



ТАРИХ – ИСТОРИЯ – HISTORY

UDC 94(574.54)+2-67

IRSTI 03.91.91

DOI 10.37238/2960-1371.2960-138X.2026.102(2).14

¹Zharas Akhan, ²Tuba Tombuloğlu¹Müğla Sıtkı Koçman Üniversitesi, Müğla, Türkiye²Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Ankara, Turkey

E-mail: zharasakan@gmail.com, tubatombuloglu@hotmail.com

ISLAM AS THE STATE IDEOLOGY OF THE GOLDEN HORDE: STAGES OF FORMATION AND THE ROLE OF SUFI ORDERS

Annotation. This article provides a comprehensive analysis of the institutionalization of Islam within the state and social structures of the Ulus of Jochi (the Golden Horde). The study examines the political aspects of religious transformation from the reign of Batu Khan to Uzbek Khan. The central focus of the paper is to identify the factors that facilitated the penetration of Islam into nomadic society. The author highlights the unique role of Sufi orders (Yassawiya, Kubrawiya, Naqshbandiya) in disseminating Islamic teachings across the Golden Horde. Furthermore, the article analyzes the instrumentalization of Islam as a tool for state centralization and its significance in foreign policy, particularly regarding the alliance with the Mamluk Sultanate. The study concludes by describing the decisive role of Islam within the bureaucratic system of the Golden Horde.

Keywords: Golden Horde, Ulus of Jochi, Berke Khan, Uzbek Khan, Islam, Sufism, state ideology, Dasht-i Qipchaq.

Introduction

In the medieval history of Eurasia, the Golden Horde (Ulus of Jochi) stood as a unique state entity characterized not only by its military and political prowess but also by its complex spiritual and cultural transformations. Established as a direct successor to the Mongol Empire, this ulus initially relied on the traditional Tengrist beliefs of nomads and the legal codes of the Yassa. However, within a single century, it evolved into the primary northern bastion of Islamic civilization. The development of Islam in the Golden Horde was not merely a shift in religious affiliation; it represented a fundamental renewal of the empire's ideological direction, administrative governance, judiciary, and socio-cultural identity.

Studying the process of Islamization in the Dasht-i Qipchaq steppe during the 13th and 14th centuries is of paramount importance for understanding the spiritual foundations of modern Kazakh statehood. Today, both domestic and international historiography are developing new perspectives on the Golden Horde's relations with the Islamic world, the religious policies of the khans, and the influence of Sufi orders on nomadic society. Nevertheless, the internal political prerequisites for elevating Islam to the level of state ideology, and its role as a bulwark against separatist tendencies, require deeper scholarly inquiry. In this regard, the primary objective of this article is to view the Islamization of the nomadic empire not merely as an elite preference, but as a logical outcome of state institutionalization.



While the policy of "religious tolerance" established during the reign of Batu Khan allowed various confessions to coexist freely within the Golden Horde, the subsequent centralization of the state and the growth of urban culture necessitated a unified and sophisticated ideological system. The conversion of Berke Khan to Islam marked the first major turning point in the history of the Ulus of Jochi, pivoting the state's geopolitical orientation toward the Muslim world. This process reached its zenith under Uzbek Khan, when Islam attained official state status.

Materials and Methods

The source base of this research comprises medieval written monuments in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, and Russian languages, as well as contemporary historiographical studies. Several groups of sources providing data on the religious and political history of the Golden Horde were utilized during the study. Primary focus was given to the works of 13th and 14th-century Muslim authors. Specifically, Minhaj-ad-Din Juzjani's *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* enabled an investigation into Berke Khan's conversion to Islam and his initial religious initiatives, while Rashid al-Din's *Jami' al-tawarikh* served as a foundation for analyzing the evolution of religious stances and internal political conflicts within the Jochid dynasty. Furthermore, the collection of Arabic and Persian accounts compiled by V.G. Tisenhausen (including works by al-Umari, Ibn Khaldun, al-Maqrizi, etc.) was extensively used to examine the institutionalization of Islam in the Golden Horde. Russian chronicles (such as the Laurentian Codex) facilitated a comparative study of the Horde's religious policy in the context of its relations with the Christian world and the privileges granted to the Orthodox Church.

