.

¹¹ SMIZO. Vol. II. P. 80, 204.

¹² SMIZO. Vol. I. P. 244.

¹³ Ali-Zade A.A. Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskaya i politicheskaya istoriya Azerbaydzhana XIII–XIV vv. P. 314.

¹⁴ Malyshev A.B. Zolotaya Orda i Iran: politicheskie, ekonomicheskie i kul'turnye svyazi. P. 75.

¹⁵ SMIZO. Vol. II. P. 22.

¹⁶ Seyfeddini M.A. Monetnoe i denezhnoe obrashchenie v Azerbaydzhane XII–XV vv. P. 73.

among his sons. Chingis Khan's grandchildren were not mentioned and western lands had not yet been conquered. Secondly, Chingis Khan's younger son Tolui and, consequently, his progeny as well had to own only the native lands of the Mongols¹⁷. Thirdly, the kuriltai of 1251 determined only the completing of the conquest of Abbasid Caliphate, but not the establishment of a new state. The establishment of a new ulus was somehow regulated only at the kuriltai of 1269, though Hulagu had already been ruling the conquered lands as a representative of the Mongol Empire. After Mongke's death and the beginning of hostility between Kublai Khan and Arik Buka, the Ulus of Hulagu became an independent state. So, in fact, his reign must be regarded as beginning on 1260, taking into account that so far the conquests were not yet finished. At this time, Hulagu was not a ruler of independent ulus, but was merely a commander in chief of the Mongol troops operating in the south-east.

The Great Khan Mongke died in 1259. Then according to the decision of the kuriltai, Arik Buka ascended the throne in Karakorum. However, his brother Kublai Khan refused to obey and declared himself the Great Khan. This struggle affected the relations between Berke Khan and Hulagu as well, since Hulagu supported Kublai Khan, but Berke Khan took the side of Arik Buka¹⁸ withdrawing his subsidiary units from the army of Hulagu at the beginning of 1261.

In appreciation for the support, in 1263 Kublai Khan granted Hulagu the yarlyk on the lands from the Amu Darya to Syria and Egypt¹⁹. Thereby Kublai Khan recognized the new state unilaterally and significantly weakened the central government in the Karakorum. Kublai Khan and Hulagu, in fact, were usurpers and really needed their power to be legitimized. As is known, both of them were appointed by the kuriltai only as army leaders, but not as future rulers. Hulagu's factual reign of an independent ulus started that time. He began to form administration of the conquered territories and received initial recognition, even from the same newly founded state as it was the Ulus of Kublai.

When in 1263 Hulagu declared himself a sovereign, the Jochids began a war against him. It was the first clash between Berke Khan and Hulagu and it took place on the Kura River. Berke Khan gained the victory but he still did not seize the lands of Transcaucasia since he appeared there in the role of a representative of the Empire against a rebel, not as a ruler of the Golden Horde state. But after the death of Berke Khan, both Uluses were finally formed and disagreements between Chingisids about the establishment of the Yuan Empire and Ilkhanate had been somewhat resolved at the last kuriltai of 1269. Therefore the Jochids were no longer interested in the fate of Karakorum and did not support the struggle against the Yuan Empire. They also changed their priorities in their relations with Ilkhans so that all they demanded mainly was the territorial claim.

¹⁷ SMIZO. Vol. II. P. 80.

¹⁸ SMIZO. Vol. I. P. 188. In fact, Arik Buka received not only a military, but also the financial support. A small buried treasure of Arik Buka's coins minted in Bulgar has been found recently on the territory of Tatarstan (nearly 700 coins, the article concerning this fact will be published in the annual collection of papers "Golden Horde's numismatics"). For reference see: Bugarchev A.I., Stepanov O.V. Two new Arik Buka's treasures with coins (in press, a short report at the 17th Russian National Numismatics Conference, April 2013, Moscow).

¹⁹ SMIZO. Vol. II. P. 75.

Berke Khan was a Muslim and he relied in the Ulus of Jochi on the Muslim clergy and merchants. During his reign the bulk of his army consisted of Turkic tribes, mainly of Kipchak. If Jochids were not active in the establishment of their state, they would expect a different fate, as the Mongols were insignificant numerically among the Turks of the Golden Horde. On the international scene they began to represent the interests of Desht-i Kipchak.

Relations between two Uluses in the epoch of Mengu-Timur and Tuda Mengu reminded a quadrangle consisting of the relations of the Golden Horde with Egypt and the Ilkhans with Byzantium²⁰. Although Byzantium did not dare to act against the Golden Horde, it was still pursuing a policy of maneuvering between the Jochids and Hulaguids. The Golden Horde had to use several times its military forces on emerging transnational issues. In fact, at that time the Golden Horde was forming its own foreign policy.

It was only Tulabuga who since 1288 resumed the struggle against the Ilkhans and sent the army to conquer Azerbaijan. However the Golden Horde army retreated without achieving its goal²¹. During a temporary rule of Nogai Khan, the Golden Horde was unable to devote all its attention to the Transcaucasian problem because of domestic complications. This resulted in final formation of Hulaguid state and consolidation of its authority in Transcaucasia. However, after solving domestic problems, Tokhta Khan resumed the Golden Horde claims to the lands of Transcaucasia. In 1303 his ambassadors demanded from Ilkhan Gazan to leave the whole Caucasus²². Although Tokhta Khan did not achieve his political aims, there had been some trade agreements²³.

After Tokhta Khan, Uzbek Khan also expressed his claims to the Caucasus, though in the trade and economic relations, both sides made some attempts to revive the trade between two states. As the course of action showed, the Ilkhans never sought to conquer the territory of the Golden Horde conducting only the defensive military actions.

A.B.Malyshv qualified the reasons of the wars between the Ilkhans and the Golden Horde²⁴. They are as following: 1) the Jochids' claims on Azerbaijan and Northern Iran, as a reward for their help in the Hulaguid conquest of Iran; 2) the murder by Hulaguids of several Jochid nobles participated in the conquest of Iran; 3) Jochid religious war against Hulaguids because of the devastation of Muslim countries and murder of al-Mustasim, the last Abbasid caliph.

²⁰ *Kamalov I.Kh.* Otnosheniya Zolotoy Ordy s Khulaguidami. P. 62.

²¹ *Ibid.* P. 64.

²² *Ibid.* P. 66.

²³ *Ibid.* P. 71.

²⁴ This matter was also examined traditionally by A.A.Arslanova who referring to A.A.Ali-Zade, A.Y. Yakubovsky, V.V. Bartold, N.I.Veselovsky and others, came to the following conclusion: "the reasons for wars, as V.V.Bartold pointed out, were Jochid claims to Arran and Azerbaijan; the arrogance of Berke Khan, the eldest Jochid prince, in his relations with Hulagu; the death of Jochid leader sons in Iran (Berke suspected them of being poisoned). Berke adopted Islam by that time and proclaimed himself to be the protector of the Islam because of the Hulagu's pretensions". A.A.Arslanova made the conclusion: "the political and military opposition between Jochids and Hulaguids was connected with their struggle for the territories profitable in economic and strategic terms for both sides". See: Arslanova A.A. *Prichiny voyn Ulusa Dzhuchi s Khulaguidskim Iranom.* P. 46, 51.

In addition to these causes, the researchers call a number of other very important reasons. For example, I.H. Kamalov came to the conclusion that the war between the Golden Horde and the Ikhans “took place due to the fact that the borders separating the states had not been defined precisely”²⁵. I.P. Petrushevskiy and M.A. Seifeddini called “the struggle for possessing the caravan trade routes connecting Europe through Transcaucasia”²⁶ as the cause of confrontation since the emergence of new state seeking to control southern trade routes, infringed the interests of the Golden Horde²⁷.

The struggle between Kublai Khan and Arik Buka lasted until 1264²⁸ and ended with Arik Buka’s defeat. In fact, Kublai Khan created a new state – the Yuan Empire with its capital in Beijing. After Arik Buka’s defeat, the Mongol opposition was led by Qaidu, the descendant of Ogedei. He was supported by the indigenous Mongolian lands and Chaghataid Ulus. In that situation mutual recognition was absolutely essential for Chingisid states, especially for Hulagu and Kublai Khan. But the parties could agree only after the death of Berke Khan by signing in 1269 mutual peace treaty.