The following scientific methods were employed during the research:

Historical-Comparative Method: This method allowed for a comparison of the religious situation during different periods of the Golden Horde (from Batu Khan to Uzbek Khan), identifying political continuity and shifts in Islam's attainment of state status. For instance, the distinction between Berke Khan's personal piety and Uzbek Khan's state-level reforms was analyzed through this approach.

Source-Critical Analysis: This was applied to differentiate subjective perspectives and religious legends in medieval sources from concrete historical facts. Eulogies and legendary narratives by Muslim authors regarding Berke or Uzbek Khan were critically evaluated and cross-referenced with the logical sequence of historical events.

Systems Approach: The penetration of Islam was examined not merely as a religious process, but as an interconnected system of elements involving public administration, the judicial system (Sharia), diplomacy, and economics (the role of merchants). This helped reveal the institutional role of Islam in transforming a nomadic empire into a bureaucratic state.

Retrospective Method: By linking modern Muslim traditions and Sufi orders (Yassawiya, Naqshbandiya) in the territory of contemporary Kazakhstan back to the Golden Horde era, this method allowed for the study of spiritual continuity.

The methodological foundation of the research is rooted in the principles of objectivity and historicism. This comprehensive methodological framework ensures a multi-faceted, neutral, and scientifically grounded analysis of the Islamization process within the Golden Horde.

Research Results

Batu Khan (1242–1256), the founder of the Golden Horde, governed the Ulus of Jochi in strict accordance with the Yassa laws of Genghis Khan. Consequently, he maintained a policy of religious tolerance, granting freedom to all faiths within his domain and facilitating



their expansion. The unification of the diverse peoples and religions of the Dasht-i Qipchaq steppe under the single state of the Jochids—alongside the established security and stability—provided a fertile ground for global monotheistic religions with developed canons and ideologies to take root.

The succession of the Christian-leaning Sartaq following Batu Khan's death caused significant anxiety among the Muslims of the Horde, as Sartaq's hostility toward Muslims was well known throughout the Ulus. Furthermore, his refusal to receive his Muslim cousin Berke, allegedly stating, "You are a Muslim, and I am a Christian; it is loathsome for me even to look upon your face,"[1] his attempts to marginalize Muslims who held key state positions under Batu, and his persecution of Muslim merchants who enjoyed substantial privileges, led the majority to support Berke Khan. Bolstered by the backing of wealthy Muslim merchants and aristocrats dissatisfied with Sartaq's overt pro-Christian stance, Berke seized power in a short period. Thus, the first Muslim from the House of Genghis ascended the throne of the Ulus of Jochi.

Various records and legends exist regarding Berke (Bereke), who came to power approximately between 1256 and 1257[2]. The renowned scholar Juzjani wrote of his conversion: "When Berke was born, his father (Jochi) said: 'I will give this son of mine to be suckled only by a Muslim woman, for he was born a Muslim and shall drink only the milk of a Muslim woman.' ... When he reached the age for education, he studied under the most learned imams and jurists in the country. After completing his studies in Khujand, he was appointed commander of all the Muslim forces in the Ulus."[3]. Most scholars suggest that Berke embraced Islam around the 1240s.[4]. This is supported by accounts of Berke attending the Pan-Mongol Kurultai in 1246 on behalf of his brother, where it was noted that meat in his quarters was prepared according to Muslim rites[5]. Similarly, the traveler William of Rubruck, who visited Batu's camp in 1253, reported that Berke had prohibited the consumption of pork in his own court[6]. Generally, all Muslim sources emphasize his deep piety and his steadfast adherence to the five daily prayers. Later, under the influence of the famous Sufi Sheikh Sayf al-Din Bakharzi in Bukhara, he became a murid (disciple) and began following the Hanafi school of jurisprudence[7].

During his reign, Muslims retained all the high-ranking state positions they had acquired during the time of Batu Khan. This arrangement persisted until the final days of the Golden Horde. In the realm of trade—the backbone of the state treasury—Berke granted complete freedom to Muslim merchants. In foreign policy, he maintained an Islamic orientation; in 1260/61, he dispatched envoys to the Mamluk Sultan Baibars, who was then at war with Hulagu, to form a military alliance against the Hulaguids and their ally, Byzantium[8]. That same year, he invaded the Caucasus with a large army and nearly annihilated the Hulaguid forces near the Kura River[9]. This action effectively prevented Hulagu from concentrating his full strength against Egypt, forcing him to fight on two fronts. Consequently, Berke began to project himself on the international stage as a protector of the Islamic world.

Berke Khan's pro-Islamic policies quickly yielded results. Mosques and madrasas were constructed in the cities of the Ulus of Jochi, and their architectural appearance began to resemble the Muslim cities of Central Asia. Berke's close relatives, the supporting nobility, and his personal troops almost entirely converted to Islam. He granted his mentor, the Sufi Bakharzi, and other Sufis the freedom to preach throughout the Ulus of Jochi and took responsibility for their safety. Thus, Berke Khan's ascension to the throne became a primary factor in the rapid dissemination of Islam within the Golden Horde.



Mangu-Temur (1266–1280), who succeeded Berke Khan, did not introduce any significant changes to the state policies established by his predecessor, despite not being a Muslim himself. Muslims maintained their positions within the administration; however, the lack of proactive support similar to that of Berke Khan's reign caused the spread of Islam to decelerate. His successor, Tuda-Mangu (1280–1287), was a Muslim distinguished by his profound piety. Surrounding himself with Sufis and religious scholars, he delegated state affairs entirely to Nogai, the influential *tumenbasy* (commander of ten thousand) and ruler of the western territories of the Golden Horde. Ultimately, Tuda-Mangu abdicated the throne to pursue a Sufi ascetic lifestyle. His brother, Tole-Buqa (1287–1292), who assumed the throne next, attempted to resist being a puppet of Nogai and the powerful aristocracy, leading to an armed conflict. Nogai emerged victorious and installed Toqta (1292–1312) as the khan[10].

Thus, by the end of the 13th century, Nogai had effectively concentrated state power in his own hands[11]. There were several reasons for his rise as the most influential figure in the state. Previous khans had attempted to centralize the government and consolidate power, which inevitably restricted the rights of the nomadic tribal nobility. Their reliance on the Muslim population in this endeavor, combined with a pro-Islamic policy and a high concentration of Muslims in the administration, provoked resentment among traditionalist groups who still adhered to Tengrism. These groups rallied around Nogai to weaken monarchical authority, achieving temporary success. However, the dominance of the feudal lords under Nogai's leadership was short-lived. Discontent grew among the Muslim elite whose influence was waning, the pro-Islamic aristocracy, and the descendants of Batu who refused to remain puppets. These factions united under Toqta Khan and initiated an open struggle against Nogai. This conflict, spanning from 1299 to 1302, resulted in a total victory for Toqta [10].

Regarding the religious affiliation of Toqta Khan, although he initially practiced Tengrism, it is evident that he converted to Islam prior to consolidating his rule. A coin minted in 1293 refers to him by the title *Nasir ad-Din Allah* (Helper of the Religion of Allah)[12]. During his reign, Toqta Khan strengthened the weakened central authority and preserved the Golden Horde from fracturing into separate autonomous *uluses*. In doing so, he established a robust foundation for his successor, Uzbek Khan. Broadly speaking, while the khans who followed Berke did not always advocate for Islam as overtly as he had, they continued to provide favorable conditions for its expansion. They consistently relied on the Muslim populace for state administration and maintained friendly relations with Mamluk Egypt in foreign policy, positioning themselves as protectors of Islam. It is perhaps for this reason that no contemporary Muslim author ever categorized the *Ulus of Jochi* as *Dar al-Harb* (the Abode of War/infidel state).