Why did the Jochids support the central authority in Mongolia for so long, even though they were actively building their own state in Desht-i Kipchak? Here, in our opinion, several reasons should be noted. First of all, Jochid authority among the aristocracy of the Mongol Empire was extremely high and everybody realised that after Chingis Khan it was Jochi who had to become the great kagan, not Ogedei. In the eyes of the aristocracy, the issue of Jochi’s origin which was being heatedly discussed at the family council of Chingisids²⁹ was not to result in denying him the right to possess the Mongolian throne. In the legal sense the birthright of Jochi was universally recognized. Thus Jochids did not have to prove their right to the throne. On the contrary, the other descendants of Chingis, as it can be seen later, had not only to prove their rights but also to resort to the support of the Jochids, since the latter were influential among the aristocracy of the Mongolian Empire even without living in Karakorum and Mongolia. Secondly, after having received their own ulus Jochi and his descendants began to build thoroughly their own state. Perhaps for this reason the Ulus of Jochi was the most durable among other Chingisid States that lasted less than 100 years. The Jochids had a significant influence on the policies of the Mongol Empire, since they enjoyed the support of the people of their ulus that unquestioningly obeyed only to them, not to other Chingisids. Jochid internal policy becomes more understandable when considering how actively Kublai Khan and Hulagu tried to build their state. Unlike them, however, the Jochids were not forced to rush. And this understanding of government was characteristic for Jochids. Thirdly, in their concern for the future of the state the Jochids had to be the supporters of the Empire that did not require from them

²⁵ Kamalov I.Kh. *Otnosheniya Zolotoy Ordy s Khulaguidami*. P. 92.

²⁶ Petrushevskiy I.P. *Khamdallakh Kazvini kak istochnik po istorii Vostochnogo Zakavkaz'ya* // *Izv. AN. Otd. obshch. nauk*. 1937. No. 4. P. 912.

²⁷ Seifeddini M.A. *Monetnoe i denezhnoe obrashchenie v Azerbaydzhanе XII–XV vv.* P. 72–73.

²⁸ *Chuluuny Dalay*. *Mongoliya v XIII–XIV vekakh*. Moscow, Nauka Publ., 1983. P. 37.

²⁹ *Khoang Mishel'*. *Chingiskhan*. Rostov-na-Donu: «Feniks», 1997. P. 248; *Kychanov E.I.* *Zhizn' Temuchzhina, dumavshego pokorit' mir: (Chingis-khan: lichnost' i epokha)*. 3-e izd., ispr. i dop. Bishkek: Kyrgyzstan, 1993. P. 197.

anything other than the nominal submission. In this context, the most revealing are the words of Batu who renounced the imperial throne and preferred the real power in Dasht-i Kipchak preserving, however, enormous influence in the Empire³⁰.

In fact, it were the Jochids who altered the imperial policy after they had brought to power the descendants of Tolui and repressed almost completely the line of Ogedei, which inherited previously the power of Chingis with a relatively harmonious accord of his other sons. Thanks to the support of the Empire Jochids were able to establish general rules of international relations. And considering the fact that the main area of Eurasia was already in the hands of Chingisids, we will understand how important it was for policy and trade. In such situation even the disintegration of the empire would be slow and less destructive, basing on a certain agreement. Therefore the Jochids supported Karakorum depended from the conquered territories, and they opposed Kublai Khan who ruled alone in China and who was provided with adequate resources. In fact, only the Jochids were the real builders of the Chingisid States. However, further strengthening of Toluids disrupted the general course of history, which previously was determined exclusively by the Jochids. In turn, Kublai Khan and Hulagu were out of Mongolia and controlled new lands, having at their disposal a field army and vast territory.