Initially, while Islam held complete dominance in Khwarazm, Bulgaria, and the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, the vast steppe regions inhabited by nomads remained primarily under the influence of Tengrism and Shamanism, while Christianity's presence was more pronounced along the Black Sea coast. The traditional beliefs of the Turks and Mongols, collectively referred to as Tengrism, served as the principal religion of the nomads of the *Dasht-i Qipchaq* during this period. Despite being surrounded by Muslim and Christian states with advanced urban cultures, the Qipchaq tribes did not immediately succumb to their influence. Following the Jochid conquest, the arrival of nomadic Turkic and Mongol tribes practicing traditional beliefs seemed to breathe new life into a waning Tengrism. In the western provinces, the influence of Orthodoxy was initially so significant that in 1263, Berke Khan permitted the establishment of a diocese in Sarai,[13] placing it under state protection



and granting it tax exemptions. Furthermore, he strictly forbade Russian princes from interfering with church property. Additionally, during the early period of Jochid rule, Buddhists were found among the aristocracy arriving from Mongolia.

Despite these circumstances, Islam emerged from among these global and local faiths to achieve dominance and elevate itself to the status of a state religion within the Ulus of Jochi. Several factors contributed to the rapid transformation of Islam into such an influential force: First, Islam was already firmly established in two key regions within the territory where the Golden Horde emerged—Khwarazm and Bulgaria. Located at the southern and northern extremities of the Ulus respectively, these regions exerted powerful religious and cultural influence over the neighboring nomadic tribes. Second, the role of Sufism and the Hanafi school (madhhab) was crucial. The nomadic tribes of the Dasht-i Qipchaq, who had resisted Islam for centuries, converted within a mere fifty years due to the missionary efforts of Sufis. The Hanafi school also played a vital role, as it was the most flexible of the legal schools and capable of adapting to local traditions. Third, Muslim clergy and merchants consistently supported the centralization policies of the khans, regardless of who was in power. In contrast, the nomadic aristocracy, prone to separatism, relied on traditionalism (Tengrism) in their power struggles. Consequently, to consolidate their authority, the khans consistently supported Islam and its propagators. Fourth, geopolitical events compelled the Golden Horde to form alliances with Islamic nations and engage in conflicts with Christian powers. This undoubtedly fostered a positive perception of Islam among the peoples of the Ulus of Jochi and revitalized cultural and spiritual ties with the Muslim world.

Following the death of Toqta, the nomadic feudal lords of the steppe, whose power had significantly waned during his reign, attempted a final resurgence to reclaim their ancestral rights. Rallying under the banner of Tengrism, they sought to enthrone El-Basmish. Conversely, the Muslim faction, which had gained substantial strength and desired a Muslim on the throne—most notably Emir Temir-Qutlugh of Khwarazm—supported Uzbek, the contender for the throne. In the brief ensuing conflict, Uzbek's supporters emerged victorious, and he was proclaimed Khan. With his ascension in 1312, Islam was elevated to the status of the state religion[14].

By this time, Islam had become so influential that Uzbek Khan began an overt struggle against the remnants of Tengrism and Shamanism. This policy aimed both to facilitate the conversion of nomadic tribes that had not yet embraced Islam and to dismantle the ideological base of the steppe feudal lords who constantly leaned toward separatism. Although powerful uprisings broke out across the Ulus in response, Uzbek Khan suppressed them swiftly and decisively.

Upon taking the throne, Uzbek Khan began a fundamental transformation of the Golden Horde, starting with public administration and the judiciary. He divided the state into uluses and permitted hereditary succession. State matters, previously handled in dynastic kurultais, were now managed by a Divan composed of his appointees. He further decreed that judicial proceedings be conducted according to Sharia law rather than the Yassa. The significance of Sharia grew to such an extent that Uzbek Khan sent a special envoy to the Sultan of Egypt requesting books on fiqh (jurisprudence). Thus, under Uzbek Khan, the Golden Horde evolved into a true Muslim state with a bureaucratic system of governance.

Let us now examine more broadly the question: "By what means did Islam spread within the Golden Horde?" Generally, several branches and legal schools (madhhabs) of Islam disseminated across the territory of the Golden Horde. While the Shafi'i school was prevalent in the Caucasus and Shia influence was noted in parts of Central Asia, the Hanafi school was



dominant in Khwarazm and Bulgaria. Nevertheless, among these, the Hanafi madhhab played the most significant role in the establishment of Islam within the Ulus of Jochi and the formation of Golden Horde culture. In particular, Hanafi scholars from the Khwarazm region—which served as a hub for science and education at the time—played a pivotal role. Thanks to their efforts, the principles and traditions of the Hanafi school spread throughout the Dasht-i Qipchaq and enjoyed state support beginning from the reign of Berke Khan. Consequently, a distinct school of Hanafi jurisprudence began to take shape in Sarai, the capital of the Ulus.

The renowned Russian scholar Vasily Bartold attributed the spread of Islam in the Dasht-i Qipchaq steppe primarily to the active endeavors of Sufis and, secondarily, to the profound influence exerted by Muslim sedentary regions on neighboring nomadic tribes[15]. Indeed, the Sufi movement holds an exceptional place in the dissemination of Islam across the Dasht-i Qipchaq. Sufism is a mystical-ascetic trend within Islam. Unlike the faqihs (jurists) who adhered strictly to written texts and established religious norms, Sufis were characterized by the absence of rigid dogmatic frameworks. That is, each Sufi followed their own path to spiritual truth. Every Sufi master necessarily had disciples (murids) who were required to obey them in all matters. The number of disciples for famous Sufis could reach into the thousands; thus, Sufis with such a devoted following possessed immense political and spiritual influence.

Among the nomadic Turks of the Dasht-i Qipchaq, Central Asian Sufi orders occupied a central position. In particular, the Yassawiya order, founded by Khoja Ahmed Yasawi (known as Hazrat Sultan) of Turkestan; the Naqshbandiya order, founded by Baha-ud-Din Naqshband of Bukhara; and the Kubrawiya order, founded by Najm-ud-Din Kubra of Khwarazm, became widely influential[16]. Due to the efforts of these three orders, no Turkic tribe in the Dasht-i Qipchaq remained outside the fold of Islam. Many Sufis who had received their education in Bukhara, Samarkand, and Khwarazm dedicated their lives to proselytizing among the nomadic Turks. Their ascetic lifestyle and narratives regarding the afterlife and the terrors of hell had a profound impact on the nomads. Numerous historical sources and folk oral literature contain accounts of a single Sufi converting an entire clan to Islam. Similar information is found in Muslim written records; for instance, a Sufi named Hussein Bek, a representative of the Yassawi order from Turkmenistan, was instrumental in the total conversion of the Bashkir tribes[17]. Such was his prestige that after his death, Janibek Khan himself ordered the construction of a grand mausoleum for him near present-day Ufa.

These mausoleums, where saints were interred, soon became centers for the further spread of Islam among the nomads. Sufis influenced not only the common people but also the khans of the Golden Horde. The fact that Berke Khan became a murid of Sayf al-Din Bakharzi, and that Uzbek Khan sought the counsel of his mentor, Sheikh El-Miskari, in all matters, speaks volumes. Thus, Sufism gradually became an integral part of the nomadic identity in the Great Steppe. One characteristic of the Sufi worldview was its ability to transform local traditions without contradicting core religious beliefs. As a result, people who previously sought aid from mountains, rocks, or trees began to seek intercession from Islamic saints. Shamans, in turn, began to incorporate Quranic verses into their rituals and invoke spirits for healing through an Islamic lens. In this manner, Islam steadily displaced the remnants of Tengrism. By the mid-14th century, Islam had lost its status as a "newly arrived" religion for the peoples of the Golden Horde and had become a fundamental component of their culture and daily life.