It is significant that when the relationship between Berke Khan and Hulagu deteriorated, the Jochid units that were subordinated to Hulagu defected to the Egyptian Mamluks. Since then, the Mamluk sultans became the main allies of the Golden Horde in foreign policy until the end of the 14th century. The Jochids started to carry on their own policy leaving the authority of the empire out of account, since it had become useless for them. And subsequent maintenance of the illusion of the existence of the Mongol Empire should be considered only as part of the Jochid foreign policy.

In this international situation the Hulaguids had to play the game according to the Jochids' rules. No matter how many times they claimed that their state was a part of the "Mongol" Yuan Empire, but it was far away and could not help Hulaguids in military terms. So they had to defend themselves alone. The Hulaguids remained pagans and patronized the Christians despite the fact that they ruled the Muslim lands. Likewise, the foreign policy of their patrons – the Yuan Empire – "in relation to countries of the West was directed mainly against the Muslim religion"³¹. There were several reasons for that. First of all, it was they who destroyed the caliphate and, moreover, who murdered the caliph – the head of all Muslims. All these actions made them the enemies of Islam.

Secondly, in 1260 the Mamluks were able to re-establish the Abbasid Caliphate, which was recognized by Berke Khan who took it in addition under his protection³². In this way the Jochids became the leading power in Islamic world. Naturally, it was the result of agreements and was dictated by international realities. Such a serious political act could not be a simple expression of the will, but was a

³⁰ SMIZO. Vol. II. P. 16.

³¹ *Chuluuny Dalay*. Mongoliya v XIII–XIV vekakh. P. 75.

³² *Polyak A.N.* Novye arabskie materialy pozdnego srednevekov'ya o vostochnoy i tsentral'noy Evrope. Vostochnye istochniki po istorii narodov Yugo-Vostochnoy i Tsentral'noy Evropy / Pod red. A.S. Tveritinovoy. Moscow, Nauka Publ., 1964. P. 29.

reflection of the political situation that emerged precisely after the creation of the Hulaguid Ulus.

Certainly, the subsequent confrontation between Hulaguid and Jochid Uluses was associated with the struggle for the territory of Transcaucasia, favorable in the economic and strategic terms. One of the main sources of income of Chingisid States was the transit trade between the countries of the East and the West. Two major world trade routes passed through Iran and Dasht-i Kipchak. After the establishment of the Ilkhanate, commercial relations between the Dasht-i Kipchak and Iran were broken and the southern route got out of Jochid control. As I.H.Kamalov writes “crossing of important trade routes only worsened the already strained relationship between the Golden Horde and Ilkhanids since Ilkhanids sought to control the Caucasus and northern areas and to keep under control the way to the Mediterranean Sea”³³. Therefore, the war between both states was inevitable.

Thus, as we see, the early Hulaguid policy in relation to Hulagu was determined by a complex of reasons, such as the struggle against the self-proclamation of the new state, opposition of Hulagu and Kublai to the central authority and adoption of the Hulaguid authority in the Caucasus and Asia Minor, in the territory claimed by the Jochids.

First of all, the Jochids shifted their priorities in international politics since the Great Mongol Empire collapsed and all Chingisid states became their opponents. Given the realities of the international situation Jochids found new allies. Their main ally became the Abbasid Caliphate re-established by the Mamluks of Egypt. In connection with the changed political realities the main causes of the confrontation between the Golden Horde and Ilkhans became the religious factor as well as Jochid territorial claims.

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**ПОЛИТИКА ЗОЛОТОЙ ОРДЫ ПО ОТНОШЕНИЮ
К ГОСУДАРСТВУ ХУЛАГУИДОВ**

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Статья посвящена рассмотрению внешней политики Золотой Орды по отношению к государству Ильханов в Иране в XIII–XIV веках. Основы золотоордынской внешней политики по отношению к Хулагуидам были заложены в период хана Берке и оставались приоритетными до распада государства Ильханов.

Ключевые слова: Золотая Орда, Улус Джучи, государство Ильханов, Хулагуиды, Монгольская империя, международные отношения, международные связи, геополитика, внешняя политика, Чингизиды, курултай, монгольские государства.

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