Conclusion

A comprehensive analysis of the development of Islam during the Golden Horde era reveals that this phenomenon represented a strategic ideological turning point with profound significance in Eurasian history. The Islamization of the Ulus of Jochi was not merely a confessional choice but a logical outcome of the empire's transition from a nomadic steppe structure to a classic bureaucratic Muslim state. As identified in this study, Islam played a decisive role in shaping the Golden Horde's state identity, strengthening centralized authority, and enhancing its prestige on the international stage. This journey, which began with the period of religious tolerance under Batu Khan, acquired a political direction during the reign of Berke Khan and achieved full institutionalization through the reforms of Uzbek Khan.

The data analyzed in this article highlight two primary factors in the Islamization of the Golden Horde. First is the state-political factor: the khans (Berke, Toqta, Uzbek) utilized Islam as a unifying ideological force to counter the nomadic aristocracy's tendencies toward separatism. The introduction of Sharia law and the formation of the Divan system reinforced the state's legal foundations, aligning it with the leading Muslim civilizations of the time. Second is the socio-spiritual factor, namely the missionary activities of Sufi orders (Yassawiya, Kubrawiya, Naqshbandiya). The flexibility and mystical depth of Sufi teachings allowed Islam to be seamlessly integrated into the worldview of nomadic tribes, facilitating the reinterpretation of the spiritual foundations of Tengrism and Shamanism within a Muslim context.

The results of this research demonstrate that the triumph of Islam in the Golden Horde was the fruit of a spiritual synthesis between sedentary urban culture and the nomadic way of life. The religious influence that emanated from ancient Muslim centers such as Khwarazm and Bulgaria gradually permeated the entire Dasht-i Qipchaq, forging a new type of Muslim identity. This process, in turn, became the spiritual and cultural backbone of the subsequent Kazakh Khanate and other Turkic states. Thus, Islam in the era of the Golden Horde stands as the primary historical factor that defined the spiritual landscape of modern Kazakhstan and laid the groundwork for our national mentality and culture. In summary, the history of the Islamization of the Ulus of Jochi is a vivid manifestation of the replacement of harsh steppe laws with spiritual and legal enlightenment, marking the triumph of a powerful Muslim civilization in the heart of Eurasia.

REFERENCES

- [1] Tabakat i-Nasiri // Sbornik materialov, odnosjashihsj k istorii Zolotoj Ordy. – M.: Nauka, 1941.
- [2] Lavrent'evskaja letopis'. (Polnoe sobranie russkih letopisej). – L., 1926-1928. – T. 1.
- [3] Tizengauzen V.G. Sbornik materialov... T.2. – M.-L., 1941. – S. 17.
- [4] Grekov B. D., Jakubovskij A. Ju. Chast' I. Obrazovanie i razvitie Zolotoj Ordy v XIII— XIV vv. // Zolotaja Orda i ejo padenie. – M.-L., 1950.
- [5] Rashid ad-Din. Sbornik letopisej. – M., L.: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1960. – T. 2. – S. 133.
- [6] Puteshestvie v Vostochnye strany ... – M.: Geograficheskij literatury, 1957. – S. 102-106.
- [7] Tizengauzen V.G. Sbornik materialov... T.1. – SPb., 1884. – S. 379-380.
- [8] Zakirov S. Diplomatičeskie otnoshenija Zolotoj Ordy s Egiptom. – M., 1966. – S. 39.
- [9] Rashid ad-Din. Rasskaz o proisshestvii raznoglasij mezhdju Hulagu-hanom i Berkeem... // Sbornik letopisej. – M., L.: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1946. – T. 3. – S. 58—60.
- [10] Sabitov Zh.M. Genealogija Dzhuchidov v 13-18 vekah.. Genealogija i Hronologija pravitelej Zolotoj Ordy. – Astana, 2008.



- [11] Veselovskij N. I. Han iz temnikov Zolotoj Ordy Nogaj i ego vremja. – Pg., 1922. – S. 3.
[12] Muhamadiev A.G. Bulgara-tatarskaja monetnaja sistema v XII-XV vv. – M., 1983. – S. 46-49.
[13] Gumil'ov L. N. Poiski vymyshlennogo carstva. – M.: Ajris-press, 2002. – S. 208.— 432 s.
[14] Rodoslovie tjurkov. Shadzharat al-atrak. – Tashkent: Fan, 1992. – 120 s.
[15] Bartol'd V.V. Dvadcat' lekcij po istorii tureckih narodov Srednej Azii // Soch. T. 5. – M., 1968. – S. 118-120.
[16] Bartol'd V.V. Islam // Soch. T.4. – M., 1966. – S. 117.
[17] Malov N.M., Malyshev A.B., Rakushin A.I. Religija v Zolotoj Orde. – Saratov, 1998. – 180 s.

Ахан Ж., Томбулоглу Т.

ИСЛАМ КАК ГОСУДАРСТВЕННАЯ ИДЕОЛОГИЯ ЗОЛОТОЙ ОРДЫ: ЭТАПЫ СТАНОВЛЕНИЯ И РОЛЬ СУФИЙСКИХ ТАРИКАТОВ

Аннотация. В данной статье всесторонне анализируется процесс институционализации ислама в государственной и общественной структуре Улуса Джучи (Золотой Орды). В ходе исследования рассматриваются политические аспекты религиозной трансформации в период от правления Бату-хана до Узбек-хана. Основная цель статьи — выявление факторов, способствовавших проникновению ислама в кочевое общество. Авторы определяют уникальную роль суфийских тарикатов (Ясавия, Кубравия, Накшбандия) в распространении ислама в Золотой Орде. Также анализируется значение ислама как инструмента централизации государства и его роль во внешней политике (союз с Мамлюкским султанатом). В результате исследования характеризуется решающая роль ислама в бюрократической системе Золотой Орды.

Ключевые слова: Золотая Орда, Улус Джучи, Берке-хан, Узбек-хан, ислам, суфизм, государственная идеология, Дешт-и-Кипчак.

Ахан Ж., Томбулоглу Т.

АЛТЫН ОРДАНЫҢ МЕМЛЕКЕТТІК ИДЕОЛОГИЯСЫ РЕТІНДЕГІ ИСЛАМ: ҚАЛЫПТАСУ КЕЗЕҢДЕРІ МЕН СОПЫЛЫҚ ТАРИҚАТТАРДЫҢ РӨЛІ

Андатпа. Бұл мақалада Жошы Ұлысының (Алтын Орда) мемлекеттік және қоғамдық құрылымындағы Ислам дінінің институционалдану процесі жан-жақты талданады. Зерттеу барысында Бату ханнан бастап Өзбек ханның билігіне дейінгі аралықтағы діни трансформацияның саяси аспектілері қарастырылады. Мақаланың негізгі мақсаты — көшпелі қоғамға Исламның енуіне ықпал еткен факторларды анықтау. Авторлар Алтын Ордадағы Исламның таралуында сопылық тарикаттардың (Яссауия, Кубравия, Накшбандия) атқарған бірегей рөлін айқындайды. Сондай-ақ, Ислам дінінің мемлекетті орталықтандыру құралына айналуы және сыртқы саясаттағы (Мәмлүк сұлтандатымен одақ) маңызы сарапталады. Зерттеу нәтижесінде Ислам дінінің Алтын Орданың бюрократиялық жүйесіндегі шешуші рөлі сипатталады.

Кілт сөздер: Алтын Орда, Жошы Ұлысы, Берке хан, Өзбек хан, Ислам діні, сопылық, мемлекеттік идеология, Дешті Қыпшақ.